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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1882.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Position of the Government—The Members for Birmingham—Lord Derby's Explanations—Alarming condition of Ireland—North Riding Election and the Whig Peers—The Farmers' Alliance—Egyptian Disquiet and the Identical Note—The French Treaty of Commerce.

THE state of the revenue at the opening of the year was probably the only point to which the Ministerialists could revert with unalloyed satisfaction. Neither the measures designed to conciliate Ireland, nor those destined to coerce her, were producing the results for which their authors looked. The area of disturbance had gradually extended until nearly one-half of the country was declared to be "dangerous"; the decisions of the Law Courts were challenged by the landlords, whilst the eagerness of the latter to obtain the payment of arrears of rent was violently resisted by the tenants, many of whom had established their legal right to a reduced rental. On the continent of Europe although the pending questions in Greece and Montenegro seemed satisfactorily adjusted, our efforts to restrain the Egyptian Government from entering upon a perilous course were rendered nugatory by the unwillingness of France to lend herself to a joint policy or protectorate in the valley of the Nile, whilst in South Africa the settlement effected by Sir Garnet Wolseley was already giving signs of partial, if not of complete, collapse.

At the very opening of the new year the two Cabinet Ministers who represented Birmingham—Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain—fairly placed before their constituents the difficulties of the situa-

tion, especially in Ireland. The former vindicated the coercive measures of the Government on the ground that freedom could only flourish where law was paramount. He held that even in the disturbed districts the majority were in favour of peace and order, and attributed the outrages to agitators from America. Mr. Chamberlain more especially defended the action of the Land Courts from the attacks made upon them by the landlords—whose claims for compensation he ridiculed as preposterous. Whilst sympathising with the unfortunate tenants who had been ground to the earth by excessive rents, he had no sympathy at all with the American Fenian, who tried to perpetuate the grievances of his countrymen in order to make separation possible; and he had no sympathy with the absentee agitators who from a safe distance counselled other people to commit crime and to go to prison, while they administered in safe retreat at Paris or in London the funds which they received from America. All government necessarily rested upon coercion in the last resort, and it was much better for the people that a responsible and representative Government should resort to force in order to maintain order and tranquillity than that it should permit an irresponsible and an unrepresentative organization—by force also—to attempt to throw the country into confusion and revolution. Mr. Chamberlain added:—

“In the present state of Ireland I do not hesitate to say that I see only one alternative to the course which we have pursued, and that is that we should declare the resources of statesmanship to be exhausted; that we cannot govern Ireland to the satisfaction of its people; that we cannot conciliate the nation; and, therefore, that we resolve to let them go and establish their independence. That is the alternative which some Liberals hold, and I admit their consistency in objecting to any resort to coercion; but for my part I think it would be a conclusion so fraught with disaster to Ireland, so dangerous to the interests of England, that I would never willingly consent to it.”

Two days later (Jan. 5) the same speakers again addressed their constituents, when Mr. Bright reviewed the respective functions of the two Houses of Parliament, expressed his belief that the Tory party would offer no desperate resistance to the extension of the county franchise, and declared a complete reform of the land laws to be of imperative necessity. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, especially urged the need of an immediate reform of the House of Commons' procedure. The present system lent every assistance to those who were opposed to progress, and it had become well-nigh impossible even for the strongest Ministry to pass measures of primary importance. The ideal of statesmanship was best described in the lines:—

To promise, pause, prepare, postpone,
And end by letting things alone;
In short, for taking people's pay
For doing nothing every day.

The question, therefore, of parliamentary procedure had become the question of the moment, and until it was satisfactorily solved the reforms, however pressing, demanded outside of Parliament, must be left unnoticed.

Meanwhile, Lord Derby had at Liverpool (Jan. 4) explained the reasons which had induced him to sever his connection with the political party with which he had hitherto been associated. He disclaimed the idea of having ever been a Tory at all. Experience had taught him the uselessness of attempting to resist the progress of popular ideas, and he had been led to think more highly of the moderation and general fairness with which masses of men are disposed to use their power. Reform of the House of Commons' procedure, a measure of improved local government for the counties, and the establishment of a central government for London, he regarded as matters of which the solution could no longer be postponed without danger and discredit to the Liberal party. The same urgency was required for the work of restoring order and peace in Ireland. "What is asked for," said Lord Derby, "under the name of Home Rule, is a separate Parliament; and I am afraid I must say I believe that is a very general wish among the Irish masses. What are we to do? There is no escape from the dilemma. If we grant their wish we virtually break up the empire; for I suppose everybody can see that a Parliament, however limited at first in powers, once established in Dublin, would very soon shake off any dependence on the parliament sitting at Westminster. If we resist—and personally I do not see that we have any choice—we must frankly accept the fact that we are overruling the will of a local majority; and, for my part, I see nothing arbitrary or despotic in so doing. The will of the majority, it is argued, ought to rule. Certainly; I accept that doctrine. I do more—I assert it. But in a matter that concerns the whole community it is the majority of the whole community, and not of any part of it, to which I refer."

Lord Derby said further:—"Respecting proprietary rights as sincerely as anyone, in a time of revolutionary disturbance—and that is the state of things in Ireland—those whom the State, at infinite cost and trouble, is struggling to preserve may fairly be asked to accept the necessity of some sacrifice on their side. Leave the Irish people and the landowners face to face, and we know what would happen. There would very soon be an end of all rent, and an end of Irish landlords too, so far as residence in Ireland is concerned. Men whom a lifeboat has dragged out from a vessel going to pieces on the rocks must not complain too loudly if they lose some of their property in the process. As to the future, I think our course is plain. Let us grant reforms by all means—decentralization in any practicable shape; but let us hold out no false hopes of independence, or of a federal system, which never can work between two countries so closely connected as England and Ireland."

A few days later (Jan. 12), at a rent audit-dinner of the tenantry on the Hawarden estates, Mr. Gladstone declared that the very first question of magnitude with which the Government would have to deal on the assembling of Parliament would be an endeavour to bring the great legislative instrument, the House of Commons, into a condition satisfactorily to perform its duties. At present the forms of Parliament were used for preventing any legislation at all, and he trusted that the changes to be proposed would be discussed without reference to party. Once this matter disposed of, he hoped to be able to deal with local government, local taxation, and local expenditure in a way which would meet all reasonable expectation. The desire of the Government was to give to the inhabitants of the counties an effective power in controlling county expenditure and checking waste. The assistance given by the Imperial Exchequer to local taxation was, in his opinion, given in a bad form; whilst the law which placed upon the shoulders of the occupier the immediate charge of all the rates operated with unjust severity when new rates were imposed or old ones increased.

On the same night, at Chatham, Sir W. Hart-Dyke, after protesting against the charge of fostering obstruction brought against the Tory party by Mr. Chamberlain, declared that it was from the Liberals when in opposition that the Irish first learned the art; and the Conservative organs throughout the country commenced a general attack upon the principle of the closure in Parliament. The *Standard* declared strongly against any heroic legislation of the kind, and argued that the despotism of majorities in the House of Commons and elsewhere was the growing evil of the age, which could not be too strenuously resisted. Similarly the *Times*, though leaning to the view that a majority of two-thirds of those present should declare in favour of any abrupt closing of a debate, saw in the adoption of any such system an excuse for the discontent of a defeated Opposition, which would find opportunities of avenging itself, whilst the finality of legislative reform, which depended on the acquiescence of defeated minorities, would be constantly endangered. The premature publication of a supposed version of the new rules of procedure led to their criticism in all quarters, in the course of which the closing of a debate by the vote of a bare majority on the intervention of the Speaker, rather than on the motion of the Leader of the House, attracted chief attention. The Home Rulers allied themselves with the Conservatives in denouncing the proposals which the Minority were declaring as of vital necessity. The Liberals, moreover, in their speeches and press, showed but little enthusiasm in support of the views put forward by ministers with the apparent intention of standing or falling by the verdict of Parliament. It was in vain that the spokesman of the Cabinet urged that under the existing rules of the House of Commons the government of the country was at a standstill, and declared that the House

must regain authority over its debates or assent to complete paralysis; the naturally conservative feelings and traditions of that body led its members seemingly to prefer the latter alternative, even though by so doing they should force the Ministry to abandon as impracticable the task of government.

A few days later Mr. W. H. Smith (January 30) declared that he and his colleagues were prepared to concur in any reasonable and moderate proposal which might facilitate the conduct of public business; and although demurring to the idea of closing the debate by a mere majority, they would not resist the initiative of the Speaker in proposing the resolution. On the following evening the Speaker himself, addressing his constituents at Cottingham, reviewed his own conduct during the debate on the Coercion Bill in the previous session. He believed that the resolutions which he had proposed as temporary in view of a special object, and only applicable when urgency had been voted, might with advantage be made permanent. At present the House had no power whatever to close a debate, which might be continued until such time as the Sovereign by prerogative put a stop to all speaking. Sir Henry Brand did not believe that freedom of speech would be in any danger because order had been introduced into debates.

The death of Viscount Helmsley about this time created a vacancy in the North Riding of Yorkshire, for which a tenant-farmer, Mr. S. Rowlandson, of Newton Monell, presented himself in opposition to the Hon. E. C. Dawnay, the Conservative. The latter declared himself favourable to granting compensation to tenants for unexhausted improvements, but not to the compulsory application of such a law. He reviewed in a somewhat depressed tone the state of affairs at home and abroad, and stated that he had only been induced to come forward mainly as a protest against Mr. Gladstone's "measures of spoliation." Mr. Rowlandson, on his side, pledged himself to support a measure in favour of giving, without restrictions, compensation for unexhausted improvements. Whilst approving the Irish Land Act, he did not think its provisions were applicable to England; but claimed for the country more simple and more liberal land laws, the maintenance of free trade, and the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise.

The North Riding, an enormous constituency, with a population of 200,000 scattered over an area of 1,350,000 acres, had only once seriously been contested in twenty years, and never since the introduction of the ballot. The cost necessary to canvass and bring to the poll so many voters had hitherto induced both parties to acquiesce in a divided representation.

The contest, once decided upon, attracted additional interest on account of the recent defection from the Liberal policy of the Earl of Zetland, one of the principal landowners in the North Riding, and was further marked by the formal secession of Earl

Grey, an act regarded by some as the final separation of the old Whigs from the new Liberal party. Earl Grey's adhesion to the Conservative cause was conveyed in a letter addressed to Colonel Dawnay, in which, after expressing the hope for the success of his brother's candidature, he said :—

“I certainly am most anxious that Mr. Gladstone should not have another vote in dealing with the land laws of England; for though he could hardly do as much harm here as he has done in Ireland, he probably, if he has the power, will do a great deal; and I cannot understand how it happens that all who are interested in the land, or in the welfare of England generally, do not take the same view of the subject as Lord Zetland, and refuse to go on supporting a man who on every really important question acts against the old opinions of all the great Whig leaders in the old days, when the Whigs were a party to which I for one was proud to belong, and of which I will not give up the traditions because a set of men choose to call themselves the successors of a party with which they have really nothing in common. . . . Mr. Gladstone stimulated the excitable Irish people to half-madness by his speeches, denouncing the grievances he said they were labouring under, and which he had not raised a finger to remove during all the years that he had before been in office. Having used the state of Ireland as a lever to upset the previous Government, he came into power himself, and passed the measure which he told us was to give prosperity to Ireland. After dealing with the Church question, which was a real grievance requiring to be redressed, in the very worst way, he gave us the unfortunate Land Bill of 1870, which first gave the Irish tenants a slice of the landlords' property, and, as was sure to happen, created among them an appetite for more, and raised the feelings of cupidity which have led to the results we now see.”

In spite, however, of the support of the Whig landlords, Mr. Dawnay found the feeling for local reform so strong amongst the farmers throughout the Riding, that in a subsequent speech he promised to support measures for county boards, for improved railway benefits, for tenants' unexhausted improvements, and for the reform of local taxation; whilst to the Protectionist feeling amongst the constituency he appealed by the promise to support the imposition of a five-shilling duty on corn. To the last bid for support, Mr. Rowlandson retorted that what the farmers wanted was not a duty upon food but a removal of the shackles from agriculture, and that for this reform they must look to the Liberal party. In spite of many side issues and interests, it may be said that the contest was fought out on this broad issue; and, notwithstanding the hostility of both the Duke of Cleveland and Lord Zetland, Mr. Rowlandson was within 386 votes of his opponent, who polled 8,135 votes against 7,749 given to the representative of the Farmers' Alliance.

Meanwhile affairs in Ireland grew steadily worse, outrages

continued with undiminished frequency, and the perpetrators habitually escaped detection. Mr. Forster's rule at Dublin was pronounced even by Ministerial supporters to have been a failure, and his shutting up of the leaders of the Land League party to have been a fatal error, which placed under restraint the avowed chiefs of an open political movement, whilst it left at large the heads of those secret societies which aimed at nothing but anarchy and the subversion of all social government. Papers, like the *Daily Telegraph*, which had during the autumn vehemently called for drastic measures, urged the Government to release Mr. John Dillon at once, whilst in nearly every quarter the failure of coercive measures was recognised, and the responsibility of the Chief Secretary, at whose instigation they were passed, was widely proclaimed, and his ready adoption of the conclusions and prejudices of the Irish Executive was loudly blamed.

The increasing interest displayed by the Farmers' Alliance and other similar associations for some improvement in the land laws, and for the wider recognition of tenants' rights, found expression not only in numerous speeches, but in a draft measure which was drawn up under a special committee of the tenant-farming class. On the other hand, the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture, speaking rather from the point of the landlords, although it is true they deprecated any such idea, formed a deputation to the Prime Minister, asking for some relief from the unjust incidence of local taxation, and plainly indicated that they looked to the National Exchequer for some considerable assistance towards the maintenance of the outdoor poor. In reply to the deputation, which was headed by Colonel Paget, M.P., Mr. Gladstone assured them that the various points brought under his notice had already occupied the attention of the Government; and that a bill would be forthwith laid before Parliament embodying the views of the Cabinet. As to the demand for State aid for local purposes, he wished the deputation and those whom it represented to consider, supposing that in the ensuing financial year the State revenue left no margin over the expenditure, whether they would be prepared to vote additional taxes in order to find means to give local aid. To this inquiry the meeting replied by loud cries in the affirmative, and Colonel Paget, in the name of the meeting, added that he took it to be the universal view that if the readjustment of local burdens they desired could only be made by imposition of new taxes, that new taxation they ought to have.

Meanwhile affairs in Egypt were gradually drifting towards confusion. The Identical Note from England and France frequently announced was as often postponed. On his advent to power, M. Gambetta had suggested the despatch of joint instructions to French and English consuls at Cairo, promising the Khedive material support in the event of a revolt against his authority. Lord Granville's assent to the proposal was for some time delayed, and although it was asserted that it had been decided

upon between the two Powers to despatch to Egypt an expeditionary force, composed of 8,000 Indian sepoy and French marines, the actual form of the threatened intervention was left for subsequent arrangement. On this point the *Times* expressed its views very plainly: "The people of this country would view with serious apprehension any further interference with the internal affairs of Egypt. The idea of a joint Anglo-French military intervention would excite the gravest misgivings and would only be entertained in any case with the utmost reluctance. Very few Englishmen indeed, and certainly no English Government, would be prepared to go any further in the direction of the control, and yet it can hardly be doubted that, if French or English troops were landed in Egypt at the present moment, the determining motive in France would be rather the protection of the interests of European bondholders than the maintenance of order in Egypt. Order in Egypt is, at least, as secure now as it was in September. We may say, frankly and plainly, that the way to cement the long-standing alliance between England and France is, not to expect England to follow the lead of France in enterprises common to both whenever France is anxious to move, while France is to hold herself free to desert England at a pinch."

In answer, perhaps, to the actual or expected intervention of the Western Powers, Arabi put forward the programme of the Egyptian National party, in which, whilst accepting the existing relations of Egypt with the Porte, they announced their determination to resist any attempts to reduce the country again to the condition of a Turkish pashalik. They expressed their loyalty to Tewfik Pasha, and recognised the European control as a temporary expedient to be a necessity of their financial position, but they looked forward to the day when Egypt should be wholly for the Egyptians.

The issue of this address was followed almost immediately by the appointment by Cheriff Pacha of Arabi Bey to be Under-Secretary for War, in which post it was too readily assumed in many quarters that he would sink into obscurity and helplessness. From the Cabinet no hint came as to the line which it intended to follow, and Messrs. Bright and Chamberlain, in spite of frequent opportunities, refrained from all allusion to Egyptian politics in their numerous speeches at Birmingham. Public opinion seemed disposed to accept without demur an optimist view of the situation, and the *Spectator* stood almost alone in asserting that trouble was brewing in Egypt, and deprecated in the strongest terms the joint occupation of the country by French and English troops—an arrangement which it declared to be a terrible prospect for both countries. The *Spectator's* only suggestion was that England should alone garrison Egypt; whilst France should compensate herself elsewhere for the loss of her prestige in the Levant. Sir Edward Malet hastened, however, to allay the uneasiness which the presentation of the Joint Note had excited, both at Cairo and

in the French and English capitals, where the interference in purely Egyptian affairs was regarded as most unwise as well as unnecessary. The *Standard* on this point expressed very clearly the opinions of a large majority of this country when it declared it would welcome every attempt to diminish, and would disapprove every effort to extend, our influence in Egypt. The responsibility if undertaken by this country alone would, it held, be open to grave objection; undertaken in conjunction with France it could only give rise to a state of continual uneasiness and uncertainty.

The failure of the Collective Note to allay excitement at Cairo was by some attributed to the action of the Porte, which, by the warnings it addressed to the representatives of France and England, virtually supported the pretensions of Arabi Bey and his supporters in the Chamber of Notables; whilst others declared that these warnings came too late. The blame was more generally thrown upon the Joint Control, which the Ministerialist organs were eager to show was an inheritance from the previous Administration, which Mr. Gladstone had with too great delicacy attempted to maintain, whilst the Opposition organs affected to believe that a common action in Egypt was the price Mr. Gladstone was prepared to pay to France in return for a fresh Treaty of Commerce. The *Daily News* summarily declared that to guard our rights over the Canal, and to protect the native population from misrule, should be the limit of our policy in Egypt; and added further, that whilst it was most important to keep up a good understanding with France, we should not neglect our own position or violate Liberal principles by standing in the way of a truly national movement. By degrees the dangers inherent to the Joint Control were admitted by even the Conservative organs, and Lord Granville was urged as much by his opponents as by his supporters to adopt a policy which would be based solely upon British interests. The various paths supposed to be open to European policy were so numerous that the hesitation of each Cabinet can scarcely be regarded with surprise. By some it was held that the only solution of the Egyptian difficulty would be the joint occupation of Egypt by France and England, acting irrespective of the European concert; by others it was argued that inasmuch as the scheme of liquidation had been the act of the whole of the European Powers, though its execution was delegated to France and England, it was only competent for these two governments to act as the mandataries of the rest. By another section the settlement of everything ought to be left to France, whilst, in opposition to these, some held that the invitation of a Spanish, or even an Italian contingent, to preserve order in Egypt, would be a preferable alternative. By degrees, however, all proposals, save that of the maintenance of the Anglo-French control in some form or another, disappeared; and to this the sudden fall of M. Gambetta's cabinet, and the consequent modification of the foreign policy of France, left the responsibility of solving the difficulty upon the shoulders of the English Government. This

difficulty was not a little enhanced by the attempt, made with more or less success, by independent English observers, such as Sir William Gregory and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, to represent the movement headed by Arabi Bey, as a national protest against the corrupt administration of the Khedive and the tyranny of his suzerain, the Sultan. On the Continent Austria, no less than Italy, opposed any further extension of Anglo-French influence in the valley of the Nile; and the tone adopted by the semi-official press of St. Petersburg, showed that Russia was quite ready to profit by any political complication which would offer her the chance of retaliating on the chief author of the Berlin settlement. The attitude of the British Government, and in the main the general drift of public feeling, was summed up by Sir Charles Dilke in his address to the electors (January 31).

"The present movement," he said, "appears to mean that the Egyptian people desire to see the institution of a Government of such a character as to make a return to arbitrary rule impossible. In that aspiration we can give them our support. It is to the interest of England that the country which lies across our highway to the British East should be governed by well-grounded institutions rather than by autocrats. One despotic Khedive might be our friend, his successor might be our bitter enemy, whereas with a Government on a wider base it is easier to count. England and France occupy, however, a position towards Egypt which entitles them to give advice, and to expect that it shall be followed. . . . If it is galling to the Egyptians to see certain administrations in their midst in foreign hands—such as the railways, the Port of Alexandria, the Domains, and the Daira Sanieh—it must be remembered that their revenues are assigned in mortgage for moneys spent on Egypt, and that the redemption of that debt, which is progressing rapidly under the law of liquidation, will render those mortgage administrations needless. But for the present the co-operation of England and France in these administrations is as necessary as the Control of which they form a component part, and, being there, it forms the rampart against confusion, and a co-operation with France deliberately created by our predecessors must be loyally maintained."

Lord Lytton, however, speaking at Manchester on the following evening, with the knowledge and authority of ex-Viceroy of India, looked with dismay at the collapse of our Continental policy, and the dangers resulting to our position as a great power for having abandoned the German alliance, the central point of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy; and foresaw, as the natural outcome of the Liberal programme, that England would be gradually elbowed out of Europe, and reduced to the not long tenable position of a purely Atlantic power. In Egypt, France had interests which up to a certain point were reconcilable with our own. "But to France the loss of influence in Egypt would

involve no more than the cessation of direct control over the finances of a country in which her subjects have invested, and in which their military and engineering genius has established a just claim to the most honourable and sympathetic consideration. To England such a loss might involve the forfeiture of a vast empire in India, and an indispensable maritime footing in Europe. Beyond a certain point, therefore, the influence of France cannot be admitted, or the initiative of French policy followed, in Egypt by any English Government, without placing this country in a false and dangerous position. The paramount interests of England in Egypt will be respected by the great Conservative Powers of Europe, so long as they are not associated with a combination calculated, in the opinions of those Powers, not only to change the *status quo* in Egypt, but also to upset the balance of power in Europe. But if England is ever beguiled into giving, or permitting active effect to the menace lately addressed to those interests, which have hitherto recognised in England their natural guardian, I greatly fear that she will not only lose the freedom of her own salutary initiative, but will also render herself an object of resentful mistrust on the part of the people of Egypt, the ruler of Egypt, the suzerain of Egypt, and the Central Powers of Europe."

Almost simultaneously the recurrence of a crisis at Cairo, where the Assembly of Notables showed a disposition to follow the lead of Arabi Bey rather than that of the responsible Government of the Khedive, showed that the National party, or its ostensible leaders, had abandoned nothing of their pretensions, and that they were hoping to raise enthusiasm at home and sympathy abroad, with the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians."

The French Treaty of Commerce, which for many months had occupied the attention and excited the hopes of the Ministry, was the only other foreign question in which even a languid interest was shown by the public. The advent of M. Gambetta to power, and his well-known sympathies with England and Free Trade, led many to believe that some arrangement would at length be arrived at. At the beginning of the year Sir Charles Dilke returned once more to Paris, but the concessions offered on cotton and woollen goods not reaching the minimum fixed by the English Commission, the negotiations again fell through. The sudden break-up of the Gambetta Ministry prevented the last offers of M. Rouvier being thoroughly discussed, and although the formal breaking-off of negotiations did not immediately ensue, no doubt existed that all attempts at an understanding were virtually abandoned on the advent of M. de Freycinet to office; but it was not until the end of February (24th) that Sir Charles Dilke officially announced to the House of Commons that the negotiations for a tariff treaty had come to an end, and that after May 15 the commercial relations of the two countries would be based upon the most favoured nation clause.

CHAPTER II.

Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Bradlaugh and the Oath—Defeat of the Government—Debate on the Address—Irish Affairs—The working of the Coercion and Land Acts—The Lords' Committee of Inquiry.

THE meeting of Parliament was an event anxiously awaited by all parties in the State—by the Conservatives, who were eager to expose the uselessness of the legislation of the previous sessions: by the Home Rulers, to demand fresh concessions to the real or imaginary wants of Ireland: and by the Ministerialists, to gauge more accurately the extent of the schism which was said to exist in the Cabinet between the two sections of the party there represented. At one time it had been rumoured that Parliament was to be again called together at an earlier date than usual in order to pass stronger coercive measures for Ireland, but, however pressing the need may have seemed to the public, the responsible officials were content to make use of the powers already conferred upon them. It was, therefore, not until February 7 that the two Houses met for the despatch of business, when Parliament was opened by Commission, and with the following message from the Queen:—

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is with much satisfaction that I again invite your advice and assistance in the conduct of public affairs.

“ I have given my approval to a marriage between my son, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, and her Serene Highness Princess Helen of Waldeck and Pyrmont. I have every reason to believe that this will be a happy union.

“ I continue in relations of cordial harmony with all foreign Powers.

“ The Treaty for the cession of Thessaly to the Greek Kingdom has now been executed in its main provisions. The transfer of sovereignty and of occupation was effected in a manner honourable to all concerned.

“ In concert with the President of the French Republic, I have given careful attention to the affairs of Egypt, where existing arrangements have imposed on me special obligations. I shall use my influence to maintain the rights already established, whether by the Firmans of the Sultan or by various international engagements, in a spirit favourable to the good government of the country and the prudent development of its institutions.

“ I have pleasure in informing you that the restoration of peace beyond the North-Western Frontier, together with continued internal tranquillity, plentiful seasons, and increase of the revenue, has enabled my Government in India to resume works of public utility which had been suspended, and to devote its attention to measures for the further improvement of the condition of the people.

"The Convention with the Transvaal has been ratified by the Representative Assembly; and I have seen no reason to qualify my anticipations of its advantageous working.

"I have, however, to regret that, although hostilities have not been renewed in Basutoland, the country still remains in an unsettled condition.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The Estimates for the service of the year are in an advanced stage of preparation, and will be promptly submitted to you.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"My communications with France on the subject of a new Commercial Treaty have not been closed. They will be prosecuted by me, as I have already acquainted you, with a desire to conclude a treaty favourable to extended intercourse between the two nations, to whose close amity I attach so great a value.

"The trade of the country, both domestic and foreign, has for some time been improving, and the mildness of the winter season has been eminently suited to farming operations. Better prospects are, I trust, thus opened for the classes immediately concerned in agriculture.

"The public revenue, which is greatly, though not always at once, affected by the state of industry and commerce, has not yet exhibited an upward movement in proportion to their increased activity.

"The condition of Ireland at this time, as compared with that which I described at the beginning of last year, shows signs of improvement, and encourages the hope that perseverance in the course you have pursued will be rewarded with the happy results which are so much to be desired.

"Justice has been administered with greater efficacy; and the intimidation which has been employed to deter occupiers of land from fulfilling their obligations, and from availing themselves of the Act of last Session, shows upon the whole a diminished force.

"My efforts, through the bounty of Providence, have been favoured by the abundance of the harvest in that portion of the United Kingdom.

"In addition to a vigorous exertion of the provisions of the ordinary law, I have not hesitated, under the painful necessity of the case, to employ largely the exceptional powers intrusted to me for the protection of life and property by two Acts of the last Session.

"You will be invited to deal with proposals for the establishment in the English and Welsh counties of local self-government, which has so long been enjoyed by the towns; together with enlarged powers of administration, and with financial changes which will give you an opportunity of considering, both as to town and country, what may be the proper extent, and the most equitable and provident form, of contribution from Imperial taxes in relief of local charges.

"These proposals, in so far as they are financial, will apply to

the whole of Great Britain. It will be necessary to reserve the case of Ireland for a separate consideration.

“ In connection with the general subject of local administration, I have directed a measure to be prepared and submitted to you for the reform of the ancient and distinguished Corporation of London, and the extension of municipal government to the metropolis at large.

“ Bills will again be laid before you with which, during the last Session, notwithstanding the length of its duration and your unwearied labours, it was found impossible to proceed. I refer particularly to those concerning bankruptcy, the repression of corrupt practices at elections, and the conservancy of rivers and prevention of floods.

“ Measures will also be proposed to you with respect to a Criminal Code and to the consolidation and amendment of the laws affecting patents.

“ The interests of some portions of the United Kingdom have suffered peculiarly of late years from the extreme pressure of the public business on your time and strength ; but I trust that during this Session you may be able to consider Bills which will be presented to you in relation to the law of entail and to educational endowments in Scotland and to improved means of education in Wales.

“ I commend these and other subjects with confidence to your care ; and it is my earnest prayer that your wisdom and energy may, under the blessing of God, prove equal to the varied and increasing needs of this extended Empire.”

In the House of Lords Lord Fingall briefly moved and Lord Wenlock seconded the address in answer to the Queen's message ; the former, as an Irish landlord, expressing a hope that the time was approaching when a good understanding would prevail between landlords and tenants in Ireland. No formal amendment was offered by any section of the Opposition, but Lord Salisbury criticised at considerable length the policy of the Government at home and abroad. He expressed his regret that our interference in Egypt was no longer confined to financial matters, but extended itself to purely political questions ; and, whilst upholding joint action with France, he hoped that the alliance would not hamper us in our policy of protecting British interests. As to the application of the European concert for the management of the affairs of Egypt, we must avoid the danger underlying the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, by which our shortest road to India would be stopped when Russia was at the portals of Herat. Turning to Ireland, he insisted upon the radical change of tone which during the recess came over the views of the Government with regard to the Land Bill. When under discussion in the previous Session, it was asserted that the Bill would in no way act injuriously to the landlords ; but one of its objects, as it had since been described by an officer of the Crown, was to reduce rents. The Land Commissioners were appointed in the spirit of extreme par-

tizanship; whilst freedom of speech and writing was suppressed by the arrest of members of Parliament, and the wholesale suspension, even in England, of newspapers of the contents of which the Executive were ignorant. He regretted that the Speech from the Throne contained no promise of efficacious measures for the restoration of peace in Ireland, and held out no hope of provision for the Irish landlords who were reduced to want by the new statute. To this Lord Granville replied by asking whether Parliament would have refused its sanction to the Land Bill, if it had been known beforehand that the average of rents was higher than had been supposed. The difficulties in the way of the Bill were owing to the action of the Conservative party in England, who by their speeches obstructed its working, and exaggerated a condition of things which was sufficiently bad in itself. In Egypt the objects of the Government had been to maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan, the authority of the Khedive, and the rights of the people, and to go hand-in-hand with France in pursuance of this policy. Lord Waterford, on behalf of the Irish landlords, contended that the state of Ireland was worse than it was represented to be by the authorities; and strongly condemning the administration of the Land Act, threatened to move for a Select Committee to consider its working.

In the House of Commons the course of affairs did not run so smoothly. The members elected during the recess—nine in number—having taken the oath in the usual form, Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself to be sworn. Whereupon Sir Stafford Northcote promptly interposed with a resolution almost identical with that agreed to by the House on April 26 preceding, urging that the circumstances of the case had in no way been changed. Mr. Bradlaugh having withdrawn below the bar, Sir William Harcourt, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, moved “the previous question,” on the ground that the House was incompetent to vary the provisions of the statute under which Mr. Bradlaugh claimed to take the oath; or to inquire into the religious opinions of any individual. After some words of solemn protest from Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Bradlaugh, by permission, was heard from below the bar. He declared that his views and opinions had been persistently misrepresented, and that he himself had been relentlessly persecuted. If he were permitted to take the oath, he should consider its language binding alike on his honour and conscience; and he would not take it without intending it should be so binding. If, as he anticipated, the House was about to repeat its vote of the previous session, he doubted that it would have the courage to deprive him of his seat, or render him ineligible for the future. Without this precaution, however, he would be forced to present himself again and again at the table, and he should continue to do so. If, however, the resolution were withdrawn, and a bill brought in giving to a person duly elected the right of affirming or taking the oath at his discretion, he would stand aside for a reasonable time to permit its discussion. If it applied only

to such members as were elected after its passing, he would vacate his seat, and apply again to his constituents for their decision. Sir Stafford Northcote, after defending the Opposition against the charge of blocking a bill which the Government had never proposed, declined to make any bargain in the dark. He declared his opinion that the Government ought to propose some legislation, and that when the Bill was before the House the Opposition would be prepared to discuss it. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, held to his frequently expressed opinion that the matter was one with which the Courts of Law alone could adequately deal, and maintained that real profanation was to depart from the strict line of justice, rather than, as Sir Stafford Northcote held, to permit Mr. Bradlaugh to perform a legal act. After some further discussion, the House divided, and the "previous question" was negatived by 286 to 228 (the majority including 28 Liberals and 37 Home Rulers). On the announcement of the result, Mr. Bradlaugh advanced to the table, and having been informed of the decision of the House, was directed to withdraw. This he respectfully declined to do, and the Speaker then appealed to the House for further instructions. After some hesitation, Sir Stafford Northcote rose and moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be directed to withdraw. This was carried without a division, and Mr. Bradlaugh with a slight protest withdrew below the Bar, where he resumed his accustomed seat. The line adopted by the Government on this occasion found but little support amongst its usual adherents in the London Press, which argued that had the previous question been carried, and Mr. Bradlaugh been allowed to take the oath at the peril of the law, it would have conveyed the impression that the question of Parliamentary oaths was one with which the House of Commons had nothing to do.

Mr. Gladstone, before coming to the debate on the Address, gave notice that he would move his New Rules of Procedure early in the ensuing week, and then followed the annual display of good intentions in the shape of bills promoted by both the Government and private members, and the titles of at least 120 new measures were given to the House. The Speaker then read a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Viceroy of Ireland informing him of the arrest of Messrs. Parnell, Sexton, Dillon, and O'Kelly, and of Mr. Sexton's subsequent release. Whereupon Mr. Gray at once rose to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to report on its contents. He contended that the arrests were in violation of the pledges given by the Government when the Coercion Act was under discussion. In spite of the Speaker's ruling that the reasonableness of the arrests could not at that moment be brought under discussion, many of the Home Rule members argued, and at some length, that the privileges of Parliament had been infringed. Mr. Gladstone, however, held his ground that there was no breach of privilege in applying the law of the land to a member of Parliament; and in this view he was supported by Mr. P. J. Smyth, the representative of the Irish "Nationalist" party,

who had no wish to place members of Parliament above the law. The motion was then negatived by 174 to 45, and at length, shortly before eleven o'clock, the debate on the Address, proposed by Mr. Marjoribanks, and seconded by Mr. J. B. Firth, was allowed to commence, and an hour later was adjourned until the following day on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, when the leader of the Opposition criticised the foreign and domestic policy of the Government at considerable length. Adverting to the state of affairs in Egypt, he defended the Conservative Government against the attacks made upon it for having established the Joint Control, of which, however, Lord Derby and not Lord Salisbury was the author. Through the action of the Control Egyptian finance had been placed on a sound basis, Egyptian taxpayers were relieved from oppression, and the rights of the Khedive, as well as those of his suzerain, the Sultan, had been fully recognised. Passing to the affairs of Ireland, he asked for more definite assurances as to the real condition of the country. Parliament had invested the Government with exceptional powers on the faith of the assurance that things were urgent, yet things had been allowed to drift from bad to worse, and the Government had adopted the dangerous course of holding out threats and of not acting on them. If coercion were necessary it should be applied on principle, and administered as a "policy;" but the Government, apparently on the advice of Mr. Chamberlain, had converted it into a "hateful incident." At the same time the Land Act had excited alarm and uneasiness among the landlords throughout the country, and he challenged the Government to say whether they anticipated the action of the Land Commissioners, or whether, having foreseen it, they had misled the House. Judging from the speeches of their own supporters, the Government were apparently prepared to run the Land Act against the Land League, and to raise the cry of "Low rent" against that of "No rent." If the Act had been worked upon the principle of desiring to obtain political rather than economical results, the House should be informed, and he called upon the Government to say whether the root of the evil in Ireland had been reached, and whether they had any expectation of tranquillity being restored when this exceptional power ceased.

Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, showed that these complaints urged by Sir Stafford Northcote against the "drifting" policy of the Government, were scarcely in harmony with the criticisms of Lord Salisbury, who had expressed his apprehensions of a military intervention in Egypt. The difficulties of the situation arose from the extreme complexity of the arrangements; but as to the action of the other European Powers, in presenting a Note to the Sultan on Egyptian affairs, he did not consider that in doing so they were proceeding beyond their right, or that it was likely to offer any difficulty in the determination of this complicated business. On the contrary, the intentions of the

Powers were completely conformable to the declaration contained in the despatch of Lord Granville to Sir Edward Malet in November 1881. They wished to maintain the authority of the Sultan, and the various international engagements by which England and France were vested with certain functions in Egypt, and they hoped to obtain a good government for the country by means of the development of its popular institutions. With respect to the Commercial Treaty with France, Sir S. Northcote asked for information, but he did not know that he could make any addition to the information contained in the Speech. It might be taken that they would not conclude a treaty less favourable. He was told that there was a protectionist reaction throughout the world. He could not wonder at it when he found that it existed in this country; when he saw a gentleman sitting within two of the right hon. gentleman who had attained his seat by promising the farmers to restore a five-shilling duty on corn. Dealing with Ireland, Mr. Gladstone referred to the fact that the late Government dissolved Parliament at a time when they knew that the new Parliament could not renew the only Acts of repression that existed. Defending the appointments of Sub-Commissioners, he said the Government had sought for the most competent, most informed, and most impartial men, and they had seen no reason to repent of the favourable opinion they formed of the character and competency of these gentlemen. Their decisions in the strictest sense had been judicial, and had not been prompted by political bias. It was impossible for any man to tell, from the handful of cases already disposed of, that the 23 per cent. average reduction would be maintained. Referring to the action of the Land League, he said they had chosen the desperate course of unfurling the flag against all property. This great conspiracy had been confronted and defeated. The payment of rent in Ireland was now going on very extensively, and was never met by violent resistance—the circle of intimidation had been narrowed.

Mr. Tottenham, an Ulster Conservative, took a very different view of the state of the country. The judicial system of the country had revived, and they had defeated the worst efforts that had been made against the Land Act. The policy of the Government, he asserted, had produced all the results predicted from it—bitter passion, class hatred, and litigation, and as to the administration of the Land Act, he contended it was a violation of its principles and a misinterpretation of the intentions of Parliament.

He was followed by Mr. P. J. Smyth, who had already taken an independent line with reference to the imprisoned members, and who now came forward with a definite amendment, setting forth that the only mode of settling the Irish question was the restoration of Irish legislative independence, and supported it by an eloquent speech, in which he drew a glowing picture of the condition of Ireland under her own Parliament, described the means by which the Union had been carried, and impressed on

the Prime Minister that all his efforts to settle the Irish question would be useless unless he could devise a mode of restoring the Irish Parliament without impairing the security of the Throne.

This proposal found supporters in Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Dawson, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and other Irish members, but on the second day's debate (Feb. 9) Mr. Smyth offered to withdraw his amendment, but to this course his colleagues objected. Mr. Gladstone expressed his regret that the withdrawal of a vague amendment had not been allowed. With regard to local government in Ireland, referring to what he had said, and of local government in general and its immeasurable benefits, and of the manner in which Parliament is at present overcharged by too great a centralisation of duties, he declared that for one he would hail with satisfaction and delight any measure of local government for Ireland, or for any portion of the country, provided only that it conformed to this one condition, that it did not break down or impair the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. In the present, as in many previous discussions on the same subject, the want of any definite or practical scheme, agreed upon by any considerable section of the Irish members themselves, added most terribly to the difficulty of any Government desirous of settling the question. The separation of Irish from Imperial questions, so frequently demanded, was rendered a thousand times more difficult, since scarcely two Irish members were agreed as to the boundary line between them, and until this point was settled no practical measure could be framed or discussed. Mr. Plunket, on behalf of the Conservatives, at once seized upon Mr. Gladstone's statement (although identical with what he had said two years previously in Midlothian), and declared that, after such an invitation, the Government would no longer be able to refuse a motion for inquiry into Home Rule, such as had in former Parliaments been in vain demanded by Mr. Butt and others. After some further debate Mr. Smyth's amendment was negatived by 93 to 37. Mr. J. M'Carthy, who had been regarded by a section at least of the Home Rule party as their leader since Mr. Parnell's imprisonment, then interposed with an amendment claiming the abrogation of all coercive measures, and the full recognition of the rights and liberties of the Irish people. The real object of the speech, however, was an indictment of Mr. Forster's administration and a defence of Mr. Parnell, so unwisely as well as so unjustly imprisoned. He quoted from Mr. Parnell's speeches to show that he had never advocated the non-payment of rent, nor the rejection of the Land Act. On the contrary, he had recommended that it should be tested; he had used his influence invariably in favour of order; and in reference to the "prairie value," for which he had been so much censured, Mr. M'Carthy showed that it was borrowed from a speech of Mr. Bright. Considering how the Irish people had been deceived by the Liberal party, it was no wonder that there should be discontent approaching even to disaffection in Ireland; but by suppressing

the Land League and arresting its principal members the Government had deprived themselves of the most potent means of preserving order, and were responsible for all that had occurred since.

In a lengthy speech, lasting nearly two hours and a half, Mr. Forster defended his administration, expressing his deep regret that he had been driven, contrary to his expectation, to put in force the exceptional powers with which he had been invested during the previous session. The only alternative would have been to allow the country to drift into a condition wherein law would have been paralysed, industry impossible, and liberty non-existent. He read extracts from Mr. Parnell's speeches, which he contended proved that his designs were not so harmless as Mr. M'Carthy had represented. It was not, however, for the advice which he had given that Mr. Parnell was arrested, but for the means taken to enforce it, the intimidation, Boycotting, outrages, and murders by which the Land League coerced the people to conform to their orders. Of these practices Mr. Forster related some striking instances, contending that, as the speakers could not be punished by the ordinary law, the Government were driven to these arrests, unless they were prepared to allow the Land League to become the real government of Ireland. He admitted that he had been some time in realising what Mr. Parnell's intentions were, but as soon as he felt convinced in his conscience that that gentleman was guilty of inciting to intimidation he advised the arrests. As to the "treasonable practices," though he believed that an organised attempt to substitute private courts for the Queen's Courts was a treasonable practice, the arrests on that head were made because of speeches which, if permitted to go on, would have brought about a state of feeling certain to end in civil war. In the same manner the Land League was suppressed as soon as it became evident that it was an intimidating organisation, and that its members were guilty of intimidation. Of these treasonable speeches, and of the acts of violence by which the "No rent" manifesto was enforced, Mr. Forster gave the House numerous specimens; and passing to the present situation he expressed a confident belief that things were getting better. Landlords were collecting their rents; farmers were finding out that they had been misled by the Land League; and juries were doing their duty. At the same time, the signs of improvement were not sufficient to justify any relaxation of vigilance or to permit the release of the prisoners. At the close of his speech Mr. Forster made some remarks in vindication of the Land Act, which, he said, was beginning to have an effect; and in justifying the character and general conduct of the Sub-Commissioners, he expressed a very decided opinion that the rents in Ireland had turned out to be larger than the House anticipated when the Act was under discussion.

Three more nights were devoted to the nominal discussion of Mr. M'Carthy's statement, but in reality to the arraignment and

defence of the Ministerial policy in Ireland. Mr. Gibson and Mr. Plunket were its chief antagonists from the front Opposition benches, the former declaring that Mr. Forster's speech proved that the Executive should have acted far sooner than it did, and the latter taunted the Government with invariably taking the wrong step, or taking it at the wrong time. Under its rule the process of disintegration had made rapid strides, and looking to the future he saw Ireland divided into two parties, of whom one would take "Prairie Value and Home Rule" as its motto, whilst the other would put forward "No Rent and separation." The Ministerial defence was undertaken by Mr. Chamberlain, who promptly carried the war into the enemy's camp, challenging the leaders of the Opposition to adopt or repudiate the relative charges of their subordinates; and by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who dealt more especially with the speeches of the Irish members on both sides of the House. In answer to the spokesman of the landlords he argued that the Land Bill had benefited them in every way, whilst removing from the tenants intolerable burdens. To the representatives of the Land League he declared their latest policy to be a disguised movement in favour of Separation. But by far the most important speech was that delivered by Mr. Sexton in an almost empty House. He graphically recounted from his own point of view the history of the rise of the Land League, of which the original objects were to stop rack-renting and to convert occupiers into landholders by buying out the landlords. The "No rent" manifesto was the legitimate reply to the arrest of Mr. Parnell and others on false pretences, and to the suppression of the Land League. "Boycotting" was not the invention of the Land League, but had existed for years; and as long as it was confined within the limits of social discountenancing and negative action he entirely approved of it, and was prepared to justify it on moral and public grounds. To the Land League's existence and action might be traced the Land Act and the revision of all legislation which pressed heavily on the country at large. So far the Land Act had been a failure. Up to the close of the year an aggregate rental of only 1,800*l.* had been considered, on which a reduction of 400*l.* had been effected at a cost to the country of 9,000*l.* The provisions, moreover, with regard to arrears were unworkable. There were 100,000 tenants in arrears with rents, which the Land Courts declared to be oppressive and unjust; nevertheless, the landlords claimed the right to evict tenants for the non-payment of their arrears. The effect of the course followed by the landlords was that the tenants were obliged to accept any offer of reduction of their rents which the landlords chose to offer, pending at least the full application of the relief causes. "Even if the Land Act came into complete operation to-morrow it would not satisfy the agrarian demands of the people. No matter how speedily the Commissioners might work, the Land Act could not be applied to that part of Ireland to which it was applicable

sooner than in about twenty or thirty years. The tenants of Ireland were not prepared to wait until the twentieth century, nor were they prepared to wait until next year. Seeing that there were no provisions to cancel arrears of rent; that the tenants were liable to eviction and ruin; considering especially the manner in which the landlords were evading the Land Act; considering how they were evicting tenants for arrears of rent; considering how they were saddling costs upon tenants for daring to go into the Land Court, he sincerely hoped the tenants would have the courage and wisdom to stand upon the lines of the "No rent" manifesto. He believed every tenant who paid his rent was enabling the general body of landlords to continue the work of persecution and eviction; and he believed that, in the interests, not only of the tenants, but also of constitutional liberty and fair play, it was the duty of the tenants to withhold obedience to the demands of the landlords until the law was made equal as between landlord and tenant." On the close of Mr. Sexton's speech the debate collapsed, and Mr. McCarthy's amendment having been negatived by 98 to 30 votes, the address was agreed to by 87 against a minority of 22, composed wholly of Irish members.

The debate, however, was not permitted to close at this point. On the following day (Feb. 15), the Report on the Address having been presented, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett and Sir Drummond Wolff arraigned the Ministry on its foreign and colonial policy. The chief point of discussion was the employment of Mr. Errington as an intermediary between the Government and the Vatican. Sir Charles Dilke denied specifically that there were any negotiations or proposals passing between the Pope and the Foreign Office; whilst in Egypt the Government were following exactly in the steps of their predecessors. The concert of Europe was unbroken, and the story of a divergence of opinion between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville upon the Dual Note, in which the latter had been compelled to give way, was a complete fabrication. Mr. Ritchie having pressed upon the Home Secretary the urgency of dealing at once with the water supply of the metropolis, Sir Wm. Harcourt entirely declined the office of mediator between the ratepayers and the shareholders, and maintained that all the authorities were now in favour of leaving the ratepayers to make their own bargain. To create a new water authority would be nearly as much trouble as to create a Government for London, and so he had advised his colleagues; and he threw upon those who opposed his Municipal Bill the responsibility of delaying the settlement of the water question. As for the cost, he did not believe that the delay would increase it by one farthing, for he did not admit the claim of the companies to be bought up at their own price. The new municipal authority would have the option of buying the whole or part of the existing undertakings or of going in for an entirely new supply, and he therefore advised everybody concerned to be no more in a hurry about the matter than he was himself.

The debate then once more drifted back to Irish affairs, and Mr. Gladstone was called upon by the Irish members to give some fuller explanation of his Home Rule speech. On the following evening (Feb. 16) Mr. J. Lowther made a severe attack on the Irish policy of the Government, asserting that they had utilised the agitation and the outrages for the purpose of coercing Parliament. He held that until the Government had entered into competition with the Land League, Mr. Parnell had been moderate in his demands, but that he had borrowed his idea of the "No rent" manifesto from the Disturbance Bill of the Government. Having defended the previous Government from the charge of having no Irish policy, he declared that the Liberals never found out that the land question required further settlement until they got into office. He expressed his firm conviction that all the plans that had been tried in Ireland had failed, with the exception of one—emigration, or, what he preferred still more, migration. He doubted also whether trial by jury could long be maintained in Ireland under existing circumstances. Mr. Gladstone, in reply to the challenge to speak out plainly on the Home Rule question, expressed his surprise at the sensitiveness which had been displayed, inasmuch as he had done nothing but repeat what he had said on previous occasions without objection. A demand from Ireland that purely Irish affairs should be under purely Irish control in his opinion was not so dangerous that it should be refused consideration, but the proper way of meeting it was to require those who proposed it to say what provision they intended to make for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. To that he had never yet received an answer, and he was not prepared to give anything to Ireland which he would not give to England or Scotland. In justifying the Irish administration generally he repudiated emphatically the charge that the Government had utilised the Land League for their own purposes. The League, he pointed out, was in full operation in the time of the late Government, who had taken no effective means to grapple with it; but the present Government, he contended, had arrested the leaders of the Land League at the very first legitimate moment—that is, when, by denouncing the payment of rent as a crime and by punishing it by outrage, they had brought themselves within the words of the Coercion Act.

On the last night of the debate, the questions of agricultural duties, local taxation, and South African policy were touched upon by various speakers, and at length, after a general review of the discussion, by Sir Stafford Northcote, who expressed the hope that the Government would refrain from language which would increase the difficulties of the situation in Ireland, and described Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule speech as something between a dream and an electioneering move, very characteristic but exceedingly dangerous at such a moment. Lord Hartington warmly defended the Government from the charges made by Sir Stafford Northcote and other speakers, and the Report was then finally agreed to by 129 to 14.

At the very time the debate on the address in the House of Commons was reaching the comparatively smooth waters of English and colonial politics, the House of Lords was engaged in a discussion of which the outcome was to fan again into flame the fierce passions of the Home Rule party, and to change completely the whole current of the proposed business of the session. Lord Donoughmore's motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Land Act of the previous session was eagerly supported by the principal Irish landlords, who considered the law unsatisfactory. In his speech, which was received with marked enthusiasm, he declared that the legislation of the previous year had done nothing but cause disorder and promote crime by the spirit which it generated, and in its particular application it had been uniformly hostile to the landlords. He laid stress upon the fact that the Sub-Commissioners were not sworn like magistrates or county court judges as a *primâ facie* ground for charging them with deciding cases without sufficient sense of responsibility. Lord Carlingford, representing the Government, strongly opposed the appointment of a Committee to investigate the operation of an Act which had been barely four months in working existence. The application was premature, and had no precedent, and, irrespective of these considerations, it had nothing to justify it, since no case had been made out that those who in practice rendered the Act had done so improperly or in any way violated their duty. There had been no proof attempted. The application rested upon no more than complaints expressing generalities on behalf of landlords, who naturally disliked reduced incomes. While declining on the part of the Government to be any party to such an inquisition as was contemplated, he predicted that the Act would yet be found to have made landed property more secure than it ever was in Ireland. The Marquis of Waterford instanced cases in support of the application, in which Sub-Commissioners had exhibited apparent feeling in their judicial capacity, and had shown something more than a leaning to the tenants' side. Referring to recent statements on the question of Home Rule, he regarded them as likely to encourage a spirit which threatened one day to destroy the whole landlord order in Ireland. Lord Lansdowne likewise insisted that the Act was not being administered according to the intentions of Parliament, and could hardly be so if only political partisans were to administer it; and the Earl of Kilmorey and Lord Dunraven by turns maintained that the Act of 1882 was quite a different thing in practice from the Act of 1881 which left Parliament. Earl Spencer, who supported the Lord Privy Seal in resistance to the motion, showed that the unfortunate pamphlet episode was the accident of an individual which the Commissioners instantly set right, and that no charge of breach of public trust could be founded upon it. He equally defended the Sub-Commissioners, on the one hand, from the charge of recklessness, and the Government from the still more serious and unfounded charge of having prescribed to them what

line they should follow. The only excuse for an inquiry at this early stage would be, he said, that the Act possessed clauses inconsistent with one another; but such had not been found to be the case. He defended the appointments of the Sub-Commissioners, as of men who were just, impartial, and experienced, and contending with difficulties such as no judicial tribunal had ever to face before. Lord Cairns maintained that if the motion was without precedent, so was the Act. It seemed a measure not for strangling the Land League, but for strangling the landlords and alienating the fee simple of property. The Lord Chancellor repelled the rashness with which imputations of positive criminality had been made against both the Government and those whom they had appointed. As for the proposed Committee, how would that, he asked, set matters any better? On the division which was immediately taken the motion was adopted by 96 votes to 53, twelve Liberal peers voting in the majority.

Except by extreme partisans, who argued that the Act being unprecedented, its opponents were not bound to follow the beaten course, the action of the Lords was condemned on all sides. The *Times* could find no case made out for the proposal, which would unsettle everything and settle nothing; and it could not understand how such an inquiry could be conducted. The *Standard* thought it as well to explain precisely what the motion meant, and what was the contingency which Ministers would have to face. The powers of a Parliamentary Committee being almost unlimited, they might materially interfere with the operations of the Land Act. The Land Commissioners would "have to be brought to England, and much inconvenience must be occasioned by the stoppage of the work of the courts." But the effect of Lord Donoughmore's motion would not end there. It practically amounted, not only to a censure on the Act of the previous session, as that Act had been interpreted by its administrators, but to the temporary paralysis of its machinery. The House of Lords had virtually withdrawn the assent which it reluctantly gave to the Land Act, on the plea that it was based on false pretences. How, asked the Conservative organ, will the Government take such a rebuff as this, which places the Government in a most awkward dilemma, and compromises the Land Act itself?

The reply of the Government to these questions was not long delayed; on the very first opportunity (Feb. 20), Lord Granville, in the House of Lords, stated that the Government refused to take part in the Committee, or to be represented in its ranks; whilst in the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone gave notice that on that day week he would move a resolution declaring that a parliamentary inquiry at that time into the working of the Irish Land Law Act would tend to defeat the operation of that Act, and must be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland. A few days later Lord Donoughmore moved the appointment of his Committee, consisting of fourteen peers, of whom the Duke of

Somerset, Lords Dunraven, Penzance, and Brabourne were the only nominal representatives of Liberal opinion. Lord Lansdowne on the occasion expressed serious objections to the appointment of a body which would be one of "landlord interest" sitting in a quasi-judicial capacity on the Irish Land Commissioners; but Lord Salisbury altogether dissented from any appearance of hesitation or concession. If the House of Lords recognised the right of the House of Commons to censure their proceedings, the action of the Peers would be seriously hampered in the future. The objects of the Committee had been misrepresented; they would neither try the Commissioners nor seek to repeal the Land Act. Any change they might propose would be in the direction of redressing the wrongs of the landlords rather than in that of diminishing any of the advantages which the tenants had acquired. After a protest from Lord Granville the Committee was nominated without a division.

CHAPTER III.

The Procedure Resolutions—Mr. Marriott's Amendment—Mr. Bradlaugh's self-administered Oath and Resignation—The Northampton Election—Mr. Bradlaugh's Expulsion—Lord Redesdale's and the Duke of Argyll's Remedies—The Lords' Committees on the House of Commons—Army and Navy Estimates—Duke of Albany's Allowance—The Fair Trade Debate—Progress of Public Business.

SOME time before the opportunity of explaining the new Rules of Procedure arrived, their general purport was pretty accurately known. The chief point of discussion, it was foreseen, would be raised on the proposal to accord to a bare majority the right of closing a debate, but it was anticipated that with moderate luck the Government would be able not only to settle this point, but to carry its other proposals before the House rose for the Easter recess. The time spent on the debate on the Address would, under ordinary circumstances, have helped on the resolution, for the need of some means of economising valuable time was forcibly brought home both to members of the House of Commons and to their constituents. The arguments of the opponents to the so-called "Gagging Resolution" were not only based upon the traditional rights of the minority, but also on the ground that the privileges of private members, already much restricted since the earlier days of constitutional government, were in imminent danger of being altogether ignored. On one side, moreover, it was asserted that the resolutions were too strong, and that their mere discussion would lead to a violent reaction amongst those who had up to that time consistently supported the Government on account of its advanced Liberalism; on the other hand, not a few like Mr. Bryce, the Radical member for the Tower Hamlets, held the proposals to err on the score of weakness, and to be incapable of grappling with evils which were rapidly assuming the proportions of a grave political danger. To such the prospect of a closure by the simple vote

of the majority, without the intervention of the Speaker or any other condition, seemed a probable eventuality, and one which might alone restore to private members their proper share in legislation. The new rules, as laid upon the table of the House on the first night of the session, ran as follows :—

I. PROCEDURE. 1. *Putting the Question.*—That when it shall appear to Mr. Speaker, or to the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, during any debate, to be the evident sense of the House, or of the Committee, that the question be now put, he may so inform the House; and, if a motion be made “That the question be now put,” Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman, shall forthwith put such question; and, if the same be decided in the affirmative, the question under discussion shall be put forthwith: provided that the question shall not be decided in the affirmative, if a division be taken, unless it shall appear to have been supported by more than two hundred members, or to have been opposed by less than forty members.

2. *Motions for Adjournment before Public Business.*—That no motion for the adjournment of the House shall be made, except by leave of the House, before the orders of the day or notices of motion have been entered upon.

Debates on Motions for Adjournment.—3. That when a motion is made for the adjournment of a debate, or of the House, during any debate, or that the Chairman of a Committee do report progress, or do leave the chair, the debate thereupon shall be strictly confined to the matter of such motion; and no member having spoken to any such motion shall be entitled to move or second any similar motion during the same debate or during the same sitting of the Committee.

4. *Divisions.*—That when, before a division, the decision of Mr. Speaker, or of the Chairman of a Committee, that the “Ayes” or “Noes” have it, is challenged, Mr. Speaker, or Chairman, may call upon the members challenging it to rise in their places; and if they do not exceed twenty, he may forthwith declare the determination of the House, or of the Committee.

5. *Irrelevance or Repetition.*—That Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of Committee, may call the attention of the House, or of the Committee, to continued irrelevance, or tedious repetition on the part of a member; and may direct the member to discontinue his speech.

6. *Postponement of Preamble.*—That in Committee on a bill, the preamble do stand postponed until after the consideration of the clauses, without question put.

7. *Chairman to Leave the Chair without Question.*—That when the Chairman of a Committee has been ordered to make a report to the House, he shall leave the chair, without question put.

8. *Half-past Twelve o’Clock Rule.*—To add to the Standing Order of February 18, 1879, the following words :—“But this rule shall not apply to the motion for leave to bring in a bill, nor to any bill which has passed through Committee.”

9. *Order in Debate.*—To amend the Standing Order of February 28, 1880, as follows:—"That whenever any member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the chair, or abusing the rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed in the House, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, on a motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, 'That such member be suspended from the service of the House;' and, if the offence has been committed in a Committee of the whole House, the Chairman shall, on a motion being made, put the same question in a similar way, and if the motion is carried shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the Committee, and report the circumstances to the House, and the Speaker shall thereupon put the same question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the House itself. If any member be suspended under this order, his suspension on the first occasion shall continue for a week, on the second occasion for a month, and on the third occasion for the remainder of the session, provided always that nothing in the resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any members according to ancient usages."

10. *Debates on Motions for Adjournment.*—That if Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, shall be of opinion that a motion for the adjournment of a debate, or of the House during any debate, or that the Chairman do report progress, or do leave the chair, is made for the purpose of obstruction, he may forthwith put the question thereupon from the Chair.

11. *Consideration of a Bill as Amended.*—That on reading the order of the day for the consideration of a bill as amended, the House do proceed to consider the same without question put, unless the member in charge thereof shall desire to postpone its consideration, or notice has been given to recommit the bill.

12. *Motions on going into Committee of Supply.*—That whenever the Committee of Supply appointed for the consideration of the ordinary Army, Naval, and Civil Service Estimates stands as the first Order of the Day on a Monday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the chair without putting any question, unless an amendment be moved or question raised relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply, on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively.

II. STANDING COMMITTEES. 1. *Standing Committees on Law and Courts of Justice, Trade, &c.*—That two Standing Committees be appointed for the consideration of all bills relating to law and courts of justice, and to trade, shipping, and manufactures which may be committed to them respectively.

2. *Nomination by Committee of Selection.*—That the said

Standing Committee do consist of not less than sixty nor more than eighty members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection, who shall have regard to the classes of bills committed to such committees, to the composition of the House, and to the qualifications of the members selected, and shall have power to add and discharge members from time to time, provided the number of eighty be not exceeded.

3. *Commitment and Report of Bills.*—That all bills comprised in each of the said classes shall be committed to one of the said Standing Committees, unless the House shall otherwise order; and when reported to the House shall be proceeded with as if they had been reported from a Committee of the whole House.

The order book rapidly filled with notices of amendment, and before the day arrived (Feb. 20) on which the first resolution was moved by Mr. Gladstone, the nature and extent of the opposition was pretty generally known, and although Sir Stafford Northcote had given notice of his intention of making it the battlefield of a party conflict, precedence was ultimately accorded to Mr. Marriott, Q.C., the Liberal member for Brighton, who came forward with a distinct amendment to the effect that no alteration of the rules of debate would be satisfactory which gave a majority the power of closing a debate. He condemned in the strongest terms both the proposal itself and the manner in which it had been forced on the Liberal party by the machinery of the caucus. There was no precedent, he said, in the history of the House for such a proposal; and as to foreign assemblies, to which he thought it a humiliation to refer for an example, he urged that none had the power of the House of Commons, and that the bitterness of party feeling which distinguished most of them arose from the suppression of free speech. After referring to former speeches of Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Dodson, and Mr. Gladstone against the closure, he quoted on the other side the declaration of Mr. Chamberlain that it was required to carry certain measures against the will of the Opposition; and believing Mr. Chamberlain to be a dangerous man, he was all the more determined to oppose the innovation. To the general surprise Mr. Chamberlain did not rise to answer the attack made upon him and his supposed influence in the Cabinet and the constituencies. It was therefore left to Mr. Goschen to speak in the name of that section of the Liberal Whigs with which he had identified himself since the formation of the Ministry, and on him fell the task of proving that many of the party on whom Mr. Marriott relied for support had become convinced, through the events of the last few sessions, of the need of drastic remedies. Mr. Raikes, on behalf of the Conservatives, deprecated a change which sooner or later must convert the Speaker into a partisan; and by which the majority as well as the minority would be speedily demoralised.

In the interval which elapsed before the debate could be resumed on the next Ministerial night, Mr. Bradlaugh succeeded in making himself the hero of another dramatic incident, and in in-

roducing fresh elements of discord and discussion into an already overburdened Parliament. On February 21, Mr. Labouchere, with a very brief announcement of his purpose, moved a new writ for Northampton, and urged the Conservatives who had refused to admit Mr. Bradlaugh, to push their refusal to its logical conclusion, and to declare the seat vacant. The Government, through the Attorney-General, adhered to the line it had throughout adopted, and declared that the proper way out of the dilemma was to allow Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat, and then to have his fitness decided by the legal tribunals. Mr. Labouchere's motion, in a mutilated form, was rejected by an overwhelming majority, only eighteen members beside the tellers voting in its support. Scarcely, however, had the numbers of the division been announced, when Mr. Bradlaugh, who had occupied a seat beyond the bar, strode to the table, and, while the House looked on, at first dumb with wonder and then loud in rage, drew a Testament from his pocket, and in slow tones proceeded to administer the oath to himself. He next produced a declaration paper, and, having signed it, deposited the vouchers of his attestation on the table. These ceremonies concluded, he withdrew below the gangway and took his accustomed seat on one of the benches. At the bidding of the Speaker, he retired beyond the bar, whereupon Lord Randolph Churchill declared that the seat was now vacated. Sir Henry James recalled to mind the fact that Mr. Bradlaugh had neither voted nor sat during a debate, so that there was doubt whether the statute had been broken. Mr. Labouchere, on behalf of Mr. Bradlaugh, promised to give no further trouble if only some of the Opposition would raise the question at law, which might now be decided in ten or twelve days. Lord Randolph Churchill drew attention to an aspect of the case graver than the legal one—the wanton insult which he said had been offered to the House. Mr. Gladstone advised reflection and patience in dealing with a very trying matter. It wore now two aspects—that of insult to the dignity of Parliament and that of breach of the law; but the two should be kept distinct, and while the House had power to expel for the one, it was by no means the proper authority to deal with the other, which was the only one now in question. He advised a truce until the following day—a suggestion cordially approved of by Mr. Gibson and Sir Stafford Northcote, the latter, however, pressing the Government not to allow the outrage upon the House to pass unnoticed. This point was supported by Sir R. Cross, who wished the Government to give a pledge immediately; but calmer considerations prevailed, and the matter was postponed until the next day, when, it being Ash Wednesday, the House did not meet until two o'clock.

When the House reassembled there was a very full attendance of members on both sides, and without any delay Mr. Gladstone at once announced that the Cabinet, having met and considered the position, were agreed that some provision should be made to prevent the recurrence of such scandalous scenes as had been

recently witnessed. He repeated his opinion that the points of law upon which Lord Randolph Churchill would declare the seat vacant were of a kind which it would be dangerous for the House to adjudicate upon. It was peculiarly the function of a legal tribunal to decide whether the form in which Mr. Bradlaugh had taken the oath was illegal, and, if it was, whether the form in which he had taken his seat was illegal. But while there were serious doubts as to whether these acts were statutably invalid, there was, he said, no doubt of Mr. Bradlaugh's repeated and flagrant disobedience of the resolutions of the House. In so far as the Government were concerned, however, they should leave it to the majority who had passed these resolutions to find the method of vindicating them. Sir Stafford Northcote differed from Mr. Gladstone, and thought there had been not merely disobedience of the House, which was admitted, but direct and unpardonable defiance of the Chair, and that the leader of the House ought to take the initiative in vindicating the outraged authority and decorum. Failing that, he should himself propose no further penalty upon Mr. Bradlaugh than exclusion from the precincts of the House, so that he might not again be able to disturb good order. Mr. Newdegate, who thought the punishment and the precaution alike inadequate, suggested the withdrawal of Lord Randolph Churchill's motion. Mr. Labouchere insisted that Mr. Bradlaugh had technically fulfilled the requirements both of the Oaths Act and of the Standing Orders, that Lord Randolph Churchill's motion was illegal, Sir Stafford Northcote's unjust, and Dr. Lyons's preposterous—the latter declaring Mr. Bradlaugh guilty of profanation and incapable of sitting. Lord Randolph Churchill, after condemning the proposition of the leader of the Conservative party as a thing of milk-and-water, one of the surprises of the time, and insufficient to meet what he termed the scandalous mummeries by which Mr. Bradlaugh had crowned his acts of insult, consented to have his motion negatived. On Dr. Lyons's proposal the Attorney-General warned the House that to adopt a declaration of Mr. Bradlaugh's incapacity to sit would be passing beyond its powers, though of its powers to punish contempt there could be no doubt. Mr. Labouchere wished that Mr. Bradlaugh should be heard in defence; and Mr. Bradlaugh, who had for some time been at the bar, then advanced within the body of the House and took a seat, which he maintained his right to keep and speak from, disputing the point with the Speaker, though withdrawing at his order. The incident produced an irritating effect on an assembly already inflamed with the question of his contempt, and permission to speak was refused him. Dr. Lyons's amendment was then withdrawn, and that of Sir Stafford Northcote having been negatived for the purpose of replacing it by a more stringent one, he proposed in its stead that Mr. Bradlaugh be expelled for contempt and contumacy in pretending to take the oath. Technically all the proposals had been amendments to the original

motion of Lord Randolph Churchill, of which the vital word "that" was the sole rudiment left. Two divisions were therefore taken on the new proposition. In the first division, in which Mr. Bradlaugh himself took the liberty of voting, the numbers were 291 for and 83 against, and in the second 297 to 80. The sentence of expulsion being thus complete, a new writ was moved for and granted without challenge. In the first division, Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James (Attorney-General), Sir T. Brassey, and Mr. Goschen voted in the majority; Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Mundella, and Mr. Courtney voted in the minority; Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Fawcett left the House and did not vote, but the Irish members of all parties voted in the majority. At Lincoln's Inn, where before the Court of Appeal the question of granting a new trial in the case of *Clarke v. Bradlaugh* had been argued, the latter was also unsuccessful, and the decision of the court below given in Mr. Bradlaugh's favour was reversed. It therefore only remained for Mr. Bradlaugh to turn once more to the electors at Northampton to see whether their allegiance towards their chosen representative was still unbroken. Mr. Corbett, who had contested the seat on the previous occasion, again offered himself; but although he polled a larger number of votes than in 1881, Mr. Bradlaugh at the same time found a greatly increased number of supporters, and polled almost as many as at the general election, his votes in 1880 being 3,827; in 1881, 3,437; and on the present occasion 3,796. So far, therefore, as regarded Mr. Bradlaugh and the House of Commons the position remained unchanged, and it was left for Mr. Bradlaugh either to decide to repeat his tactics or for the majority to devise some means of insuring a dignified retreat from an untenable position. Sir Stafford Northcote, in order probably to avoid a repetition of the scenes which had occurred, decided to anticipate Mr. Bradlaugh's intrusion, and in reply to his question on March 6 the Speaker stated that the certificate of Mr. Bradlaugh's return for Northampton had been received. He held moreover that the resolution of February 7, 1881, forbidding Mr. Bradlaugh to take the oath, ceased to apply when that gentleman vacated his seat, and that it did not revive on his re-election. Sir S. Northcote thereupon said that as it was in Mr. Bradlaugh's power to come down, not only at the beginning, but at the end of business, when the matter could not be discussed, it would be desirable, he thought, to revive the resolution. He therefore moved that "the House, having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for Northampton, affirms the Sessional Resolution of February 7, and directs that he be not permitted to take the oath." Mr. Marjoribanks moved, as an amendment to this, a resolution in favour of modifying the existing law, so as to permit every elected member to take the oath or affirmation at his option. In moving this, he said that he was not actuated by any

sympathy for Mr. Bradlaugh, whose conduct in and out of the House had created disgust and indignation, and of whose most recent action in the House he spoke as "an unworthy manœuvre." Mr. Labouchere took exception to this, but the Speaker said he was not prepared to interfere. Mr. Labouchere engaged for Mr. Bradlaugh that if the amendment were carried and a bill brought in and prosecuted with reasonable speed he would not present himself at the table again until some decision had been arrived at. Mr. Gladstone said that, having entire reliance on this assurance, he would support the amendment, and remarked, with regard to the motion, that it went further than any previous resolution, and was no longer a defensive but an aggressive motion. In fact, it amounted to a personal disqualification, and as to legislation, though he did not believe in its necessity, he thought it would furnish an escape for many from a painful position. After some discussion the House divided, when Sir S. Northcote's resolution was carried by a majority of 15—257 to 242.

The majority, though very slight, would have been still smaller had not the division been taken somewhat earlier than was anticipated, in consequence of which some votes in favour of Mr. Marjoribanks' amendment were lost. In the majority there were 14 Liberals and 25 Home Rulers; whilst of the former party Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Dodson and thirty or forty others left the House without voting. The practical leadership of the House was again left to Sir Stafford Northcote, the Government allowing it to be known that they had abandoned all idea of introducing an Affirmation Bill, and a tacit understanding was made with Mr. Bradlaugh that if he would give an assurance not to disturb or take part in the proceedings of the House, he would be allowed a seat outside the bar; but that in case of his refusal or non-compliance he would be prevented from entering the precincts of the House.

In the House of Lords, however, a further step was attempted on the Oaths Question, though not with the view of lending help to Mr. Bradlaugh. Lord Redesdale gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill, the object of which was to exclude Atheists from Parliament. The second reading of this measure was taken on March 23, when Lord Shaftesbury at once rose to move the previous question, and observed that the wording of the bill was so indefinite that it would not be a declaration of belief in the Deity whom Jews and Christians acknowledged. The amendment was agreed to without a division, and the bill abandoned.

Three months later (July 4), the Duke of Argyll attempted to apply a remedy to this state of things by introducing a bill which would enable all men to make an affirmation to whom the oath was objectionable on any ground whatever. On this occasion Lord Carnarvon followed virtually the same line as had been taken by Lord Shaftesbury in dealing with Lord Redesdale's bill. He declined to be a party to passing a Bradlaugh Relief Bill, and

therefore moved as an amendment that nothing had arisen in the proceedings of the House of Lords which made it expedient to alter the existing law. This view was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others; and on a division the bill was thrown out by 138 against 62 votes, the peers thus showing an unwillingness to relax for the Commons their conscientious scruples, as they had declined in the case of the Earl of Redesdale's motion to make the burden more onerous, or the restrictions imposed upon members more severe.

The apparently imminent conflict, however, between the two Houses of Parliament absorbed general attention to such an extent that little notice was taken of the Northampton election. On the morning of the day on which Mr. Gladstone was to move his Vote of Censure on the House of Lords a rumour was diligently circulated that Mr. Gladstone intended to resign. Nothing, as the result proved, was further from his intention, for at a meeting of the Liberal party, held at his official residence during the afternoon, the Prime Minister was able to prove to the world that he was, in spite of certain minor divergences, the trusted leader of a large Parliamentary majority. He had called his supporters together to explain to them how unwillingly he had accepted the challenge thrown down by the House of Lords, and that he was unable to consent to having the time and trouble expended on the Land Act thrown away; and he strenuously opposed the right of the House of Lords to interfere with the current judgments of the Irish Judges. When an hour later the House of Commons met Mr. Gladstone at once proposed the postponement of the orders of the day until after the resolutions of which he had given notice. He fully admitted the inconvenience of the proposal, and even at that moment the Government were ready to waive their other objections to the Lords' Committee, if they could be sure that the inquiry would not be extended to the judicial work of the Land Court. Sir Stafford Northcote first raised an objection to the course proposed by the Prime Minister, who now wished to set aside business which he had himself declared to be urgent. Moreover, after this hint thrown out by Mr. Gladstone, some further delay was obviously necessary, whilst no vote taken in the Commons could ensure the result with which the Government declared they would be satisfied. A somewhat desultory debate followed, but the postponement of the orders of the day was at length voted by 300 against 167; the Right Honorable Spencer Walpole being the only Conservative voting with the majority. The smallness of the minority was accounted for on the ground that the division was solely due to the insistence of the Irish party, two of whom acted as tellers, while sixteen advanced Home Rulers voted in the minority. The Conservative leaders, although voting, were opposed to the division, from which a considerable number of the party absented themselves.

Mr. Gladstone then moved his resolution that parliamentary

inquiry at that time into the working of the Land Act would tend to defeat its operation, and must be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland. Replying to the objection that it was a vote of censure on the House of Lords, he pointed out that contradictory declarations of the two Houses had been frequent in our history. Of this he mentioned several precedents, laying, however, the chief stress on Lord Ebrington's motion in 1831 on the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords. He disclaimed, therefore, altogether the suggestion that he desired to censure the other House, but he appealed to the House of Commons to make a declaration of the highest political importance. Describing the trying crisis with which the Government found itself face to face in October last, he pointed out that there were then only two forces in Ireland—the Land League and the Land Act. Calling the House to witness that his offer of a compromise had not been accepted, he argued that the Lords' Committee must inquire into the judicial proceedings of the Land Court, they must summon before them a number of judicial agents by whom the Act was administered, and they must examine them as to the motives by which their judgments had been guided. But Parliament, in the Land Act, had deliberately provided that none of the questions arising before the Commissioners should come before the Lords in their appellate capacity, and it was neither expedient nor tolerable that the relations between landlord and tenant as affected by the Land Court should be overhauled by a promiscuous inquiry of this kind. The confidence of the Irish people would be vitally impaired if they had reason to believe that the House of Commons would countenance any tampering with the Act. It was to the Land Act that the Government looked for the restoration of order and good government in Ireland, and the Government would not be responsible for anything which could interfere with its working.

Mr. Gibson asked why the arguments just used by Mr. Gladstone had not been addressed by his colleagues to the other House. Not a syllable about the interference with judicial administration had been mentioned, and all the strong language about the elements of social danger, &c., was merely a second thought. The precedents cited by the Prime Minister, he maintained, were inapplicable, while Lord Lifford's Committee of 1872 on the first Land Act, which did not in any way hinder or prejudice its working, was a precedent entirely the other way. There were many points arising out of the unforeseen operation of the Land Act which required investigation, and the Prime Minister must be aware that the debate which he was provoking would lead to a more searching and more unreserved examination of the Land Act than any inquiry by the Lords' Committee; and, believing that the resolution could result in nothing but harm, he met it by moving the previous question.

This conclusion was so unexpected that throughout the remainder of the night the debate was with difficulty kept going;

and the belief that some compromise would be arrived at grew rapidly. This idea was strengthened when it was known on the authority of the *Standard* that at the first meeting of the Lords' Committee, held on the day following the opening of the debate in the Commons, before separating the members of the Committee defined the limits within which their inquiry should be confined. They held out the promise that the general principles which the working of the Act had developed, rather than any special details, would be their chief object. In a word, they were ready to exclude any interference with the judicial administration of the Land Act, and to limit themselves to the investigation of the qualifications of the Sub-Commissioners. No adequate proof, however, was given of the Lords' intentions, so that the debate was resumed on March 2, and, in spite of Sir M. Hicks-Beach's declaration that there was a complete variance between the meaning of the order of reference as interpreted by the Lords' Committee and Mr. Gladstone, was prolonged throughout the night and again adjourned. Two more valuable Government nights were devoted to the long discussion, out of which arose little more than Mr. P. J. Smyth's attack on the policy of the Land League, and a temporary alliance between the Conservatives and the "Mountain" of the Home Rulers, led by Mr. O'Donnell; and on March 9 a division took place on the main question, when Mr. Gladstone's resolution was carried, after the previous question had been negatived, by 303 to 235. The division was a strictly party one, except that thirty-nine Home Rulers, without distinction of party, voted with the Conservatives, whilst the remaining members of the same party absented themselves.

The exigencies of Supply then required the postponement of the debates on Procedure for ten days, and it was not until March 20 that the discussion on the first resolution could be resumed; in the course of which Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, declared their intention to stand by the principle of closure by a bare majority. Sir John Lubbock was the principal speaker on the Liberal side, who, foreseeing the dangers which might ensue, urged the Government to reconsider their determination on this point; and in this he was supported on a subsequent occasion (March 28) by Mr. Walter, who appealed to the Government to consent to some such compromise as a two-thirds majority.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach said no advantage which could be gained would compensate for the loss of the mutual goodwill and friendly feeling which had hitherto regulated the relations of parties and the conduct of business; and the Government would be wise if it made some concession to secure something like a general assent to its proposals. Nothing had occurred to justify a proposal to take away liberty of speech from the many to restrain the licence of a few. The irritation produced by such unnecessary restrictions might lead to "filibustering," "stone-walling," and other excesses of obstruction, which would discredit the House more than anything which had

yet occurred. Sir William Harcourt argued that under the present system—which the House, by the amendment before it, was asked to say it would not alter—a reckless and unpatriotic minority might stop supplies and prevent any business at all being done. The safeguard against a misuse of the power of the majority was the certain retribution with which public opinion would visit them, but without such a change of procedure he argued that a sort of *liberum veto* would be conferred on an irresponsible minority, the result of which would be that nothing whatever would be done. After commenting on the combination between the Conservatives and the Parnellites, he warned the Conservatives that, if they succeeded in turning out the Government, their allies of to-day would become their masters of to-morrow; but he predicted with confidence that the result of the division would be to vindicate the ancient fame of the House of Commons.

Two more nights were devoted to the discussion of this central clause of the first resolution, with little novelty of argument on either side. The principal outcome of the debate seemed to be the clearer evidence that under the guise of the rights of minorities the Liberal party was gradually being disintegrated, and that at all events for the moment there seemed the danger of an unnatural alliance between the Conservatives and the advanced Radicals. The line assumed by Mr. Whitbread, who gave a hearty support to the Ministerial proposals, dispelled the idea which was at one time current that the independent Whigs might join this coalition. Nevertheless the Ministerialists up to the last day were by no means confident of the result; and the majority on which it was said they could reckon was placed at a very low figure. Mr. Bright's speech, with which the last night's debate (March 30) opened, was of a character to decide some waverers to support the Government proposal. He strongly held to the view, admitted on all sides, that under existing rules the difficulty of getting through the necessary business of the session was insuperable. The resolution under discussion was rather not stringent enough than overstringent, and the safeguards with which it was surrounded made it impossible that any injustice could be done in bringing to a close a debate which had been unduly prolonged. The ministerial proposal would press less severely on small minorities than the two-thirds majority, while large minorities could take care of themselves, and would require no protection. Describing the alarm of the Opposition as "simulated," he reminded them that they had expressed similar groundless alarms at the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Reform Bill of 1866, and on other occasions. He treated as a mere bugbear the suggestion that the Speaker would at any time lend himself to an improper use of the power, and in conclusion, pointing out that a certain portion of the Irish party whose designs he illustrated by reference to the Chicago Convention had declared war against the House of Commons and had avowed their intention to make government by Parliament impossible, he appealed to the

Conservatives, whose patriotism he admitted, and to all other members to assist the Government in enabling Parliament to perform its duties.

Colonel Stanley regretted that Mr. Bright had offered no proof that the alarm of the Opposition was ungrounded and had said nothing to remove it. He disputed Lord Hartington's contention that members had no personal rights of speech, and argued that the difficulties by which the Government justified their present proposal would be met by the subsequent resolutions. Whatever might be Mr. Gladstone's intention as to the manner in which the closure should be worked, the utterances of younger Ministers made it clear that it was to be used very actively, and, interpreting it according to the letter, he argued that it might be used to prevent amendments being moved in Committee and in other ways to fetter debate. He objected also that it would place the Speaker and the Chairman in an invidious position. Disclaiming all desire to embarrass the Government, he urged them to content themselves with a less stringent proposal.

Mr. Sexton, speaking on behalf of the advanced Home Rulers, protested that, notwithstanding the terrorism of police and military, the Irish people had declared emphatically against this attempt to silence their representatives, and would condemn every man who was accessory to it. In a bitter reply to Mr. Bright, he characterised him as the most completely "extinct volcano," and spoke of his speech as displaying not only moral retrogression but intellectual decay, and defied him or any other Minister to mention a word or act of the Irish party which was inconsistent with their oath of allegiance. As to the proposal before the House, he thought it would make little difference to the Irish party, and he believed it would obliterate the three chief features on which the position of the House of Commons rested—the peculiar position of the Speaker, the willingness of the majority to allow the minority to have their say, and the acquiescence of the minority in accomplished facts. He regarded it also as an act of revenge on the Irish party and a mobilisation of forces for further hostilities, and those who voted for it would be voting for fresh coercion.

The conclusion of the debate was left for the two party leaders. Sir Stafford Northcote, after alluding to the apparent rapid change of front of certain Radical members, proceeded to state his objections to the manner in which the question was placed before the House, and contended that, though the Government was right in giving an impelling force to the discussion, they should have allowed the House freely to decide on the question without the threat of a ministerial catastrophe. The readiness with which this pressure had been accepted was an evil omen for the spirit in which the Rules would be worked. Touching on the various forms in which obstruction manifested itself, he asserted that the subsequent resolutions would greatly diminish the opportunities for it. To the spirit of those resolutions he was perfectly ready to subscribe,

but no man could tell how the closure would work, except that it would produce irritation and animosity, would gravely compromise the position of the Speaker and Chairman of Committees, and would endanger liberty of speech and weaken the influence and character of the House. Mr. Gladstone maintained that the question raised by the amendment was not whether there should be a closure by a bare majority, but whether we should introduce into our parliamentary system in any form a limitation of debate. The Government, in the manner in which they had introduced the question, had taken the course best calculated to lead to a settlement, and he protested against this being represented as a threat. He professed himself utterly unable to understand the alarm which had filled the minds of the Opposition, and ridiculed the suggestion that the Speaker would ever conduct himself in manner to forfeit the confidence of the whole House. Granting that the majority ever were filled with the abominable spirit of tyranny, the minority had ample means of defending itself; and he believed that the closure would be applied only on few occasions, and in clear cases. Replying to Mr. McCarthy, he denied emphatically that closure was intended to prepare the way for coercion, and declared that it was crime and not closure which would make coercion possible. It would be applied judiciously and cautiously to check amplitude of debate, and in all probability the expectation that it would be applied would have an equal effect. The Government did not ask the House now to decide on their proposal, but they asked it, by rejecting the amendment, not to shut the door against a principle which would defeat the individual folly and the darker designs of those who would stand between the House and the discharge of its duties.

The House then divided, when there appeared 318 in favour of the Government proposal and 279 against it—a majority of about ten in excess of the most hopeful expectations of the Ministerialists. Of the Irish Home Rule party 39 voted against the Government and 14 in its favour, whilst 7 absented themselves; three of them compulsorily—being detained in prison. Five Liberals only voted against the Government, Mr. Walter, Sir Edward Watkin, and Mr. P. A. Taylor—with the two tellers, Mr. Marriott and Mr. Joseph Cowen (Newcastle); but the sixteen absentees included representatives of both the Whig and the extreme Radical sections of the Liberal party.

The hope once entertained of finishing the discussion of the New Rules before Easter had been abandoned early in the Session; but although when the House adjourned only one small clause of the first rule had been accepted, confident hopes were expressed that in the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide the new system of procedure would have been adopted, and the legislation promised in the Queen's Speech fairly launched. The course of events, however, singularly upset the calculations of both the friends and foes of the new rules, and until the end of a session interrupted in the middle of August, only one opportunity could be found of

discussing proposals which the Prime Minister and every member of his Cabinet had on frequent occasions pronounced to be of paramount importance, and without which they had asserted the conduct of public business to be hopeless.

The debate on the Procedure Resolutions, adjourned from the 30th of March, was once more resumed on the 1st May, when Mr. O'Donnell moved an amendment requiring that the rule should be put in motion by a Minister of the Crown, and not the Speaker. In support of it he urged that the Speaker had no responsibility to the country, and that if he were endowed with this power he would inevitably become a minion of the Ministry of the day. Lord G. Hamilton shared entirely in Mr. O'Donnell's fears as to the effects of this rule on the future position of the Speaker. Either he must become a partisan and must forfeit the confidence of the minority, or he must incur the animosity of the majority which had placed him in the chair, and which would contend that he had no discretionary power. He proposed to amend Mr. O'Donnell's amendment by giving a share of the initiative not only to the Minister but to the member in charge of the subject. Mr. Gladstone, after expressing his entire incredulity as to the exaggerated apprehension of the opponents of the Rule, admitted that there was something to be said for placing the initiative entirely in the hands of the Minister or of members. But the Government, after full consideration, had concluded that the strongest security against abuse would be to give it to the Speaker. But this amendment was neither one nor the other. It established a system of mixed and divided responsibility, which would certainly go further to involve the Speaker in party communications than the rule as it now stood. Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Torrens spoke against the Speaker being involved, the latter remarking that to sacrifice the independence and impartiality of the chair would be fatal to the authority of the House, and would convert the House of Commons into a House of Caucus. Mr. Newdegate, while not approving either of the amendments, condemned the closure, and laid on Mr. Gladstone and Sir S. Northcote the blame of the confusion and disorder which had given rise to the proposal. Mr. Bright expressed his astonishment at the view taken of this particular question by the Opposition, and maintained that the Rule as it stood was much more favourable to minorities, and especially small minorities, than the amendment. Lord G. Hamilton ultimately withdrew his amendment, and the House divided on that proposed by Mr. O'Donnell, which was negatived by 220 to 164. Subsequent events, as will be seen, prevented the resumption of the debate, and at the rising of the House in August only two small points connected with the first resolution had been discussed, and by neither party was it assumed that the principle of a bare majority, or of the undirected judgment of the Speaker to close discussion, had been finally adopted by the divisions on Mr. Marriott's and Mr. O'Donnell's amendments.

Before adjourning for the recess, the Army and Navy estimates had been explained to the House. In introducing the former, which in round numbers showed an expenditure of 15,500,000*l.*, Mr. Childers (March 13) explained that the savings effected on Army works, and by the closing of the South African war, were in some degree counterbalanced by the increased pay which it was proposed to give to non-commissioned officers, by the purchase of horses, by the additional payments to volunteers, and the re-armament of the navy. Explaining the operation of his recruiting scheme he showed that the twelve battalions at home at the head of the roster had been brought up virtually to the full strength of 11,400. As to the Reserves, he said that from the previous May to March 1, 7,126 men had gone into the Reserve, while 2,266 had been discharged, making a net addition of 4,860, or about 500 a month. Since July 1 about 2,300 had gone into the Reserve under the new arrangement before completing their six years, and the actual strength of the Reserve was 25,121, which would make up seventy-one battalions to the war strength of 1,000, without calling on the Militia Reserve. With regard to the cavalry, he postponed any reorganization of this arm until the following year; but the artillery would be dealt with, and there would be at home eleven fixed artillery depôts, chiefly at or near the coast. Reviewing the operation of the retirement scheme, he said the minimum of general officers—namely, 119—would be reached in 1883-4, and of regimental officers—4,600—in 1884-5. With regard to the auxiliary forces, a larger number of militia would be trained this year with the line, and 80,000 or 90,000 Martini-Henrys would be issued to them. The volunteers' camp allowance would be increased, so that 20,000 additional men might go into camp during the year. In the course of the same week (March 16) Mr. Trevelyan was, after a less protracted opposition than had been shown to the Secretary for War, allowed to explain the intentions of the Admiralty with regard to the Navy. The sum required for the service of the year was very slightly in excess of the estimate of the previous year, amounting to nearly ten and a half millions. With these funds it was proposed to increase the tonnage of the navy by rather over twenty thousand tons, of which two-thirds (15,502 tons) would be built in public yards, and the remainder (4,640) in private yards. Before the year ended two new ironclads would be laid down, and some of our existing ironclads would be made fit for service. As to guns, he said the "Conqueror" would this year be armed with the 43-ton gun; the "Majestic" and the "Colossus" would also be armed with it, and no large gun of the old type would be served out hereafter. The Admiralty proposed to lay down a new auxiliary ship, like the "Polyphemus," but smaller, cheaper, and handier; and the cruisers, such as the "Leander," "Arethusa," and "Phaeton," would be pushed on to completion. There would be no sailing vessel constructed or bought for training purposes this

year; but the commander-in-chief on each station would collect his ships every season for a cruise in which officers and men will be trained in sailing manœuvres. Mr. Trevelyan also described the steps which had been taken to improve the condition and prospects of the Royal Marines. As regards the officers, every lieutenant would receive his promotion after twelve years' service without forcing any officer out of the service; and the staff of officers—356 as against 391, which has now been fixed as the establishment—would fully suffice for all the duties and keep up the flow of promotion. At the same time, the pay and other advantages of the non-commissioned officers and men were raised in the same proportion as the pay, &c., of the regular army. Referring to the changes in the engineering department, he stated that the number of officers would for the present be fixed at 650, instead of their present establishment of 832; and the duties for which commissioned officers were not needed would be gradually transferred to the class of engine-room artificers, decreasing the engineers as long as their united number did not exceed 800. Certain changes were to be introduced at the Admiralty; where two seats would be added to the existing, of which one would be filled by the Controller of the Navy, and the other by a person of high engineering knowledge and administrative capacity. For the latter post Mr. G. Rendel, who had long been associated with Sir W. Armstrong, as a maker of marine machinery, had been selected. In future, also, there would be only one Secretary to the Admiralty in addition to the Parliamentary Secretary.

The proposals of the Government with regard to the Duke of Albany (Prince Leopold) were not allowed to pass without a strong protest on the part of certain Radical members. Mr. Gladstone moved that the Prince's existing allowance of 10,000*l.* should be increased to 25,000*l.*, and that the allowance to the Princess Helen, if left a widow, should be fixed at 6,000*l.* To the first resolution Mr. Labouchere proposed a direct negative, grounding his opposition on three objections. In the first place, he quoted the observation of Mr. Fox in 1792, that such a grant ought not to be made until it had been shown that the Civil List was inadequate. Next he asserted that these grants had never been made except when the succession to the Crown was in question, and finally maintained, on the ground of economy, that 15,000*l.* was an income amply sufficient for the young couple. Mr. Broadhurst, while disclaiming any imputation of disloyalty, opposed the grant as extraordinary and extravagant. Mr. Healy said he was indifferent whether he was considered loyal or disloyal, but he intended to oppose the vote, because he was opposed to "any of these people getting anything." Mr. Storey also opposed the motion in a speech which was much interrupted. He contended that the House had no right to vote public money to keep people in titled idleness, and recommended that the Prime Minister should get the 10,000*l.* a year by striking off some of the Lords-in-Waiting, Gold Sticks,

and other titled flunkies. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, after protesting against some of the language used, pointed out to Mr. Labouchere that his precedents were inapplicable, as at that time the Civil List amounted to a million, and, in reply to some remarks on the Queen's savings, said they could not possibly be adequate to provide for her Majesty's family. The House then divided, and the first resolution was carried by 387 to 42, the largest vote ever obtained against a grant to any of the Royal Princes. The second resolution was carried without a division.

Mr. Ritchie attempted to open the Fair Trade controversy by a motion (March 24) for a Select Committee to consider the operation of foreign tariffs on British commerce. The advocates of Free Trade, under the leadership of Mr. Cartwright and Sir J. Lubbock, opposed to the motion a direct negative. Mr. Ecroyd advocated his panacea for the ills from which home trade was suffering, by pressing for a 10 per cent. duty on foreign manufactures, with the proviso that it would be removed for any nation which would admit our goods, and for a small duty on foreign food with the view of giving a legitimate preference to our colonies. Mr. Chamberlain, on the part of the Government, opposed the Committee, first because, in the words of Sir S. Northcote on a similar motion two years ago, it would mislead foreign nations as to our loyalty to free trade, and, next, because it would unsettle all classes engaged in trade. Replying to Mr. Ritchie, he contended that the fall in our exports was due to the fall in value of the raw material, and did not represent any real loss. The amount of trade had increased, though it might not have been so profitable. Examining the details of Mr. Ecroyd's plan, he contended that the only result of it would be that the people of this country would pay forty millions more for their food, of which twenty-six would go to landowners. Moreover, it would be quite impossible for the Colonies to produce the amount of food required by us or to take the manufactures necessary to pay for them, and the only result would be a large transfer of business with no advantage to us. Sir S. Northcote, replying to the reference made to his opinions two years ago, pointed out that the motion then before the House was avowedly for protection, and that in the interval Mr. Gladstone had himself admitted in his Budget speech of the previous year that the trade of the country was losing ground, and further the negotiations with France for a renewal of the Treaty of Commerce had broken down. He therefore decided to vote for the inquiry, but only 89 followed the standard of the Fair Traders, whilst 140 voted against any tampering with our existing principles of Free Trade.

The other business of the first two months of the Session was scarcely worth chronicling. Of the measures promised in the Queen's Speech little beyond the titles were known. The Rivers' Conservancy Bill had indeed been read a second time, *pro formâ*, and a bill authorising the use of reply post-cards had been introduced. To attain even these meagre results the House of Commons had

sat early and late, but the number of sittings at the disposal of the Government were shown, under the existing system, to be wholly inadequate to meet the requirements of legislation. Out of a total of forty-one sittings, only seventeen belonged of right to the Government, and of these three had been given to the debate on the Address, five each to the Closure resolution and Supply, and the remaining four to the debate on the Lords' Committee of Inquiry. On the other hand, the private members' sittings, including Wednesdays, were twenty-four; and on six of these occasions the House had been counted out, and these valuable hours, which the Government might have turned to profitable uses, were lost.

CHAPTER IV.

Disturbed Condition of Ireland—Failure of the Government Policy—The Irish Land Act and its Shortcomings—The Conservative Campaign in Lancashire—Mr. Redmond's Bill—The Government and the Land League Party—Resignation of Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster—Release of the Suspects—The New Irish Policy—The Budget—The Corrupt Practices Bill.

THE position of the Government when the House rose for the Easter holidays was far from satisfactory. Although anxious to remove the causes of Parliamentary paralysis, it had not only failed to pass its remedial measures, but had by their form sown the seeds of disunion in the Liberal party. In Ireland, moreover the Government policy, useless in suppressing disturbance, had increased disaffection, and had alienated the support of many influential supporters. In spite of Mr. Forster's optimist assurances, the condition of the country showed no real signs of amendment, and the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and the suppression of the Land League had been followed by the reappearance of Ribbonmen and of the secret societies, which for some years had hidden their heads. Public feeling—at all events, amongst the Liberal party—revolted at the idea of 600 or 700 men arrested and kept in prison with no form of trial whatever, and, as became apparent, with no beneficial results to public security. The Irish landlords urged upon the Government to obtain stronger powers, if those of the Coercion Act of the previous session were exhausted, and vague suggestions of a commission of judges, suspension of Habeas Corpus, martial law, and other summary expedients were thrown out, not only by those whose pecuniary interests in the land were daily becoming more and more imperilled, but, as was gathered from certain words of Mr. Forster, by the Government itself. The occasion for this outburst was the demand made by Mr. Sexton (March 28), that the three imprisoned Irish members should be allowed to come over on parole to vote in the impending division. Mr. Forster maintained that the request meant that the prisoners

should be altogether released, and that members of Parliament should be treated differently from other suspects. His own personal inquiries and observations in Ireland had convinced him that the "No Rent" manifesto had failed, and that it was to punish disobedience to that manifesto that murders, mutilations, and violence were resorted to. The Land League was not ostensibly guilty for the acts committed, but it had made no persistent effort to discourage them, and if they continued the Government would be forced to resort to more stringent measures to uphold the law and to restore confidence.

The virtual answer of the Land League to Mr. Forster's threat was Mr. Parnell's Bill to amend the Land Act, which almost exclusively dealt with the question of arrears owing by tenants rated under 30*l.*, and provided that if the tenant were only able to pay one year's rent then the Land Commissioners, on being satisfied that he could not pay the antecedent arrears, might make a grant to the landlord of another year's rent, provided that at least three years' rent be due in all. This being done, all further claims for rent up to date were to be wiped out. All improvements, until the contrary was shown, were assumed to be made by the tenant; and his predecessors in title were declared to be his predecessors in occupancy. Any tenant holding under a lease might, on the ground of excessive rent alone, apply at any time to have a judicial rent declared, and thenceforth the occupier would become an ordinary tenant and the lease wholly void. As to the purchase clauses of the Act, the Bill provided that instead of lending to the tenants three-fourths of the purchase money, as provided under the Land Act, the whole amount might be advanced on loan by the Commissioners. On the question of fair rent, and the collateral one of improvements, it declared the judicial rent to date, not from the next gale day after settlement, but from the next gale day after application; and where in the meantime proceedings in ejectment had been commenced for non-payment the proceedings should be stayed on payment *ad interim* by the tenant of Griffith's valuation.

These proposals, wherever they attracted attention, were regarded as too preposterous to demand serious criticism, whilst the chance of their being discussed at all in Parliament seemed beyond the range of probability. Nevertheless, when the House separated for the holidays a general feeling existed that on the reassembling of the House the Government would have to announce a new policy for Ireland. The fact that the Coercion Act would expire on September 30 rendered legislation necessary in the face of Fenian murders in Dublin, and the revival of secret societies throughout the country. A state of affairs unparalleled since the days of the Tithe war existed in many parts of the west and south, and, in spite of the influence of the Catholic clergy, one element of local administration—that of poor law relief—was passing into the hands of the declared enemies of the supreme Government. Mr. Forster, moreover, had himself admitted that his policy had

failed, that he had under-estimated the forces with which he had to contend; and, in spite of his fearless self-devotion and unremitting attention to his work, the public of all shades of opinion endorsed Mr. Forster's verdict on himself. Mr. Gladstone's last words before the House separated showed that the Government was alive to the necessity of putting an end to the intolerable state into which Irish affairs had drifted, but he gave no hint as to when or how he was prepared to act, nor that he in any way endorsed the public cry which arose on almost every side for a new departure in the administration of Ireland, whether preceded or not by a change in the Chief Secretary. The English Radicals urged the trial of an Irishman, like Mr. Shaw or the Attorney-General, in the office. Mr. Charles Russell, M.P. for Dundalk, in a letter to his constituents attempted to show that the grievances from which the Irish people suffered did not originate with an English Viceroy, or an English Chief Secretary of the stamp and character of Mr. Forster; but with the permanent officials at Dublin Castle, the resident magistrates, and the police inspectors. These were the real political governors of Ireland, and from these, not from Irish members representing the constituencies, the executive government drew its information and inspiration.

An opportunity for showing a desire for conciliation was promptly offered by Mr. Parnell's request for leave to attend in Paris the funeral of his sister's only child. Release on parole without any conditions was promptly accorded by Mr. Forster, and Mr. Parnell, although forced to pass through England, avoided scrupulously every occasion of bringing himself into notice. It is, at the same time, only due to the Land League party to admit, that even before Mr. Parnell's temporary release on parole, Mr. Redmond, M.P., speaking at Edinburgh, had declared that the "No Rent" manifesto which had checkmated the Government, would be withdrawn as soon as the suspects were released. That the Land League was a power with which both of the great constitutional parties found it necessary to reckon, was becoming more and more obvious, and Mr. W. H. Smith's proposal for the establishment of peasant proprietorship, although nominally only an extension of the Purchase clauses of the Land Act of 1870, was in reality a bid by the Conservative leaders for the support not only of the Irish, but of the English and Scotch democracy. The idea, as far as Ireland was concerned, had long been a favourite one with Mr. Bright, though pronounced by him to be too large. Mr. W. H. Smith's scheme, if thoroughly carried out, would enable tenants to become proprietors at the cost of the State, whilst owners were to be compensated at twenty or more years' purchase of their unrealisable rental. With a definite, if somewhat shadowy policy to propose, and with the cloud of conscious failure thick around their opponents, the moment was considered propitious by the Conservative leaders to undertake an electoral campaign on a large scale. South-West Lancashire was selected

as the field for manœuvres, and the opening of a Conservative Club at Liverpool furnished a useful occasion for the Conservative attack.

A local gathering at Ormskirk (April 11) served as an introduction to the more important business of the week. Lord Salisbury, in acknowledging an address, said, that the leaders of the Opposition would require the support of all Conservatives in their effort to prevent the pernicious innovations with which the Constitution was threatened. On the following evening at Liverpool, his lordship discussed at length the social revolution going on in Ireland under the guise of a revolution against the land laws. Up to 1870, the rights of property had been understood and respected by statesmen of all schools; but since that date new theories, often conflicting, had been started and supported by the Ministry in power, which sought to purchase popularity by acting generously with the property of others. The result, however, had not been gratitude, but an increase of agitation. "For myself," added Lord Salisbury, "I believe that the Land Act will have to be altered, and that it can only be altered in one direction. I am not one of those who believe that after a revolutionary step you can go back. It is one of the curses of revolution that it separates you by a chasm from the past which you have left—a chasm which you never can recross. If you wish to establish peace and contentment in Ireland—I do not say that my hopes are sanguine, or that the prospect is great—you must do your best to bring the ownership of land again into single hands. You will see that I am referring to the proposal of which notice has been given by my distinguished friend, Mr. W. H. Smith, for increasing the powers under which the Commissioners can now act, to enable Irish tenants, with perfect fairness and justice to their present landlords, to become themselves owners of their land." The most urgent business of the moment, however, was the restoration of order in Ireland, and the duty of the responsible Government was to find the means of effecting this without delay. The disintegration of society and the kindling of the animosities of all classes have there had their perfect work, and social revolution is all but complete.

Sir Stafford Northcote followed much on the same lines, presaging not only a social, but also a political revolution. The old bulwarks of the Constitution—free speech in the Commons and the right of revision by the Peers—were in danger of being set aside, and it was for the electorate to declare, in unmistakable terms, whether or not they endorsed this phase of despotism. Sir Stafford Northcote further insisted upon the urgency of Irish affairs, and upon the necessity of securing peace and order in that country. "The time has come," he concluded, "when it is absolutely necessary that the Government should make up their minds as to what is to be done. From the Conservatives they will receive nothing but cordial support so long as they act with

vigour and intelligence ; but, on the other hand, the Conservatives will not be blindly led nor be silenced by anything like intimidation on the part of a single imperious will. Neither are we to be deterred from pressing for the administration of law and the preservation of peace by the possible consideration that such matters may hurt the vanity and discredit the prescience of our present administrators."

On the second evening Lord Salisbury discussed at length the relative positions of the two Houses of Parliament, declaring that the House of Commons, without the check of a second chamber, enslaved by the Caucus and muzzled by the Closure, would be a very different body from that which had hitherto been the glory of English history. He went on to defend the House of Lords from the charge of having wished to hamper the Government in the application of their remedies by the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry ; and characterised Mr. Forster's refusal to appear as a witness when summoned as an act unparalleled in the history of the country. Sir Stafford Northcote traced the troubles of the Liberal Government in Ireland, the Colonies, and elsewhere, to their vacillation and want of courage. In the matter of finance, the Conservative Government, so often taxed with extravagance, had failed to stretch their expenditure, even when strained by foreign complications, to the limit reached by the Ministry now in power. As regarded the closure proposal, he declared it to be as distasteful to many of the supporters of the Government as it was to its opponents ; and whilst fully admitting that for the moment it might be intended for legitimate purposes, the power once acquired might in the hands of an unscrupulous minister be used for the purpose of stifling debate, and silencing any opposition however honest and well-intentioned. At a final meeting of the Junior Conservative Club, recently opened at Liverpool, Lord Salisbury expressed his conviction that the future would see a far keener struggle between Liberals and Conservatives than had hitherto been witnessed. The Liberal party, he maintained, was every day less and less the party which supported liberty. They thought only of equality, and had allowed liberty to slip out of sight, and the cause which commanded the greatest amount of assent from the party of progress was that of "authoritative democracy." Lord Sandon, Sir R. Cross, and other Conservative statesmen also spoke, but the grounds they took up had in nearly each instance been already occupied by the two leaders.

In like manner Mr. James Lowther and Mr. Plunket, in North-East Yorkshire, eagerly attacked the state of affairs in Ireland, and urged that between a social revolution and a political revolution concealed behind social objects, and effected by social means, there was but little to choose. The result had been, in spite of official assurance and rosy pictures, to alienate utterly the good-will of the Irish people from their employers. Amongst the Liberal speakers of various hues, the real question was whether

men or measures were most needed in present straits. The value of the Coercion Act depended almost wholly upon the way in which it was administered; and although Mr. Forster was credited with having designed what in theory was an excellent measure, and suited to the needs of the office he had so chivalrously accepted, it could not be denied that his administration had fallen very short of the hopes that had been entertained of it by his friends. When Parliament, therefore, reassembled, it was felt that a crisis had in a way arisen, which would have to be met by a change of either men or measures, or perhaps by both. "The arrest of suspects by the cartload," as the *Quarterly Review* put it, had produced absolutely no pacifying result, whilst the prospect of their unconditional release a few months later, with no means of again placing them under restraint, led the more timid advisers of the Government to forecast for the ensuing winter a state of affairs far more catastrophal than had hitherto arisen. Various proposals were put forward, and the Ministry were credited with having settled the outlines of the new measure which was to be the point of a new departure in Irish legislation. A speedier method of trial than was obtainable from the ordinary jury system, an increase of the power of resident magistrates, and the enlargement of the area of their summary jurisdiction, were, it was asserted, to be among the repressive clauses of the Bill;—whilst the Home Rulers were to be pacified by a revision of the clauses in the Land Bill referring to arrears, peasant proprietary and emigration were to be enlarged or revised in a liberal spirit. However correct such a forecast may have been at one moment, the rapid current of events rendered deliberation well-nigh impossible. The Ministry may have been content to see how far the purchase clauses of their Land Act would work before attempting to widen the door which logically led to a thinly disguised socialism; but Mr. W. H. Smith's resolution, which, if carried, would create a peasant proprietorship under State protection, forced the hand of the Government to prevent their being outbid by their opponents; whilst Mr. Redmond's Bill, to get rid of all arrears up to the eve of the passing of the Land Act (August 31, 1881), and to apply the funds of the Irish Church to the payment of the residue, placed them under the necessity of admitting that their efforts to conciliate Irish goodwill had been unproductive of any practical results. Mr. Redmond's Bill was the first to come on for discussion (April 26), and as soon as its scope had been defined, and its policy advocated by its author, Mr. Gladstone rose to state the intentions of the Government. He began by commending the moderate and practical tone of Mr. Redmond's speech, and welcomed the Bill as an authentic expression of the desire of Mr. Redmond's party to make the working of the Land Act an effectual security for the peace of the country. Dividing the Bill into four heads—arrears, purchase clauses, leases, and improvements—he said the Government could not support the

second reading, because they still thought, as when they opposed the Lords' Committee, that the tenure clauses of the Land Act ought not at present to be reopened and disturbed. The great Irish question naturally divided itself at the present moment under three heads—the question of tenure involved in this Bill, the purchase clauses, and the direct proposals the Government might feel it their duty to make for the preservation of peace and order in Ireland. Into the last two Mr. Gladstone said he would not enter on the present occasion; and as to the purchase clauses he reminded the House that a notice had been given (by Mr. W. H. Smith) leading to the anticipation that proposals of importance would be made, which ought not to be prejudiced by a premature discussion. But as to the tenure clauses of the Bill, considering the delicacy of the questions involved and the gravity of the interests at stake, the Government did not feel justified in reopening the question. On the point of improvements the Government admitted that in some respects the recent judgment of *Adams v. Dunseath* did not correspond with the intentions of Parliament; but the scope of the discrepancy was not so great as to justify an immediate reopening of the question without further experience. As to leases, he did not deny that there was much plausibility in the contention that tenants might have suffered from abuse of the Act of 1870; but the evident intention of the promoters of this Bill was that tenants under lease should have the same power as yearly tenants of being released from their covenants as to rent, and the Government was not prepared to interfere with these covenants. With regard to arrears, though the Act had not been without utility, he was bound to admit that it had not had the operation expected from it; and the Government was prepared to recognise the duty of legislating at an early period on a basis which should be at once impartial, in accordance with public opinion in Ireland, and also effectual. As to whether the proposal should be voluntary or compulsory, the Government desired to be guided as to Irish opinion, and they invited discussion which would give them light and aid; but, commenting on the clause in the Bill, he admitted that for a compulsory clause it was carefully drawn. No doubt, many Irish landlords of influence were in favour of a compulsory clause; and if the plan was to be compulsory he approved of the advance being a gift and not a loan, and of the Church surplus being resorted to; though he pointed out that it might not prove sufficient, and it might be necessary to call the British Exchequer in aid. With regard to the Bill generally, Mr. Gladstone said he hoped it might be regarded as a gleam of light on an horizon long dark; for, though he had confidence in the strength of the country to vindicate its rule, yet the compulsory government of any portion of the empire was alien to public opinion, and any sign of returning peace and concord should be gladly welcomed.

The general tone of satisfaction with which Mr. Gladstone's reply, vague though it seemed to be, was received by the Irish

party at once gave rise to the suspicion that some secret understanding underlay the Premier's promises. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, from a wholly different standpoint, urged that the provision dealing with arrears should be made compulsory in the interest of the landlords as well as of the tenants; and he declared that until this question of arrears was settled no peace was to be obtained in Ireland. Until the Law Courts could fix the new rents throughout the country, Griffith's valuation should be accepted as the basis of fair rents. After speeches from Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson, and others, Mr. Forster, on the motion for the adjournment of the debate, explained that Mr. Gladstone's silence as to when the Government would take up the question, suggested that they wished to adjourn it indefinitely. They regarded the question of arrears as a most urgent matter, and only the condition of public business made them postpone it at all. The anomalous position in which the Ministry now found itself became at once apparent. On the one hand, in the House of Commons the spokesman of the Irish party produced a measure in strict accordance with the party policy, which won almost complete approbation from the heads of the Government; on the other hand, the real authors of the measure were confined as prisoners in Kilmainham Gaol on the ground of having thwarted an Act which the Ministry itself was now obliged to regard as a failure. It was no wonder, therefore, that rumours of discord in the Cabinet should become current and attract a considerable amount of attention. Two days later (April 28) the resignation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Cowper, was suddenly announced, but the promptness with which his successor, Earl Spencer, was appointed showed that the Government were not unprepared for the step. Viewed from any point, the choice of a member of the Cabinet, already acquainted with Irish politics, to be the Viceroy at so critical a juncture indicated a complete change of policy, and the wish of the Cabinet to be advised on Irish affairs by some one besides Mr. Forster. How long that statesman might have retained his influence at the Council Board after his virtual supersession by his official chief, it is immaterial to inquire; but it is not doubtful that when the new Irish policy came to be discussed in the Cabinet, Mr. Forster found himself virtually superseded, his advice neglected, and his tactics reversed. Orders for the release of Messrs. Parnell and his colleagues were speedily issued, whilst the less prominent prisoners were led to understand that their prompt recovery of liberty depended only on themselves and the attitude assumed by their partisans and sympathisers throughout the country.

The official announcement of the change of the Government policy was delayed for a few days; but on May 3, in both Houses, statements were made with reference to the resignation of the Viceroy, Lord Cowper—which was attributed to private reasons, not to political differences—to the intention of the Government to submit a new measure to Parliament for the protection of life and

property in Ireland, instead of asking for prolongation of the powers conferred by the Coercion Bill of the previous session, and to the decision to set at liberty the three Irish members imprisoned at Kilmainham, and to examine closely the nature of the charges under which many hundreds of Irishmen were detained in custody. Mr. Forster promptly intimated to his colleagues his refusal to be responsible for the results of such a policy, so that Mr. Gladstone was able to announce at the same time that that gentleman had ceased to be a member of the Government—an announcement which was received with marked satisfaction by the Irish members. The new measure, which would take the place of the Coercion Bill, and which would strengthen the ordinary law instead of creating fresh offences, was to be brought in as soon as the Procedure Resolution and the necessary financial arrangements of the session were concluded, and would take precedence of all the administrative measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech. On no point did Mr. Gladstone insist with greater emphasis than on the free-will which underlay the policy of the Government. There had been no concert or negotiations with others, but only the following out of the system which, in their opinion, would restore law and order in Ireland.

Mr. Forster's explanation of the causes which led to his withdrawal from the Cabinet was delayed for a couple of days, but before it could be made the House of Commons was disturbed by an unwonted outburst of feeling. In reply to Mr. Cowan, the Home Secretary (Sir W. Harcourt) had announced that Michael Davitt had also been released; and it was at once assumed that in return for these acts of clemency the Government had obtained from the Land League rulers the withdrawal of the 'No-Rent Manifesto.' Mr. Gladstone, however, ultimately admitted that the Government had received important information tendered to them with reference to the views of the Land League party, but that it was for such of them as were members of the House to make their own declarations, and in spite of close questioning declined to make any statement with reference to the action of the Government.

At the same time the name of Mr. Forster's successor was made known, and at first was received with mingled incredulity and surprise. Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, had long been known as a painstaking official, devoted to his work, and warmly attached to the Prime Minister. His qualifications for the arduous and delicate duties of the Irish Secretaryship were altogether unproved, and for a moment it was assumed that by again placing the office outside the Cabinet, the Ministry were resorting to a line of policy with regard to Irish interests with which it had inaugurated its accession to power. The names of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain had in the short interval been put forward, with more or less appearance of authority, as those of possible successors to Mr. Forster, and at

one moment it was vehemently asserted that the hesitation of the latter arose solely from the unwillingness of the Irish executive to release all the suspects, or, according to other reports, that he wished to see an Irishman appointed to the post. The other names mentioned in connection with the office were those of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, whose acquaintance with the intricacies of the Irish land question was unquestioned, Mr. Johnson, the Attorney-General for Ireland, and Mr. Shaw, a moderate Home Ruler, who had given a general support to the Irish policy of the Government. These rumours were speedily set at rest by the authoritative announcement made in both Houses, and although in the House the moving of a new writ for the North-West Riding was received in decorous silence, a general feeling of disappointment pervaded the Liberal ranks. The *Times* affected to see in the selection an intention on the part of Mr. Gladstone "to assume the immediate control of the Ministerial policy in Ireland;" the *Daily News* thought that a great opportunity of restoring peace by a new and bold effort had been thrown away; whilst the *Standard* held it to be a confused show of firmness and feebleness, and intended to be a set-off against the liberation of Davitt. The Irish papers, scarcely without exception, expressed dissatisfaction with the choice of a colourless though blameless official instead of the vigorous exponent of the Irish policy. But when the first shock of surprise had passed away, there was a general approval in the Press and Parliament of Mr. Gladstone's selection; and the questions which might have been raised on the appointment were put aside by the far more important discussion which followed Mr. Forster's personal explanation of his retirement. His rising was the signal for very friendly cheering, but it was plainly evident that this arose more from the Conservative than from the Treasury benches. He began by explaining the grounds on which the three Parliamentary leaders of the Land League had been arrested, and, much against his will, detained so many months in prison; they had organised and were working out a system by which the unwritten would have superseded the written law, and Mr. Parnell would have become the uncrowned king of Ireland. He would have released them whenever one of the three conditions had arisen: if they had given a public and voluntary promise that they would not set up their own law against the law of the country, if Ireland had become quiet and orderly, or if fresh powers had been given to the Government. But none of these conditions had yet obtained, and, dwelling on the first, he urged the Government, amid loud cheers from the Opposition, not to buy obedience nor to attempt any "black-mail" arrangement. As to the second, Boycotting had been stopped, the Land League had been defeated, and its leaders had either to take refuge behind the ladies or to fly to Paris for safety. On the whole, the state of the country, thanks mainly to the Protection Act, was much better; still it was very bad, and outrages were numerous.

But even this was better than attempting to keep peace with the assistance of the law-breakers. Since war had begun between law and lawlessness there had never been, in his opinion, a time when it was more dangerous to relax the hold of the Executive. The third condition was the passing of a new Act. As to fresh powers, he regretted to hear that the Government meant to postpone their measures on this subject to the Procedure Resolutions, which, important as they might be, were not as important as the condition of Ireland. What he had hoped was that an Act would be passed strengthening the administrators of the law, and then the experiment of releasing these gentlemen might have been tried. As no one of these three conditions had been fulfilled he had been unable to concur in this act, and he had thought it better to resign his office than to present to the country the weakening and disgraceful spectacle of a Minister carrying out a policy which he had been compelled to swallow against his will.

Mr. Gladstone at once rose to reply, and although it was asserted that his speech showed an embarrassment and hesitation seldom discernible in his words, it was admitted to be a rare display of skilful reasoning and occasionally eloquent declamation. After a warm compliment to Mr. Forster's public services and private character, he protested that the Government had no desire to shrink from the full share of responsibility for its acts, and, alluding to his advice not to buy obedience or attempt black-mail arrangements with the law-breakers, he said the Government disclaimed all right to ask anything from Mr. Parnell or to offer him anything. There was no arrangement between him and the Government, and they had acted solely with a view to what they believed to be best for the maintenance of peace and order in Ireland. Having come to that conclusion, the Government had no right to keep these gentlemen in prison until they had made some public declaration or had been asked for some private assurance. The Government had determined before the release took place to deal with the question of arrears, and they had received information, on authority which they believed to be trustworthy, that if the question were dealt with on the basis of Mr. Redmond's Bill, the three members would find themselves in a position to range themselves on the side of law and order. That was the consideration present to the mind of the Government, and there was nothing of a black-mail arrangement in it.

Mr. Parnell then offered his own story as a contribution to the history of the crisis. He commenced by an attempt to place upon the Prime Minister's concluding remarks an interpretation which that gentleman would not admit to be correct, as to the decision at which the Cabinet had arrived with reference to the arrears of rent. Mr. Parnell, nevertheless, admitted that he had never referred to his release in any of the verbal or oral communications with his friends; but he had said and written that a settlement of the arrears question would have an enormous effect in the restoration

of law and order, and would take away the last excuse for outrage, and that if such a settlement were made it would be possible to take such steps as would have a marvellous effect in the diminution of outrages.

The other two released members, Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Kelly, having denied any communications with any Minister of the Crown, and having claimed their complete freedom of action, Sir Stafford Northcote moved the adjournment with the view of obtaining some more definite explanation as to the exact condition of Ireland. Even then he was unable to say that the condition of Ireland was satisfactory, and therefore the House might with reason expect to have some information as to the advice on which the Government had acted, and the evidence on which they relied that the release would conduce to the restoration of law and order. The new policy which the Government was about to inaugurate should be freely unfolded to the House instead of being forced from them by dribblets. Sir Wm. Barttelot's notices followed in the same line, and at length obtained from the Home Secretary the declaration that there had been no new policy, and that only such suspects had been released as would, he believed, assist the Government in their efforts to maintain order. Mr. Gibson, vigorously attacking the way in which the release of the prisoners had been announced, declared that it was absurd to pretend that there had been no change of policy, and expressed his extreme surprise that the Government had not taken some pains to fulfil one of the conditions which would have prevented the resignation of Mr. Forster. He complained that not the smallest authority and not a single fact had been adduced for disregarding the warnings of their late Chief Secretary, and the speech of the Minister must increase the anxiety and alarm of the country. Commenting on Mr. Gladstone's varying accounts of what had passed at Kilmainham and Mr. Parnell's correction of them, he said that the transaction amounted to this—that the Government had conveyed by an emissary to Kilmainham their readiness to settle the arrears question on the basis of gift and compulsion, and that the members in Kilmainham in response agreed that if something of the sort were done it might lead to the diminution of outrages. That was an understanding which he feared would bind the Government, but not the other party. The Government had turned over a new leaf, but it was the first page in a chapter of accidents; and he warned the House that this policy was playing into the hands of a disloyal conspiracy which aimed at the dismemberment of the Empire.

Lord Hartington, avoiding the plainer issue put forward by the Opposition, challenged that party to take the opinion of the House on the Ministerial policy. After a brilliant attack on the conduct of the Opposition, he defended the action of the Government on the ground already stated by Mr. Gladstone, that they had reason to believe that the members in Kilmainham would

pursue a line of conduct not hostile to the administration of the law or the peace of the country, but rather in the opposite direction. The Government had acted on the information furnished by the late Lord-Lieutenant and the late Chief Secretary,—from which they had drawn their own conclusions as to the measures contemplated by the Government, which were in course of preparation,—and it would be inconvenient and inexpedient to state the nature of these measures until the time had come for carrying them out. The discussion soon after came to an end without any vote being taken, but not before Mr. W. H. Smith had announced his intention to withdraw his resolution on the Purchase Clause of the Irish Land Act, in order not to embarrass or delay the Government in introducing their new proposals for the pacification of Ireland. The real scope of this resolution was to substitute the State for individual landlords in Ireland, at the same time compensating that body at the expense of the tax-payers of the three kingdoms. Whether seriously intended to show that the Conservative party was not afraid of facing the Socialist tendencies of the Irish nationalists, or merely placed on the paper in order to force the hands of the Government, it is useless now to discuss. Its evident effect, however, was to assure Mr. Parnell and his followers that their co-operation was considered worth purchasing by both sides of the House: and this was made the more clear when, upon the withdrawal of Mr. W. H. Smith's resolution, its importance having been recognised by Mr. Gladstone, Sir M. Hicks-Beach gave notice of a resolution to the effect that the Irish policy of the Government should without delay be submitted to Parliament (May 5). By this means it was hoped to place the Ministry in the alternative of offending either the section of the Liberals in whose name Mr. Goschen had spoken (May 2), and of whom strong measures enforcing the ordinary law were demanded, or else of alienating the Irish party by a return to repressive measures.

The events of the following day rendered any such temporising useless; but, before touching upon the catastrophe which was practically the turning-point of the session, it is necessary to revert to some of the other events of the session. On the resumption of business after the Easter holidays (April 17), the Conservatives, through Mr. Gorst, the Liberals, through Mr. W. Fowler, had concurred in a resolution praying for the instant liberation of Cetwywayo, and although the Liberals especially insisted upon the captive's restoration to his rank and power in Zululand, both agreed that the war forced upon that country had been unjust and unnecessary. Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Government, was ready to concur in the spirit of the resolution, whilst reserving to the Executive the choice of the moment and the means for carrying out the policy thus urged upon them.

Mr. Ashton Dilke's Bill for charging upon the rates the costs of Parliamentary elections (so far as regarded the expenses of the Returning Officer) was supported by the Government on the

ground that constituencies, not candidates, should bear the charge. To Mr. A. Dilke's second proposal, that candidates who did not obtain an actual majority of the registered electors should undergo a second election, the Government declared itself opposed; whilst the Conservatives endeavoured to obtain the rejection of the whole Bill, on the ground that the moment was inappropriate to throw a new charge on the ratepayers, since the Government had declared itself about to deal with the whole question of local taxation. After a keen debate the Bill was read a second time by the narrow majority of 2,—87 to 85 votes—on purely party lines. An instructive debate on the state of the navy was raised by Lord Henry Lennox, who carefully dissected the fighting powers of the French and English fleets, contrasting the steady unbroken advance of the French Admiralty with the spasmodic efforts, followed by long periods of inactivity, which marked our naval administration. He began with a comparison of the two fleets, starting with the ironclads that were in commission and in reserve. There were 28 ironclads. Of these, 14 were of the first class, 9 of the second class, and 5 were for coast defence. The French had in reserve and in commission a total of 17. Of these, 9 were of the first class, 3 of the second class, and 5 for coast defence. With regard to the building programmes of the two countries, remembering always that wages in France were lower than wages in England, we now had 16,844 men, but the French had at least 22,500, or something between 5,000 and 6,000 more men than we had. During the French year, which was reckoned from January to the following December, they contemplated building 16,000 tons according to our reckoning, or 21,000 tons according to their own measurement, which included hulls and machinery, in 1882, and 26,000 in 1883, thus showing an increase of 5,000 tons in the year 1883. But this was only the result of a careful system of carrying out a programme which the French instituted two years after their reverses in 1872, which they revised in 1879, and which was to be completed in 1885. They would then have no fewer than 38 ironclads and 12 second-class ironclads for coast defence. Their determination to carry out this scheme was evinced by the enormous sums of money voted year by year for the purpose. In 1882, 269,342,422*f.* and in 1883 280,618,343*f.* were to be applied to that object, though he was bound to say that 8,275,921*f.* only of that sum was a real increase in the vote, the balance, amounting to 3,000,000*f.*, accruing from the sale of old stores, one-fourth of the whole being devoted to the service of the New Construction Department. The vote for this portion of the service amounted in 1882 to 35,842,000*f.* and in the estimates for 1883 to 40,336,400*f.*—that is to say, an increase of 5,000,000*f.* in the year 1883 as compared with 1882, and of 14,000,000*f.* as compared with the year 1881. In the French estimates for 1883 there would be five ironclads built, nine commenced, and two talked about. That would give us in 1883 three more ironclads

than the French; but if both nations maintained their relative rate of naval progress, by 1885 the French would have added to their fleet a number of most powerful ships, and with steel armour. Five of these ships would have their guns protected by 18 inches of steel armour. Five others would have their guns protected by 16 inches of solid steel armour. Four of them would have at the water-line 20 inches of steel armour. Two of them would have at the water-line $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches of steel armour, and four others would have 18 inches of steel armour. As to unarmoured ships, certainly we had made great efforts to add to our cruisers. While we had been very active in completing our cruisers, the French had not been idle either. They were building two first-class cruisers which would be able to steam at the rate of ten knots an hour over 5,000 miles at a stretch. He next commented on the difference between the system of artillery adopted in France and that adopted by England, and said that it seemed to him that, during the last twenty years, successive Governments in England appeared to have been asleep. They did not seem to have been able to keep pace with the naval artillery of France and Germany. There was one suggestion which he had very much at heart, and that was the absolute necessity of establishing a Department of Naval Ordnance. With regard to the *personnel* of the navy, whilst the number of petty officers and seamen in France was 35,381, as against 31,185 in England, Lord H. Lennox declared the disproportion to be far greater, since in the English total were included 9,000 persons who were stewards, stokers, and others who could not be regarded as fighting men. In the Marine force, the disproportion was far more marked, for whilst in Great Britain the numbers were fixed at 12,400, in France the total stood at 22,014. In addition the French had a Marine reserve force of 10,752 highly-trained and disciplined men, so that their Marine force really amounted to more than 32,000 men. Even if we were permitted to add our 4,000 Coastguards to our Marines, the preponderance in favour of France would be found to be 16,354.

After various criticisms from experts on all sides of the House, Mr. Trevelyan, on behalf of the Government, replied at length to Lord H. Lennox's statement, declaring that he had overlooked or misstated various points which greatly modified his review of the relative strength of the two navies. Among other points, he mentioned that the French Admiralty never builds up to its programme—indeed, usually falls some 5,000 tons short of it, and also that the French Marines are rather to be considered as a colonial army than a sea-going force. Much as the Admiralty deprecated the appearance of unfriendliness involved in a comparison of our naval forces, the controversy had got to such a pitch that they had no choice, and, as the general result, he stated that while we had 26 ironclad ships in commission and 23 in reserve, of a tonnage of 320,000, the French had 11 ironclads in commission and 29 in

reserve, with a tonnage of 225,000. But of the French ships 21 were wooden-framed, while only two in the English force were of that character. As to guns, the French had 284 armour-piercing guns afloat on ironclads, weighing 4,476 tons, while the English navy had 450 guns, of 6,224 tons. On unarmoured ships the French had 26 guns, and we had 79, and the French navy had only one ship afloat which could not be pierced in every part by our 38-ton gun. On the whole the Admiralty saw no reason to increase their shipbuilding programme, which had been fixed after careful consideration of the doings of their predecessors and the progress of the French Navy. The discussion was soon afterwards brought to a close without any definite result.

Owing to various causes, the first month of the new financial year had nearly expired before Mr. Gladstone found the opportunity to introduce his Budget; but the delay brought with it no more encouraging hopes, no symptoms of reviving trade. The promises with which the year had opened had been altogether belied; and although this country had escaped the financial disasters which had fallen upon foreign countries—chiefly upon France,—their misfortunes had sensibly re-acted upon our produce markets, and reduced to a minimum the demand for our manufactures. It was therefore not surprising that Mr. Gladstone, in face of a sluggish revenue and a growing expenditure, should refrain from any bold experiments in re-adjusting taxation, whilst, in view of the legislative requirements of the country (which it was still deemed possible to bring forward), he should be unwilling to recast any of the great sources of public revenue or to invite lengthy discussions upon general principles. Another reason for a commonplace Budget lay in the fact that any reform of county government would necessarily involve a fresh division of local and imperial taxes; and until the lines which local self-government should follow were definitely laid down, it would be useless to disturb existing arrangements. The form of the Budget speech was, under these circumstances, as appropriately devoid of rhetorical effort as its substance was unsuited to fanciful treatment. Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, began by glancing over the history of the previous year up to March 31, 1882. The Budget estimates of the expenditure had been 86,190,000*l.*, but actually only 85,472,000*l.* had been paid away—a reduction of 718,000*l.*, but showing, when compared with the actual expenditure of the year preceding (1880-1), an augmentation of 2,365,000*l.* This large increase arose wholly from inherited war charges: which happily have been paid out of income and without recourse to further borrowing. The actual war charges falling upon the year 1881-2—including the cost of the Transvaal war—amounted to 3,842,000*l.*, as compared with 2,347,000*l.* paid in the previous year. Turning to the revenue of the same year (1881-2), he found a slight excess over the Budget estimate, and also over the actual expenditure, amounting in the latter case to about 350,000*l.* Most of the items of revenue, espe-

cially those known as taxes, had, with the exception of the income-tax, shown a falling off. The Post Office, however, had raised its receipts to 14,365,000*l.*, and in the aggregate the actual revenue received, 85,822,000*l.*, exceeded the estimate by nearly three-quarters of a million (722,000*l.*), and showed an available surplus of 350,000*l.* for manipulation. Having announced his intention of making no further proposals with regard to the duty on silver plate, Mr. Gladstone frankly admitted that so far his re-modelling of the "Death Duties" had not answered his expectations. Instead of the estimated 390,000*l.* they had only produced 305,000*l.*, which he attributed in part to the mildness of the winter. On the effects of the substitution of a Beer Duty for a Malt Tax he dwelt at some length, showing that the estimated yield of 8,800,000*l.* has resulted in an actual receipt of 8,580,000*l.*, or 92,000*l.* less than the average yield of the last six years of the malt-tax. He did not admit that this was owing to the beer duty having been placed too high; and though the Revenue officials attributed a portion of the collapse to the diminished wages of the people, he held that it might be traced to an improvement in their habits and to an increase in the number of coffee-houses. In illustration of the asserted decline in the drink revenue he relied mainly on the fact that the total alcoholic revenue, which in 1874-5 had increased to 31,000,000*l.* from 23,000,000*l.* in 1867-8, had fallen back to 28,444,000*l.* in 1881-2; and he mentioned also that the Wine Duties had fallen from 171,000*l.* in 1874 to 136,000*l.* in 1881. In 1867 we raised $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of our revenue from alcohol, in 1874 51 per cent., but in 1881 the percentage had sunk to $46\frac{1}{2}$. Another fact dwelt on was the increase in the tea duties, and though the coffee and chicory duties had not increased he thought adulteration had something to do with it. To meet this, he mentioned that a resolution would be introduced prohibiting mixture with other articles besides chicory. He traced also in the increased savings of the people further evidence of diminished drinking, and he mentioned that during the last year the savings bank depositors had intrusted to the Government for investment no less than 3,189,000*l.* With regard to the operations on the Debt, he showed that whereas on March 31, 1881, the total amount, including the value of the savings bank deficiency, for which the State was responsible, was 770,325,000*l.*, on March 31 this year it was 763,166,000*l.*, showing that a reduction of 7,159,000*l.* had been effected on all kinds of debt. Before leaving this subject Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of re-introducing, should the state of public business permit, his proposals of the previous year with reference to the conversion of a large amount of the debt into terminable annuities. Passing next to the prospects of the new year (1882-3) he summarised the receipts on the basis of the past, and the expenditure on the estimates already before Parliament in the following manner:—

Estimated Revenue		Estimated Charges	
Taxation.		Charges of	
Customs . . .	£19,300,000	Debt . . .	£31,414,672
Excise . . .	27,230,000	Army . . .	15,458,100
Stamps . . .	11,145,000	Navy . . .	10,483,901
Income Tax . .	9,400,000	Civil Services .	16,502,729
Land Tax . . .	1,035,000	Customs and	
House Duty . .	1,740,000	Inland	
Sources other than		Revenue . . .	2,900,977
taxation. . . .		Post Office . .	3,743,000
Post Office . .	7,150,000	Telegraph	
Telegraph Ser-		Service . . .	1,435,298
vice	1,650,000	Packet Service	710,544
Crown Lands . .	380,000	Army, Indian,	
Interest on ad-		home charges .	1,100,000
vances for		Afghan war,	
Local Works . .	1,180,000	grant in aid .	500,000
Miscellaneous			
(inclusive of			
Fee and			
Stamps	4,285,000		
Total revenue .	£84,445,000	Total charge .	£84,249,491
Estimated net de-		Estimated net	
crease of Re-		decrease of	
venue 1882-3 .	1,377,282	Expenditure	
		1882-3 . . .	1,223,065

The surplus thus left for distribution was only 305,000*l.*, and with this Mr. Gladstone thought it would be quite possible to go on without new taxes, had not pledges been given that something should be done with reference to highway rates and for the relief of local taxation. Originally, he had hoped to make the Ministerial proposals on this head part of a comprehensive scheme for the reform of local government, but he was no longer able to cherish that idea, and the Government no longer expected to be able to introduce a County Government Bill. What he proposed, therefore, was to ask the House for some 250,000*l.*, which would enable the Government to meet the obligation they had undertaken in regard to the highway rates, and the most convenient mode of doing this would be by a moderate addition to the carriage duty. By increasing the two guineas duty upon four-wheeled carriages to three guineas, and the 15*s.* duty on two-wheeled carriages to 21*s.*, he estimated that a sum of 247,000*l.* would be obtained, which would be available for the proposals to be introduced by the President of the Local Government Board. This would raise the original surplus to 562,000*l.*, which Mr. Gladstone regarded as the minimum with which the operations of the year should be commenced; and this, combined with the 247,000*l.* to be raised from the increased carriage duties, would place the Exchequer in funds (797,000*l.*) to meet the requirements of the Local Government Board. The Budget resolutions met with but little criticism, and were quietly accepted by the House and public.

The only measure mentioned in the Queen's Speech which exhibited much tenacity of life was the Attorney-General's Corrupt Practices Bill, drawn almost integrally on the lines of its

predecessor in the previous session. Many of the provisions to check bribery were thought by some speakers to be excessive, and thereby to defeat the object they had in view, so long as the moral sense of both candidates and electors failed to realize the criminality of the act. The decision of the Government to put down the expense of elections by fixing a maximum for each constituency, whilst admitted to be a step in the right direction, was held by Sir R. Cross and others on the Conservative side to be practically unworkable, whilst the opportunities offered by the Bill to increase the power of the caucus were pointed out from various quarters. The chief point of objection, however, seemed to be the power given to a single judge to impose, without power of appeal, such heavy punishments; and on the understanding that on this and other points the Government would be prepared to consider any amendments in Committee, the Bill was read a second time without challenge.

CHAPTER V.

The Phoenix Park Assassinations—The New Appointments—The Prevention of Crimes Bill—Mr. Forster's Explanations—The 'Treaty of Kilmainham'—The Arrears Bill—Egyptian Affairs—The Position of Parties.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH, who had been appointed Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in succession to Mr. Forster, reached Dublin in company with Earl Spencer on the morning of Saturday, May 6. In the course of the day he made his official entry into the city, took the oath at Dublin Castle, and forthwith set about the duties of his office. About seven o'clock in the evening he left the Viceregal Lodge for his own residence, and meeting with Mr. T. H. Burke, the permanent Under-Secretary, they walked together through the Phoenix Park. A few minutes later both were stabbed by assassins, presumed to be four in number, who escaped in a car, leaving no trace of their identity. The suddenness and magnitude of the crime for a moment seemed to paralyse all efforts to track its perpetrators. It was many hours before the news of the catastrophe reached the Cabinet—some time, indeed, before the identity of the victims was established at Dublin—and it was then too late to expect to catch the murderers red-handed. To the public the news was not known until the following day; but, although it was Sunday, it spread rapidly from one end of the country to the other. A Cabinet Council was hastily assembled, and immediate instructions were sent to the Viceroy in view of the urgency of the situation. In London the cry for coercive measures was almost general, but in the provinces calmer councils prevailed, and the dangers of panic-

born measures firmly exposed. A little reflection, moreover, brought most men to see that the murders were in all probability designed rather to discredit the Land League party than that they were the outcome of even its most violent partisans. The secret societies, with which in bygone times certain districts had been honey-combed, had for years fallen into the background, and the open agitation of the new Nationalist parties had rendered them comparatively powerless. The release of Mr. Parnell, their colleague, from prison, the first rumours of the "Kilmainham compact," and the utterances of Mr. Gladstone in the debate on Mr. Redmond's Bill, seemed to foreshadow a possible compromise between the English Government and the Irish National party. To the American-Irish, who had furnished the greater portion of the funds required to carry on the conflict between the tenants and the landlords, any solution short of a complete separation of the two kingdoms was altogether distasteful; but unless the influence of the Land League with both could be shown to be wholly nominal, a truce at least might be patched up, and a more lasting peace foreshadowed. It was therefore not unnatural that the American-Irish should turn to the secret societies, the survivors of which, especially in the more remote districts, had risen again into power, as soon as by imprisonment or otherwise the Land League leaders had been withdrawn. Instruments were therefore not difficult to find by those unscrupulous exiles who hated England more than they loved their own country, whilst the culpable carelessness of the Executive in permitting precious lives to go unprotected furnished a speedy opportunity to the Irreconcilables to spurn the "message of peace" which Lord F. Cavendish had been chosen to deliver. The assassination of Mr. Burke was generally believed to have been unpremeditated, as he represented no political party or policy. It was supposed that he owed his death to his efforts to save his colleague, and that the murderers themselves would willingly, on this occasion at least, have spared a life which had been at any moment within their reach.

The interval which of necessity elapsed between the murders and the meeting of Parliament did much to calm down popular opinion. It was pretty generally known that at their hurried meeting on Sunday the Cabinet had decided to abandon their procedure resolutions, to recall the offer made to the Conservative leaders, by which, in return for the Closure by a two-thirds majority, the Government proposals were to be accepted without modification, and in their place to push on, *pari passu*, bills for amending and extending both the Land and Coercion Acts of the previous session. It was scarcely less important to fill up the vacant posts without delay. With characteristic chivalry and courage, Mr. Forster at once telegraphed his readiness to accept office under Earl Spencer, pending the appointment of a permanent Secretary, but the need for his services did not arise. Within four-and-twenty hours of the meeting of Parliament it was known

that Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, the Secretary to the Admiralty, had accepted the Irish Secretaryship, whilst Lord Frederick Cavendish's Financial Secretaryship of the Treasury was conferred upon Mr. L. H. Courtney, who since the beginning of the year had been serving at the Colonial Office with Lord Kimberley.

The first offer of the post was made to Sir Charles Dilke, but, although strongly pressed to accept it, inasmuch as the offer carried with it a promise of a seat in the Cabinet, it was declined on the very reasonable ground that to defend a policy in which he was not necessarily consulted was to derogate from the position he held as exponent in the House of Commons of the foreign policy of the Government.

The other changes were chiefly departmental. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman passed from the War Office to the Admiralty, where the need of his financial knowledge was the greater in consequence of the temporary transfer of Mr. R. G. C. Hamilton, the Accountant-General of the Navy, to the Permanent Under-Secretaryship for Ireland. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was succeeded at the War Office by Sir Arthur Hayter, one of the Lords of the Treasury; Mr. Courtney's Under-Secretaryship of the Colonies being given to Mr. Ashley, the Secretary to the Board of Trade, to which Mr. J. Holms was transferred, whilst the two vacancies at the Treasury were filled by the advance of Mr. W. H. Gladstone and the introduction of Mr. R. W. Duff.

Both Houses of Parliament met on May 8, merely to adjourn after a few words from the leaders of the various political parties. Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone bore generous testimony to the value of both Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke—the loss of the latter being as irreparable to his country as that of the former was to his friends and family. Mr. Parnell expressed in simple straightforward terms, on his own behalf, on behalf of his party, and of every Irishman, wherever he might be, the most unqualified detestation of the horrible crime which had been committed in Ireland. He did not deny that under the circumstances it would be impossible for the Government to refrain from taking some step to repress outrages of this nature, but he wished to express his belief that this crime had been committed by men who absolutely detested the cause with which he had been associated, and who had devised and carried it out as the deadliest blow at the hopes of his party and the new course on which the Government had entered.

No time was lost in introducing the Ministerial measure, and although, on the day fixed for the funeral of Lord Frederick Cavendish (May 11), at Chatsworth, the House of Commons did not meet until nine o'clock in the evening, the funeral indeed had partaken much of the nature of a State ceremony. Three hundred members of the House of Commons, representing all parties, had attended, and the procession, which was headed by the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Gladstone, was followed by upwards of 30,000

persons. Sir William Harcourt, on the House assembling, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to meet the necessities of the situation. He declined to regard the act of the preceding Saturday as an isolated event; it was rather the inevitable outcome of the secret societies and unlawful combinations which spread their influence over the country and prevented the people from expressing their real feelings. Foremost amongst the evidence of existing terrorism was the intimidation of jurymen, who were prevented from doing their duty. The Government therefore had come to the conclusion that it was necessary for certain classes of cases and on certain occasions to create special tribunals. After much consideration the Government had determined that these tribunals should be composed of the judges of the superior courts; and whenever the Lord Lieutenant was of opinion that an impartial trial could not be had for treason, murder, attempts to kill, crimes of aggravated violence, and attacks on dwelling-houses, he would be empowered to appoint a special commission of three judges. They would sit without juries, and decide questions of law and fact; but their judgments must be unanimous, and there would be an appeal to the Court for Criminal Cases Reserved. With regard to preventive measures, the Bill proposed that in proclaimed districts the police should have power to search either by day or night for the apparatus of crime—daggers, masks, threatening letters, &c., and to arrest persons prowling about by night unable to give an account of themselves. It was also proposed to revise the Alien Act, to give power to arrest strangers, and to remove those who might be thought dangerous to public safety. Incitements to crime, membership of secret societies, aggravated assaults on the police and process-servers, and intimidation, would be summarily punished; there would be power to forfeit newspapers and take security for their better behaviour, and the Lord Lieutenant would have power to deal specially with unlawful assemblies. Among the minor provisions there were powers to carry on inquiries even where the criminals had escaped, to compel witnesses to attend, to appoint additional police at the cost of the district, and to levy compensation on the district for murders and maiming. Finally the Home Secretary stated that the summary jurisdiction was to be exercised by two stipendiary magistrates, and the duration of the Act was to be for three years.

Sir S. Northcote impressed on the House that if there was to be a departure from ordinary law it should be effectual for its purpose, and also that the exceptional law should be administered with firmness. Mr. Chaplin said, as it had been stated that the late Irish Secretary had been intrigued out of office, he called on the preachers of "Force no remedy" in the Cabinet to say whether they adhered to that doctrine, and whether Mr. Forster's successors were to be thwarted as he had been. Mr. Forster said that though there had been differences on various points between himself and his colleagues, he had never been in any way thwarted

with regard to the administration of any act which had been agreed on by the Cabinet. He was glad that the Bill had been brought in, and that the Government had decided to press it on before any other business. He agreed that it was a most stringent measure, but he believed that it was required by the present condition of things in Ireland. Mr. Bright said that what he had always maintained was that "Force was no remedy," not against force or violence, but against discontent in a country arising from causes which were sure to produce discontent. The Bill, he pointed out, would not affect innocent people, and any inconvenience it might occasion should be cheerfully submitted to for the sake of restoring order.

Mr. Parnell expressed his appreciation of the temper with which the English people had received the blow of Saturday last; but he regretted that the framers of this Bill had not shared in that temper. That crime gave the Government no warrant to place the lives and liberties of the Irish people at the mercy of such judges as Chief Justice May, and he predicted that it would lead to one hundredfold more disaster than the coercive policy which had already failed. Mr. Dillon expressed his deep regret at the Bill, and the "bloodthirsty" speech of the late Chief Secretary by which it had been supported, but that expression he was ordered to withdraw. It was true that the murder of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke—whom he would have given his own life to save—were the first political assassinations in our century, but they had occurred at the end of two years of Mr. Forster's administration, and he warned the House that another two years' administration might be followed by a similar stain. The Bill would exactly carry out the object of those who had committed the murder, and if the Government were about to fall back on the old style of coercive legislation, he saw nothing for it but to retire from Irish political life.

Mr. Goschen thought the House would neither be deterred by the violent language of the Irish members from pursuing the legislation which it deemed necessary for the repression of crime in Ireland, nor from persevering in its endeavours to knit closer the bonds between the two countries. Referring to the remark of Mr. Dillon and one or two other Irish members, that they washed their hands of all responsibility, Mr. Goschen said, amid loud cheers, that the responsibility of governing Ireland rested with the Executive, not with members "steeped to the lips in treason;" and this being objected to, he substituted, "not with members who had signed the No Rent manifesto, and who had declared that they would not take off their coats for the Land Question alone."

After a short but vigorous protest from Mr. Cowen, Sir William Harcourt replied to the various objections raised during the discussion, and leave to bring in the Bill was given by 327 to 22, the minority consisting of the "advanced" Home Rulers and Messrs. Cowen and J. C. Thompson. In the majority

were 27 Irish members, one of whom, Major F. O'Beirne, was also a Home Ruler; but the great majority of the Irish members absented themselves from the division. Outside Parliament the general verdict was that the Government Bill certainly did not err on the side of leniency, and whilst it was admitted that Ministers were making a serious effort to crush "a gigantic social pest" which endangered the foundation of freedom, yet loud doubts were expressed whether it was altogether wise to place such ample powers in the hands of the Executive. A few organs of opinion expressed regret that the pendulum had swung back once more, and that of the conciliatory policy of the previous week but a trace remained. It was, however, worthy of remark that the provincial press, which since the assassination had been steadily insisting upon calmness and moderation, was on the whole more favourably inclined to the new Coercion Bill than was the London press, which had been crying out for drastic remedies and stern repression.

In the interval between the first and second reading of the Bill, Mr. Forster visited his constituents at Bradford, May 12 (in support of Mr. Holden's candidature), and took the occasion to review the situation of affairs, and to give his version of the causes which had led to his separation from the leaders of the Liberal party, whilst remaining as firmly attached as ever to its principles.

"There never was a time," he said, "in which this Government—and not merely this Government, but Governments generally—required more strength than it does at this moment. You have confidence in Mr. Gladstone—not more confidence than I have—though, with greater pain than any act I ever performed, I had to cease to assist him in the particular post which I lately occupied. But you have confidence in him, the country has confidence in him, and our opponents know that the country has confidence in him. They know that they cannot turn out his Government. Well, I appeal to them—Is this a time in which they should not do their best to strengthen it? The Government has a most serious task to perform, mainly connected with Ireland, with which I have had so much to do. They have to prevent crime, to prevent murder, to relieve Ireland of the terrorism which overshadows it, and they have to do this without giving way to passion, without giving way to injustice, without forgetting the condition of the Irish people, and without forgetting that there may still be something owing to the Irish people in completion of the great measure which was lately passed. They have to do all this, and for that a strong Government is required.

In answer to the question how he could support the Government, seeing that he had considered it his duty to leave his colleagues, he said:—"I left the Government, as I say, with the greatest possible pain, because I could not believe that it was a wise or, under the circumstances, a right thing to release the three members of Parliament without having reasonable belief that they

would not or could not, when they were released, do the things for which we had to shut them up. My colleagues did not agree with me. It was not a difference upon principle. My colleagues were as determined as I am to preserve order. I am as determined as my colleagues—and history will prove it—to remove every Irish grievance; but we could not agree, and I felt that if I did not take that step, which was to me a matter of so much pain, I should be in this position—that I should have been obliged in the House of Commons to vindicate and support that which I did not think was the right thing to do. I was one man against thirteen men, many of them better able to form a judgment than I am but for this one reason—I had been in Ireland, and they had not; and I believe—nay, I am sure—that if they had my Irish experience, if they had had forced upon them, as I had every morning and every hour, the fearful combat that we were carrying on for law and order against terrorism, against crime, against murder, against intimidation, they would not have thought it a safe thing to weaken, as I feel sure it would weaken, but as they fully believed it would not weaken, the power of the law and of the Government to prevent breaches of the law by the step that was taken.”

Mr. Forster went on to contend that the agitation in Ireland was not carried on by constitutional means, but by intimidation of individuals, and murder was its natural outcome. No terms would, therefore, be made with its leaders. The Bill which had been brought in was a strong measure; but it was absolutely necessary. As soon as it was passed, they must with vigour and with determination set their minds to see what must be done with regard to the arrears question, and many other matters which had still to be done in Ireland, either in the way of justice or of generous assistance.

The Prevention of Crimes Bill had, however, to encounter some serious difficulties even before it came before the House of Commons. No sooner had its outline become known through Mr. Harcourt's speech, than the Irish judicial bench took measures to express their unwillingness to undertake the duties mapped out for them; and almost simultaneously it was announced that the Opposition were not agreed in their approval of the Bill. The clauses giving to the Executive power to suppress newspapers and to disperse public meetings were looked upon with suspicion, whilst the proposal to institute special commissions would, it was alleged, in three years degrade the judicial bench to a point beyond recovery. Even the Liberal journals scented danger in the proposals to deprive of the benefit of jury men accused on so vague a charge as that of treason, and still more in those provisions against intimidation, which would render the life of the most harmless intolerable. On all sides the Government were urged to omit from the Bill all clauses which had any political bearing or carried with them any penalty of mere diversity of opinion, and to limit the measure to rendering the ordinary common law more effectual.

The interlude of the so-called "Treaty of Kilmainham" was also introduced at this moment to enlighten the public upon the relations of the Home Rulers and the Government. The actual facts were long in becoming known to the outside public, but the rumours of something in the nature of a compromise having been proposed by the Home Rulers had been current soon after Mr. Gladstone's memorable speech on Mr. Redmond's Bill. The negotiations, if the informal communications were worthy of the name, seem to have taken shape as early as April 13, when Mr. Forster was still Irish Secretary, and the national cause was still uncompromised by the Phoenix Park tragedy. Captain O'Shea, the member for county Clare, had written to both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain on the subject of evictions for arrears, and urging the Government to take the matter in hand. The actual text of this letter was not produced, and indeed Mr. Gladstone, holding that the correspondence could not be officially circulated, contented himself with a general denial of the existence of any recognised or implied contract between the Government and the leader of the Home Rule party, leaving to the latter to take the initiative in any explanations. Mr. Gladstone's letter, however, eventually was published, and ran as follows:—

"April 15, 1882.

"Dear Sir,—I have received your letter of the 13th, and I will communicate with Mr. Forster on the important and varied matter which it contains. I will not now enter upon any portion of that matter, but will simply say that no apology can be required either for the length or the freedom of your letter. On the contrary, both demand my acknowledgments. I am very sensible of the spirit in which you write; but I think you assume the existence of a spirit on my part with which you can sympathise. Whether there be any agreement as to the means, the end in view is of vast moment, and assuredly no resentment, personal prejudice, or false shame, or other impediment extraneous to the matter itself, will prevent the Government from treading in that path which may most safely lead to the pacification of Ireland."

Mr. Chamberlain, also writing to Captain O'Shea, expressed himself in the same general sense:—

"April 17, 1882.

"My dear Sir,—I am really very much obliged to you for your letter, and especially for the copy of your very important and interesting communication to Mr. Gladstone. I am not in a position, as you will understand, to write you fully on the subject, but I think I may say that there appears to me nothing in your proposal which does not deserve consideration. I entirely agree in your view that it is the duty of the Government to lose no opportunity of acquainting themselves with representative opinion in Ireland, and for that purpose that we ought to welcome suggestion and criticism from every quarter and from all sections and classes

of Irishmen, provided that they are animated by a desire for good government, and not by a blind hatred of all government whatever. There is one thing must be borne in mind—that if the Government and the Liberal party generally are bound to show greater consideration than they have hitherto done for Irish opinion, on the other hand the leaders of the Irish party must pay some attention to public opinion in England and in Scotland. Since the present Government have been in office they have not had the slightest assistance in this direction. On the contrary, some of the Irish members have acted as if their object were to embitter and prejudice the English nation. The result is, that nothing would be easier than at the present moment to get up in every large town an anti-Irish agitation almost as formidable as the anti-Jewish agitation in Russia. I fail to see how Irishmen or Ireland can profit by such policy, and I shall rejoice whenever the time comes that a more hopeful spirit is manifested on both sides.”

On Mr. Gladstone's refusal to produce documentary evidence of the intentions of the released members, Mr. Parnell volunteered to show to the House what was practically the attitude assumed by the imprisoned members on the question. This was explained in a letter to Captain O'Shea, dated April 28, 1882, from Mr. Parnell himself, and was written from Kilmainham, shortly after he had returned there in discharge of his parole:—

“I was very sorry that you had left Albert Mansions before I reached London from Eltham, as I had wished to tell you that, after our conversation, I had made up my mind that it would be proper for me to put Mr. McCarthy in possession of the views which I had previously communicated to you. I desire to impress upon you the absolute necessity of a settlement of the arrears question which will leave no recurring sore connected with it behind, and which will enable us to show the smaller tenantry that they have been treated with justice and some generosity. The proposal you have described to me, as suggested in some quarters, of making a loan over however many years the payment might be spread, should be absolutely rejected, for reasons which I have already fully explained to you. If the arrears question be settled upon the lines indicated by us I have every confidence—a confidence shared by my colleagues—that the exertions which we should be able to make strenuously and unremittingly would be effective in stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds. As regards permanent legislation of an ameliorative character, I may say that the views which you always shared with me as to the admission of leaseholders to the fair-rent clauses of the Act are more confirmed than ever. So long as the flower of the Irish peasantry are kept outside the Act there cannot be any permanent settlement of the Land Act, which we all so much desire. I should also strongly hope that some compromise might be arrived at this session with regard to the amendment of the tenure clauses. It is

unnecessary for me to dwell upon the enormous advantage to be derived from the full extension of the purchase clauses which now seems practically to have been adopted by all parties. The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and I believe that the Government at the end of this session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with further coercive measures.

"Yours very truly,

"C. S. PARNELL."

This however was not, as stated by Mr. Parnell in reply to an enquiry from Mr. Foster, the original letter, but was the version furnished by Captain O'Shea, who had misquoted the concluding paragraph, which was subsequently read by him from a copy furnished by Mr. Forster himself thus:—

"The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles, and that the Government at the end of the session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures."

Whether the production of a document, obtained by Mr. Forster as a member of the Cabinet, and refused by his former colleagues on the ground of expediency, was in accordance with ordinary usages, could not be debated; but its purport and the mode of its revelation naturally aroused the suspicion that there might have been other communications between the Cabinet and the Home Rulers, and not even with Mr. Gladstone's explicit declarations "that there was not the slightest understanding of any kind, that Mr. Parnell had asked nothing of the Government, and the Government sought nothing from him," was the subject allowed to drop, for as soon as Mr. Gladstone had explained the nature of the Arrears Bill, Mr. O'Shea insisted upon making a full statement of his relations with both sides. It had been his intention during the Easter recess to make himself personally acquainted with the state of feeling respecting arrears and other matters, but being prevented by illness he was forced to content himself with such evidence as he could collect otherwise. Many cases were brought before him from which it was clear that forbearance was at an end, and that there were many cases, not only in which the landlord was creditor, but also in which he was debtor. He had seen documents showing the intentions of the resident magistrates and copies of circulars addressed to the Irish constabulary. All impressed upon him the importance of the arrears question. What struck him was the weariness of the country. He wrote to the Prime Minister asking permission to write to him upon the state of the country. Shortly afterwards he saw Mr. Parnell, who had

been released temporarily on parole from Kilmainham, and who said he refrained from anything approaching political action. When he expressed the hope that his release would be permanent, Mr. Parnell had said, "Never mind the suspects; try and get the question of the arrears satisfactorily adjusted, and the contributions made not a loan, but a gift, and on compulsion. The Tories have now adopted my views as to a peasant proprietary. The great object to be attained is to stay evictions by an Arrears Bill." In speaking of "Captain Moonlight" and the outrages that had taken place, Mr. Parnell expressed his belief that the "Moonlighters" were sons of small farmers, who were threatened with eviction. He (Captain O'Shea) doubted whether the Government would deal with the arrears, but hoped, seeing the terrible condition of Ireland, the Government would rise to the occasion, and he asked Mr. Parnell to use his great personal influence towards the preservation of order in Ireland. It was almost immediately after this interview that he wrote to the Prime Minister and to the President of the Board of Trade (April 13), and received from them the replies above given. Encouraged by these marks of approval Captain O'Shea had numerous conversations with Mr. Forster in which, whilst excluding all idea of bargain or compromise, he endeavoured to remove many prejudices and misunderstandings, and although in his case he had not been individually successful, yet the general result of his efforts was apparent in the attitude assumed by the Cabinet on Mr. Redmond's Bill. Subsequent to the debate on that measure he had, with the knowledge and by the aid of Mr. Forster, had many interviews with the members in Kilmainham, but the question of their release was not discussed. He had urged the necessity of withdrawing the "No-rent manifesto," and the Land League ceased to circulate it; but this was not to be understood as a bid or bargain for liberty offered by the imprisoned members. Mr. Forster thereupon contributed his version of the story, which included the memorandum of a conversation which took place on April 30 between himself and Mr. O'Shea. The line adopted by Mr. Forster in the Cabinet, and maintained by him when speaking to Irish members, had been that the imprisoned members should only be released either when Ireland was pacified, or the prisoners had given a pledge that they would observe the law, or when the Government was armed with fresh powers by a new bill. It was therefore unlikely that he should consider the member for Clare's overtures tempting, or the result of his negotiations wholly encouraging.

"After telling me that he had been from 11 to 5 yesterday with Parnell, O'Shea gave me his letter to him, saying that he hoped it would be a satisfactory expression of union with the Liberal party. After carefully reading it I said to him, 'Is that all, do you think, that Parnell would be inclined to say?' He said, 'What more do you want?' Doubtless I could supplement.' I said, 'It comes to this—that upon our doing certain things he

will help us to prevent outrages'—or words to that effect. He again said, 'How can I supplement it?'—referring, I imagine, to different measures. I did not feel justified in giving him my own opinion, which might be interpreted to be that of the Cabinet, so I said I had better show the letter to Mr. Gladstone and one or two others. He said, 'Well, there may be faults in expression, but the thing is done; if these words will not do, I must get others, but what is obtained is' (and here he used most remarkable words) 'that the conspiracy which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down, and that there will be a union in the Liberal party.' And as an illustration of how the first of these results was to be obtained, he said that Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation—I am not sure which word was used—as he knew all its details in the West. "He was a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who, under disguises, has hitherto eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outragemongers in the West. I did not feel myself sufficiently master of the situation to let him see what I thought of this confidence, but I again told him that I could not do more at present than tell others what he had told me."

This statement was received with considerable applause by the Conservatives, and although Mr. O'Shea protested that the word used by him for the machinery by which boycotting was got up was not "conspiracy" but "organisation," the repetition of a word which on the previous evening Mr. Forster had withdrawn was regarded as a proof of his unwillingness to meet in a friendly spirit any advances from the leaders of the Land League; but this more than the compromise to be effected was in Mr. Forster's opinion of the nature of a bargain of which he could not approve. Mr. Parnell substantially agreed with the version given by Mr. O'Shea, but he took the opportunity of disclaiming any personal intention to intervene between landlords and their tenants, and he expressed his belief that the expression which had called forth so much dispute really implied not that the same organisation under which outrages had been committed would be used to put them down, but that the persons taking part in moonlight outrages, which the Kilmainham prisoners strongly condemned, were the smaller tenantry who could not pay, and wished by means of the outrages to intimidate the larger tenantry, and prevent them from paying their rents, and thus protect themselves. He had suggested that Mr. Sheridan should be permitted to return to Ireland, and that Mr. Davitt should be released, for he believed that they would use their influence to discourage the commission of outrages, and to induce the tenantry to accept a settlement for the arrears.

The principal part of this explanation had been introduced

towards the close of the debate on the motion for leave to bring in a bill to deal with the arrears of rent in Ireland. It seemed strange that in the short space of four months the Ministry should, in spite of their efforts of the preceding year, find themselves not only forced to admit the need of further legislation to cope with the agrarian difficulties of that country, but should on two most vital questions have to act from a sense precisely opposite to that which they had proclaimed as "their fixed policy." Not long after the assembling of Parliament Mr. Forster had declared that he saw no prospect of any need for further coercive policy, whilst in reply to numerous appeals from the Irish members for a measure dealing with arrears, Mr. Gladstone had claimed the requirements of England for legislation as of the first importance. The Prevention of Crime Bill, although its need was brought into greater prominence by the ghastly tragedy in Phoenix Park, would have been required to have been enacted in some form or other, as it was hardly probable that Parliament would have been allowed to separate without providing the Executive with some special machinery for preserving order after the expiration of the Coercion Bill on September 30; and probably there were few statesmen on either side of the House who believed that Parliament would renew, still less extend, the arbitrary powers of the Executive without some equivalent concessions. Mr. Gladstone had consequently a somewhat delicate task when on rising shortly before midnight (May 15), he explained the provisions of a measure which was to form the third factor in the great attempt to bring about the pacification of Ireland. The first step, the release of suspected persons, was followed by the Bill for summarily dealing with detected crime, and, without waiting for the passage of that measure, the Government were anxious to show how far they would be prepared to go towards meeting the demands of the destitute tenantry. With very few prefatory remarks Mr. Gladstone explained the Government Bill, which in its essential features followed the lines of Mr. Redmond's Bill, and adopted as its basis the principle of compulsion and gift. Its operation was limited to holdings under 30*l.* a year (Griffith's valuation), and only to such tenants as could show that their rent between November 1880 and November 1881 had been paid. The benefits of the Bill would be alike open to landlord and tenant, the principle of compulsory purchase or sale being thus made equitable. The tenant, moreover, would have to give proof before a competent tribunal of his inability to pay, before his demand upon the landlord or the State could be entertained; and this tribunal would be either the Land Commissioner's Court or the County Court. In cases where the claim was fully made out, the State would pay one-half of the arrears accruing before November 1880, or one year's rent, by a free gift of the amount required. When both the tenant and the State had paid their respective contributions, the whole of the remaining arrears would be cancelled, and the Courts would

register the arrangements. Tenants evicted up to a certain date (not specified by Mr. Gladstone in his speech) were to have all the advantages of the Bill, as well as of the six months' equity of redemption, a peculiar principle of Irish law; and applications to take advantage of its provisions were to be lodged, by either landlord or tenant, before June 30, 1883. To carry out this scheme, under which, as Mr. Gladstone urged, landlords would profit equally with their impoverished tenants, about two millions might be required; of which the surplus of the Irish Church Fund would furnish three-fourths. At some later date it might be necessary to apply to Parliament for a grant, but in that case the amount required would not exceed half a million.

There was but little discussion on the Bill from any side of the House, but the general disposition was that of weary acquiescence in a scheme which, it was hoped, might reconcile the majority of the Irish members without driving to extremities the Conservative Opposition. But even at this early stage there was evidence of sufficient hostility to both of the Ministerial measures to make it probable that the present session, like its predecessor, would be devoted exclusively to Irish affairs, to the neglect of every legislative proposal introduced for, or demanded by, the needs of other parts of the United Kingdom.

It did not, however, escape the eye of the Conservative leaders that valuable political capital might possibly be made out of the negotiations with the Land Leaguers, and the matter was not allowed to drop without further discussion; and in spite of the real or supposed claims of private members to some share of the session, the whole of the sitting on the following day (May 16) was devoted to a further sifting of the "Kilmainham Treaty," as it was called by a section of the House. The whole of the day's debate sprang out of a question put by Sir Stafford Northcote, who asked the Premier, firstly, whether any other member of the Government besides Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster had had communication direct or indirect with Mr. Parnell before his release; secondly, whether the communications that took place were known to the Government as a whole, or whether they were made known only to Mr. Forster in particular; thirdly, whether any members of the Government had had personal interviews with Mr. Parnell before his release; and, lastly, whether Michael Davitt's name was in any way introduced into the communications in question. To the first Mr. Gladstone replied that Mr. Chamberlain and Captain O'Shea had had some verbal or written communications with each other; to the second he replied that as these were no communications in the sense of the question, there was nothing to be communicated; to the third and fourth he replied emphatically in the negative. He added that the plain duty of the Government was to release the three members when they could no longer be reasonably suspected of acting "to the disturbance of law and order." That time, in his opinion, had arrived, and Mr. Parnell and his

colleagues were consequently released. The Prime Minister was then closely pressed by Lord John Manners, Mr. Gibson, and others, to afford some more definite information, but Mr. Gladstone adhered to his statement that the letter read on the previous night was evidence of a new frame of mind on Mr. Parnell's part, and therefore he could no longer be "reasonably suspected." Mr. Balfour, seeing that nothing further was likely to be extracted by questioning, moved the adjournment of the House in a very violent speech. The Government, he said, had acted like one of Molière's heroes who had not sold his goods; he had merely given them to a friend, and his friend had returned the compliment by giving him some money; in the same way the Government had entered into no compact, but it had given the Parnellites something which they wanted very much, receiving in return something which the Government desired with equal ardour. No transaction of equal infamy could be quoted from Parliamentary history; and to make it the darker, while all this was going on, the Home Secretary at Derby was accusing the Opposition of allying itself with the Parnellites. A speech couched in this language was hardly likely to make discussion smoother, and when Mr. Gladstone rose to reply it was evident that he had been stung by the taunts levelled at him. He ridiculed the virtuous honour of Mr. Balfour, which could expend itself in so childish a fashion as a motion for the adjournment of the House. He insisted that Mr. Parnell did not know of his intended release until it actually took place, nor did he know anything of the Government intentions with respect to arrears, beyond what all the world was aware of after the debate on Mr. Redmond's Bill. Half an hour after he received Mr. Parnell's proffer of support to Liberal measures he wrote to Mr. Forster, saying that it was one which he had no right either to expect or to accept. Those who made baseless charges against the Government were bound to prove them, or to try to prove them, and he challenged Mr. Balfour to make the attempt. Mr. Gibson, at once taking up the quarrel, pointed out that this was a very safe kind of challenge. The Government had concealed the transaction until it was wrung from them by repeated questions. If they had nothing to be ashamed of, why should they hide the affair? Would any man of honour in the House stand up and say that the Government had a right to sit silently by while Mr. Parnell read a mutilated copy of his letter? It had been more than suggested on Monday night that they were willing to use the men who got up boycotting and outrages to put them down again. It was the duty of the Queen's Government emphatically to repudiate such a suggestion. If the late Lord Beaconsfield had embarked upon such an adventure he would have been treated to unmeasured vituperation by Mr. Gladstone. The Premier denied that he had ever so treated Lord Beaconsfield. Mr. Gibson would withdraw the expression, and say "subjected to the most strong and severe criticism." The Govern-

ment could scarcely expect the Irish people to obey them when they were guilty of such unpardonable weakness. Sir W. Harcourt, as Lord John Manners afterwards remarked, "came in like a lion and went out like a lamb." He taunted Mr. Balfour with being a party to the secret memorandum of the late Government. The Ministry was not yet quite so bad, therefore, as their critics, for Lord Salisbury, when brought face to face with his own document, repudiated it. The Government had released Mr. Parnell simply because they felt that they had no longer a right to keep him in prison. Mr. Forster alone thought otherwise, and therefore he resigned, but under present circumstances he would have expected the Opposition to do all in their power to assist in the restoration of order in Ireland, whereas they were making violent speeches calculated to have a precisely opposite effect. Mr. Forster declared that if a member of the Cabinet—that is to say, Mr. Chamberlain—had sanctioned the withdrawal of the omitted clause in Mr. Parnell's letter, he knew nothing of the arrangement. Mr. Chamberlain protested that he did not sanction the omission, but that Captain O'Shea had withdrawn it on his own responsibility. Mr. Edward Clarke remembered how an illustrious statesman was pursued in the closing years of his life with constant vituperation by all on the other side of the House. They were scarcely the people, therefore, to complain of hard words being used. Sir Stafford Northcote summed up a most exciting afternoon by observing that the position was this:—The Government said that no negotiations took place with Mr. Parnell. Mr. Forster held a different view. That being so, the debate, although to a certain extent academic, had not been wasted. No actual division was taken, for when seven o'clock, the hour for adjournment, arrived, Sir H. Fletcher was still speaking.

A week later, on the eve of its adjournment for the Whitsuntide recess, the House of Lords became the scene of a heated but informal discussion of the same topic. For some days a notice on the subject of "The Treaty of Kilmainham" stood on the paper in the name of Lord Waterford. Having stated that in consequence of a statement made in the other House he would postpone his question till after the Whitsuntide recess, Lord Granville rose and asked whether the question would be in the same terms as those in which it had already appeared on the paper. On this, Lord Salisbury rose and accused Lord Granville of great irregularity in discussing a question not under the consideration of the House. Lord Granville denied that he was out of order, but said that he would conclude by moving the adjournment of the House. He then explained that his reason for making the inquiry he had addressed to Lord Waterford was that notice having been given in the other House of a question in precisely similar terms, the Speaker ruled that it could not be put, and he thought that perhaps Lord Waterford was not the author of the words in which his notice had appeared. Lord Salisbury, in sarcastic tones, repeated

the charge of irregularity against Lord Granville, and expressed his opinion that Lord Waterford was quite right in opening up the conduct of the Government with reference to the "treaty," of which he availed himself of the opportunity to express bitter censure. Lord Granville, with unusual warmth, maintained that his proceeding had been perfectly regular, while Lord Salisbury had been guilty of "the grossest irregularity." He was fully justified in his suggestion that Lord Waterford was not the author of the original notice, because with good feeling and taste that noble Lord, in his fresh notice, entirely changed the terms of the question, of which Lord Salisbury rushed in to claim the paternity. As there was no one in their Lordships' House who possessed the power usefully exercised by the Speaker in the other House over notices of motion, he should have felt it his duty to move their Lordships not to permit the question to be put if it had remained in its original terms.

The two measures of the Government, which were destined to exclude nearly all other legislation, were now before Parliament, and the intention of their promoters was, as far as possible, to advance the two *pari passu*, the order of their original introduction being maintained. The curtain had fallen, temporarily at least, on the Kilmainham interlude, and without delay rose upon a more serious phase of the Irish drama. On May 18 Mr. O'Donnell opened the debate on the second reading of the Crimes Prevention Bill by a long vote of censure on Mr. Forster's administration. The Speaker, however, having ruled that only a small extract of the resolution could be put, Mr. O'Donnell abandoned the little that remained. The principle of the Bill was then subjected to somewhat severe criticism on the Ministerial side of the House, Professor Bryce, in particular, objecting to the suppression of public meetings, and the censorship of the press. The Irish members were more divided than usual, a few even of those habitually classed among the Home Rulers announcing their intention of supporting the Bill. Mr. Trevelyan's first official utterance in the House as Chief Secretary for Ireland was an eloquent but temperate pleading for the Bill. In the course of a speech, illustrated by facts and details graphically narrated, he argued that it was the imperative duty of the Government to wage unrelenting and unremitting war against all secret societies; that the underlying principle of the Bill was not to make the law more severe, but to render its operation more certain. On behalf of the Conservatives, Mr. Gibson promised to support the measure, and he expressed his belief that it was a real attempt to grapple with crime, that it would not jeopardise legitimate liberty, and that it involved no inconvenience which a law-abiding citizen might not encounter if it would increase the probability of detecting crime. He objected, however, to the proposed appeal from the judges, and urged that there should be a power to change the venue. As there would be no power of arbitrary

arrest under the Bill it could not be called coercion; but he impressed on the Government that a firm and impartial administration of it was as important as the terms of the Bill itself. The speeches of Mr. Dillon and Mr. Sullivan, with which the first night's debate closed, proved sufficiently that whatever view might be taken of the provisions of the "Treaty of Kilmainham" by some of the Home Rule party, they were not regarded as binding upon all. In the course of a long, bitter, and often eloquent speech, Mr. Dillon maintained that no case had been made out for suspending trial by jury, for the failures to convict arose not from intimidation but from popular sympathy. He admitted that while it lasted the Bill would put down the Land League, but the League would arise again and the whole work of the last two years would have to be gone through again. Mr. Sullivan described the clauses as tyrannical and cruel, and insisted that the measure would stifle all political life, and turn Ireland into one vast prison for politicians. In resuming the debate on the following day, Mr. Sexton commented on the sad fact that at the end of 700 years the English Government and Parliament should once more be engaged on the work of coercion for Ireland. For many years past the government of Ireland had been a mixture of force and conciliation, but no government could succeed which was not based on conciliation, by which he understood simple justice. As the policy of conciliation recently pursued by the Government had begun to bear fruit, and as there was nothing in the general state of Ireland to justify the Bill, he assumed that it was provoked by the deplorable event in Phoenix Park. Discussing the Bill in detail, he professed himself unable to understand how the Government could expect it to repress crime when Mr. Forster's *régime* had utterly failed, and it would depend, he said, on the administration of the Bill whether the Irish members would continue in public life or would leave the English Government face to face with the Irish people.

In the hope of bringing matters to an issue, Mr. Gladstone at once rose to reply, addressing himself chiefly to the objections raised by the Home Rulers. In answer to Mr. Dillon's argument that the Bill would put down the Land League, he contended that it would not interfere with that organisation if its objects were limited to its prospectus, but if there were other designs behind, then such a result would be welcomed by the House. He agreed with Mr. Sexton that conciliation meant justice. But justice meant justice to all, and included the use of force for the punishment of evildoers; and if asked on what he placed his reliance for the removal of discontent, it was on the removal of the causes rather than on checking the expression of it. Referring to the attacks on Mr. Forster's administration, he bore testimony, amid loud cheers, to the zeal and devotion with which he had laboured, and declared that the Government declined to shift any share of their responsibility to his shoulders. He denied that the

Dublin assassination was the cause of the Bill, and in dwelling on this point he pointed to the fact that no information had reached the Executive of circumstances which must be known to many as a proof of the existence, not only of some sympathy with the assassins, but also of a widespread terrorism. Although the Bill was contemplated before, that dreadful occurrence made it impossible to delay its production longer. Its main basis was not the slaughter of persons of rank and station, but the widespread misery inflicted on a large body of the people for the exercise of their legal rights and the discharge of their legal obligations. In Committee the Government would listen to objections, but the Bill must be passed on its main lines unaltered. This Bill and the Arrears Bill were parts of one and the same policy, and he earnestly exhorted the House to lose no time in passing it.

Mr. Parnell disclaimed the intention of opposing the Bill unfairly, but he hoped the Prime Minister would see his way to giving a longer time for the preparation of amendments. He admitted the good intentions of the Premier and the Chief Secretary, and he believed that they only intended to use the Bill against crime and not against liberty. But that was the language held by every Minister who had proposed coercion since the Union, and no Minister, however perfect, was fit to be entrusted with the great powers conferred by this Bill. Whether the party with which he was connected could continue in public life after the Bill passed was a matter for grave consideration, but at present it was their duty to do everything in their power to mitigate the severity of the Bill. For the last two years they had been struggling against the Prime Minister; they had found him a strong man, but they regretted now to find him once more forsaking the path of justice and conciliation, and following the well-beaten track of force and coercion. After a few further criticisms, the division was taken, and the second reading carried by 383 against 45, the minority being composed of the Irish Home Rulers and nine English Radicals.

In moving the second reading of the Arrears Bill (May 22), Mr. Gladstone admitted that it could not be defended on logical grounds, and that the interference of the State in the settlement of debts by means of compulsion and gifts could not be justified on either economic or constitutional principles. But the House of Commons in previous sessions had dealt with this question in an exceptional manner—a precedent had been set, which the new Bill only extended, and the failure of one portion of the Land Act might thus be retrieved. As the principle involved was simple enough, Mr. Gladstone hoped that it might be read a second time without much delay. In making this suggestion he confined his own remarks almost exclusively to the financial bearings of the Bill. He expected the Irish Church surplus to yield more than 1,500,000*l.*, the claims might amount to 2,500,000*l.* but he did not think that they would be as much as 2,000,000*l.* The

number of tenants having holdings of less than 30*l.* annual value was 585,000, but he did not expect more than a third of them to make claims.

On behalf of the Opposition, Mr. Selater-Booth moved that it was inexpedient to charge the Consolidated Fund with any payment, except by way of loan, in respect of arrears in Ireland. He described the Government proposal as demoralising, and destined to teach the Irish people a lesson full of evil for the future. He maintained that relief given by way of loan could have been supported by numerous precedents; but the "gift" basis having been asked for publicly by no Irish party, could only be regarded as a secret article of the *Treaty of Kilmainham*. If the liability to be incurred was but half a million it was hardly worth while setting so bad a precedent for so small an object; but there were many competent persons who reckoned that the sum required would be at least 4,000,000*l.*, whilst others said that there was no surplus of the Irish Church Fund.

Mr. Forster, although he had made up his mind to vote for the second reading, because it seemed to offer the only possible means of escape from the present dilemma, would not admit that there was no difference of principle between the present Bill and the Arrears clause of the Land Act. He admitted that the pacification of Ireland could only be looked for when that Act had been generally accepted by the people, and made available to the poor cottiers—a large class of tenants, who ought, in spite of their heavy arrears, and perhaps, because of those arrears, to be protected from the eviction with which they were threatened. The tendency of this class (whence sprung the chief dissatisfaction), if they could obtain the tenant-right contemplated by the Act of 1881, would be to diminish, chiefly by migration, which he believed was becoming more and more popular; but emigration, the outcome of evictions, would either fail or become more dangerous than misery at home.

Mr. Mulholland, speaking for the Ulster Conservatives, said that the landlords, viewing with suspicion any proposal coming from the Government, regarded the present measure as ineffective and dangerous; and Mr. Shaw, for the Liberal Home Rulers, though not persuaded by Mr. Gladstone or by Mr. Forster that a gift was better than a loan, would not insist upon his own opinion. Mr. Trevelyan's chief argument was based on the contention that clearance of accounts all round was necessary to enable both landlords and tenants to take advantage of the fresh start offered to both; and pleaded that, for the sake of restoring peace and order in Ireland, Parliament might well strain a point in political economy. Lord George Hamilton infused some heat into a flagging debate by suggesting that the Government had thrown over its Irish friends, and had listened to the voice from *Kilmainham*; and he prophesied that the result of the measure, if carried, would be to convert a number of loyal men into agitators for the repeal of the Union.

Mr. W. H. Smith maintained that the Bill was neither equitable in its operation, safe in the principle which it laid down, nor effectual for its purpose. On this last head he pointed out that most of those who were in arrear with their rent were also indebted to others, and the result of the Bill would enable the shopkeepers and gombeen men to evict them. He also showed that anyone in arrear—if only for the ordinary “hanging gale”—might use the Bill to get an advance of public funds; and, on the whole, it would have a demoralising effect and would act as an incitement to men to disregard their legal obligations. Every one of the 585,000 tenants under 30*l.* who did not get a share in the public funds would have a grievance; and with regard to the poorest class, the cottiers of the West, the Bill would do nothing towards the permanent improvement of their condition. He admitted that coercion alone could not deal with the difficulty, but a measure based on unsound principles, which was a reward to dishonesty and a temptation to the repudiation of engagements, must make things worse. He objected to the Bill also because it used up a fund which might be applied to reproductive purposes. The Opposition, he said, would not have objected to a substantial advance of public money which would really give the tenant a fresh start. But that might be done in a better way than this, and he regretted that the Government had not shown greater courage with regard to such questions as emigration and the Purchase Clauses.

Mr. Childers contended that Mr. Selater-Booth's amendment raised an unreal issue and was framed to catch votes. After replying in detail to the speech in which it was moved, he discussed Mr. Mulholland's estimate of the condition of the Irish Church surplus, against which he set a calculation of his own, showing that its annual income was well able to bear the burden proposed to be placed on it. To those who objected that it would be impossible to ascertain whether the tenant could pay or not, he replied by reminding them that last year they had held just the opposite opinion.

In a bitter speech Mr. J. Lowther stated his belief, founded on information, that Mr. Forster had been driven from the Cabinet by secret machinations, and challenged Mr. Gladstone to produce documents to show that Mr. Forster had been privy to all the Kilmainham negotiations. The House then divided, and having negatived Mr. Selater-Booth's amendment by 296 to 181, the second reading of the Arrears Bill was carried by 269 to 157; the Government receiving the support of the majority of the Irish members in each division.

The second day's debate had been somewhat delayed by a sharp discussion on Mr. Gladstone's proposal to give precedence over all other business, after the second reading of the Arrears Bill, to the Prevention of Crimes Bill. Mr. Parnell and the Home Rulers bitterly opposed this course, and asserted that the

true pathway to tranquillity lay through concession and not through coercion. Three or four divisions were necessary before a final vote was obtained, but at length the remnant of the Irish party, led by Mr. O'Donnell, was forced to acquiesce in an arrangement in which the majority on both sides of the House concurred, and to which Mr. Parnell, by refusing to take part in the final division, tacitly assented.

Two hours, therefore, after the Arrears Bill had been read a second time, the House was asked to go into Committee on the Prevention of Crimes Bill, in the hope that some substantial progress might be made with it before the Whitsuntide recess. Mr. Cowen, however, interposed with an amendment disapproving the imposition of restriction on Irish liberties. He eloquently declaimed against English misrule in Ireland, to which he traced both agrarian and political discontent. He maintained that Ireland was still governed as a conquered country, and administered by English officials. He prophesied that the Crimes Bill would fail as the Coercion Act had failed, and would involve the Government in odium. It might drive crime beneath the surface, but it would not aid in its detection. The amendment was seconded by another English member, Mr. Thompson (Durham), who denounced the oppressive system of government pursued in Ireland. The most eminent representative of the moderate Home Rulers, Mr. C. Russell, though as anxious as any man to free his country from the stain of crime, asserted that this Bill would not tranquillise the country, would not touch the causes of crime, and would leave the people in a condition of greater irritation. The terrible tragedy of the Phoenix Park afforded no justification for a departure from the path of conciliation; and, while he admitted the good intentions of the Government, he maintained that the Land Act afforded no protection to a large number of the tenants, and to a certain extent explained the prevalence of uneasiness and agitation.

Criticising the details of the Bill, he objected strongly to the newspaper and public meetings clauses, but with proper safeguards he accepted the clauses as to search, domiciliary visits, &c. The special tribunals of judges, he pointed out, would not meet the real evil—the want of evidence to convict upon. As to the magistrates clauses, though he approved a summary jurisdiction in the abstract, he protested against intrusting this jurisdiction to the Irish stipendiary magistrates sitting alone and without appeal. No coercive measures had succeeded in Ireland, and he earnestly urged the Government to try a course of remedial legislation without coercion.

The first words of support which the Government received came from the front Opposition, from Mr. Plunket, who promised his co-operation, though with regret and under the compulsion of circumstances. He asked Mr. Cowen what good he expected from raking up the bitter memories of the past, which could only

inflame popular passion, and render the pacification of Ireland more difficult. As to recent appointments, though it was not his business to defend the Government, he protested against the separatist spirit which prompted these criticisms, and he pointed to the free career open to Irishmen in all parts of the Empire, and the eminent positions to which they had attained. The present difficulty was created by the American Irish; they furnished the forces with which the Executive would have to deal in the future; and if the Government did not govern Ireland by the Imperial power, it would be governed for them by men of the O'Donovan Rossa stamp.

The official defence of the measure was, however, left to the Solicitor-General for Ireland, who maintained that it was a Bill intended solely to repress crime, and involved no greater inconvenience to the innocent than any well-disposed, law-abiding citizen would willingly bear for the general good. As to the jury clauses, he believed that the Judges would withdraw their objections, and he held that the search clauses would not bring any innocent person into danger. As to the stipendiary magistrates, arrangements were being made to separate the judicial from the executive functions, and those who sat and heard cases would have no concern with police functions. The question of an appeal was also engaging the attention of the Government.

Although the following day was the time-honoured "Derby Day," on which the House of Commons had not sat for six-and-thirty years, the state of public business admitted no such relaxation on the present occasion, and the attendance of members showed their sense of the gravity of the situation. The debate, moreover, was especially remarkable for a speech by Mr. Dillon, in which he explained with cynical frankness the programme of the Irreconcilable section of the Irish party. Referring to reports current with respect to declarations which he had made on the agrarian question, he admitted that if the Government would announce to the House that they would have done with coercion, and pass a Bill something of the character of that introduced by Mr. Healey, such a condition of things would be brought about as would give every reason to hope that they could conduct the agrarian movement to a satisfactory conclusion without violence and disorder. Neither he nor any of his friends thought that the settlement of the arrears of rent would be a complete settlement of the land question, but they considered that if the Government had acted in the sense of their wishes, the Land League would be able in a few years to bring the land question to a satisfactory settlement. They of the Land League wished to conduct this movement without outrage, but neither the Prime Minister, nor Michael Davitt, nor any man could put down outrage so long as evictions were carried on in Ireland. He had never denounced outrages in Ireland, and never would till the House denounced eviction, but he had honestly and earnestly endeavoured to show

the people of Ireland that their own interests, both as regards their good name before the world, and the protection of their rights and the future of the country, distinctly lay in putting a stop to outrage. He also endeavoured to point out that a weapon lay to their hands which could take the place of outrage. One of the means he relied upon to prevent murder in Ireland was open public combination and the rough process they called Boycotting. He was not ashamed to tell the House that he had advocated Boycotting in Ireland, as that would be more effective than murder and outrage. Agrarian outrages had continued for centuries, but that was the result of the people being taught that there was no protection for them but outrage. They had been taught that if they submitted to law and order they would be swept away like flies from the face of the country. When this lesson had entered into the heart of the people, coercion was powerless. The question came to be whether they should have a secret combination to murder or an open combination to Boycott. If tomorrow Ministers could succeed—and they would not succeed—in putting down by this horrible Coercion Act outrage in Ireland, and reducing the people to a condition of absolute quiet, evictions would multiply, even in spite of the Arrears Bill, and the House would be called upon in mere shame to interfere. The Arrears Bill was nothing more nor less than a gift to the landlords. If the House left to the Irish members the settling of this question they would come back in a year with this arrears question settled without costing the English taxpayer a penny. He protested against this being considered a gift to the Irish tenants. It might be well for the hon. member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) to denounce Boycotting as brutal and immoral, but he challenged him to go down and place the question before the electors. If he were an Englishman, and in a free country, he might denounce Boycotting. No one would introduce lynch law into England; but if they lived in a mining town in Australia or California they would be glad to welcome it. Boycotting, like lynch law, was an unwilling means forced upon the people because the Government refused them protection. Turning to the speech of the Solicitor-General, and referring to the proposed press restrictions, he said that the quotations made by the learned gentleman were not from Irish newspapers, but from the organ of O'Donovan Rossa, who had no influence in Ireland. Rossa made these attacks because they helped his income, and it was only the notice he received in the House that kept him from bankruptcy. Referring to the proposals of the Opposition with respect to peasant proprietorship, he said that if the Government had refused to give another Coercion Act the landlords would have been glad to come to terms and accepted twenty years' purchase for their estates. Now they would ask twenty-six or twenty-seven. The outcome would be that the tenantry would not buy, and the long war would go on with occasional horrible outrages and secret combinations till the Bill

had come to a close, when the Land League would spring up again, and they would again be face to face with the same land movement. The landlords would find then that they would not get more than ten years' purchase. If they had to pass through a horrible period of outrage when Captain Moonlight would take the place of the Land League, in spite of Coercion Acts, then another movement would arise based upon a much more advanced platform.

Mr. Gladstone at once rose when Mr. Dillon sat down, and said he could not allow the speech of the hon. member to pass without an immediate reply. To every man with the exception of the group to which the hon. member belonged—to every man who desired to see harmony between England and Ireland—the speech he had just delivered was a heart-breaking speech. He did not expect that any representation would have the smallest effect upon Mr. Dillon's steeled feelings, but it might have an effect upon others. There were others who might have sympathised to a great extent with him who were not prepared to go to the fearful lengths he had just described. In one respect he thanked him for that portion of the speech. It tended at least to the attainment of one great public object, that was to clear the issue which was raised between the Government and all law-obeying and all law-abiding men on the one side and the hon. member on the other. Deliberately, and even coldly, and with perfect self-possession, he had told the House that he would refuse to denounce outrage as long as they refused to denounce eviction. What were evictions? Eviction was the exercise of a legal right, it might be to the prejudice of a neighbour, it might involve the very highest moral responsibility, nay, even deep moral guilt. There might be outrages for which, all things considered, the persons might be less guilty in the sight of God. That he did not deny; but there might be evictions which were the last, the extreme, and the unavoidable remedy for the establishment of those legal rights on which the existence of society depended. But a man who deliberately and insolently denied them, a man who audaciously refused to fulfil his contract, the most equitable contract in the world, a contract under the judicial rents recently established, with money in his pockets, perhaps loaded with benefits by the man whom he defied, furnished a case where the possessor of the property, after exhausting every means of conciliation, was driven to make use of the power of the law for the establishment of his legal rights, and perhaps the support of himself and his family. By Mr. Dillon the landlord who exercised the legal right of eviction was placed on the same footing as the perpetrator of outrage, and a distinction was drawn between one kind of illegality and another, Boycotting being defended as a legitimate process. Boycotting was combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice by fear of ruin and starvation. It was enforced by the murder which was not to be denounced. By Boycotting Mr. Dillon meant nothing but merely ruining men who claimed to

exercise their private judgment in a direction opposite to his. If Mr. Dillon did not himself approve of violence, he must know that those who justified illegality were responsible for other illegality following upon it which they did not sanction. In fact, Mr. Dillon was the apostle of a creed of force and oppression which tended to the destruction of all liberty, and to the erection of a despotism differing from every other despotism, as being more absolutely detached from all law, tradition, and restraint. Mr. Dillon said that if the Government abandoned coercion and recast the Land Act, the question might be settled on a basis of legal agitation; but whatever the Government might do, he had no right to pursue his land campaign upon any other basis than that of legal agitation.

It was not surprising that the other Irish members who rose later in the debate should attempt to mitigate the effect produced by the studied bluntness of Mr. Dillon's exposition of the views of at least a group among the Home Rulers. Boycotting was excused by some on the analogy it bore to the practice of trades-unionism of professional and even of social life. Even Mr. Anderson, the Radical member for Glasgow, who had been found often in the same lobby with the Home Rulers, disclaimed all sympathy with Mr. Dillon's speech, and thought that if it expressed the feelings of the Irish people he should be driven to believe that there was little left for them but martial law. Sir Stafford Northcote promised on behalf of his party to support the Executive Government in attempting to restore peace to Ireland; and Mr. Borlase stated that he and other Liberals who had been preparing to modify the Bill in the sense of greater freedom, would not pursue their efforts in that direction; for that, repugnant as the Bill was, Mr. Dillon's speech had shown it to be a necessity. Mr. Parnell, whose views were anxiously awaited, reserved his expression of them until the following day, and meanwhile his probable choice between the adoption and the condemnation of Mr. Dillon's manifesto was keenly debated. When he rose to speak he gave signs of evident embarrassment, whilst endeavouring to steer between the two extreme lines. While admitting that some of the inferences drawn from Mr. Dillon's speech were natural, he maintained that they were, in truth, mistaken and unjust. What had always been held by the prisoners in Kilmainham was that the settlement of the Arrears question would contribute to the pacification of the country, because it would stop unjust evictions temporarily; but for the permanent settlement they looked to the transfer of the soil to the occupiers on fair terms of purchase. That was the original object of the Land League, and no one had ever contemplated dispossessing the landlords on any other terms but buying them out. As to Boycotting, he admitted that it had been abused, that it was a rough method, and that it would not have been legitimate or permissible in a self-governed country, or where the law protected the poor as well as the rich.

Were the Arrears question settled, he should have recommended that the agitation should be conducted within the laws applicable to England as well as Ireland. He claimed for the Irish tenant the same right of combination as was possessed by the English workman, and no more, and he was willing to insert in this Bill any special definition which might be required by the nature of the case. He maintained, moreover, that no agitation of such magnitude and interest had been so free from crime, and he vindicated his assertion by a reference to the Tithe War. With regard to the Bill itself, he regretted that the Prime Minister had thrown away a great opportunity which might never recur, and he entreated him to let the Arrears Bill be tried for a short time, and not to press on a Bill which would throw everything into the hands of the secret societies, and serve the purposes of the Phoenix Park murderers.

The task of replying in detail to the various objections raised to the Bill fell to Mr. Trevelyan, the newly-appointed Chief Secretary, who acquitted himself of his delicate task with tact and temper. He commenced by referring to Mr. Parnell's speech, and especially to his admission that Boycotting had been abused, reminding him that those who set an illegal movement on foot did not escape responsibility because they could not prescribe its limits. The Government could not enter into a distinction of the causes and kinds of Boycotting; they must enforce the law, even where it was burdensome. He thanked the Conservative party for the attitude they had adopted, but with regard to Mr. Cowen's speech he asked what good could be done by highly-coloured pictures of a past and gone state of things. This Bill was framed, he pointed out, not for the benefit of Englishmen, but to protect the poor Irish farmer. Replying to the criticisms on the clauses, he pointed out that under the present jury system some 30 agrarian murders had been committed with impunity; and with regard to the Summary Jurisdiction Clauses, he said, amid much cheering from the Irish members, that Major Bond's appointment had come to an end, that Mr. Clifford Lloyd and other persons in the position of special resident magistrates would not be allowed to sit in court, but the duty would be intrusted to magistrates specially designated by the Lord Lieutenant. As to the Press and Public Meeting Clauses, the fullest freedom of discussion would be permitted in the Press and on the platform, so long as there was no incitement to outrage and intimidation. On the duration of the Bill the Government could not yield. After a few words from Sir R. Cross in favour, and from Mr. T. P. O'Connor against the Bill, a division was taken on Mr. Cowen's amendment, which was negatived by 344 to 47. The House then (May 25) went into Committee *pro forma*, and before any progress was made adjourned for its short Whitsuntide recess.

Although the House of Lords had not been sitting during the time the Crimes Bill was under discussion, the leading Peers of

the Opposition had not been silent spectators. On the same evening (May 24) Lords Salisbury and Carnarvon had been brilliantly attacking the whole policy of the Government. The former at a meeting of the South Essex Conservative Association, held at Stratford, took a hopeful view of the prospects of the party. The large majority by which the Conservatives were outnumbered in the present Parliament was due to a number of small majorities in many constituencies, but in no way indicated a general shifting of opinion from Conservatism to Liberalism; and he looked to a reversal of that verdict at no distant day. Reviewing the history of Ireland during the two previous years, he adopted Mr. Goldwin Smith's verdict that during that period there had been no government of Ireland at all. "The vital error of Mr. Gladstone's policy," said Lord Salisbury, "has been, however unintentionally, this, that he has made his administration of Ireland an instrument wherewith to purchase support for the Liberal party in Parliament, and to buy off the outrages and crimes of those who thought in this manner to force his conduct. Four times has Mr. Gladstone preached that lesson to the Irish people. You know he has preached it about the abolition of the Irish Church, when he spoke of the outrages in Clerkenwell bringing that question 'within the range of practical politics.' He thus acknowledged that a measure which up to that date the Liberal and Conservative parties alike had rejected by large majorities, which was repudiated by every responsible statesman in the country, became, after these outrages had had their effect on the Liberal leaders, not only within the range of practical politics, but a measure which the whole power of the Liberal party was used to pass." The second occasion was when in order to obtain the support of the Irish voters the Land Act was introduced, "a measure," said Lord Salisbury, "for the transfer of a quarter of the property of the landlords to the tenants who were in the occupation of the land." It was, moreover, a direct reversal of the principle of free contract, which in 1870 Mr. Gladstone had laid down as his permanent guide in dealing with Irish land questions. The third lesson to the Irish malcontents commenced with the shutting up in prison of Mr. Parnell and his associates the moment the Land Act was passed, because they opposed the working of that measure. From that moment the contest, which had been suspended for a time, recommenced—a contest of endurance on one side and of indiscriminate imprisonment on the other. The ultimate victory lay with the former, for the arrangement by which Mr. Parnell was released, no matter how the terms were settled, included his co-operation with a Liberal Government in passing Liberal measures. "The most important point is this, that this man with whom this compact was made, and on whose behalf the powers given by the Legislature were exercised, was in prison on a charge of treasonable practices. One of two things must be true. Either at the moment before he was let out there was no ground for the charge

made of treasonable practices, and in that case he was the most deeply injured of men, or else when he was let out without having given any security that the treasonable practices with which he was charged should cease, Mr. Gladstone was bartering the interests of the Empire for Parliamentary advantage." The fourth lesson to the disturbers of the public peace was to be found in the recently introduced Arrears Bill—a Bill for paying other people's debts out of funds to which the debtors have no claim, and these funds would have to be provided by taxpayers and ratepayers who were already overburdened by the difficulties to which farming under the conditions of unlimited competition was now exposed. The English tenant-farmer was left to face ruin as best he could in order that the debt of the Irish tenant-farmer might be paid for him. Lord Salisbury continued: "It is true that things are unjust in Irish legislation. I think it was unjust to disestablish and to disendow the Irish Church in the way in which it was done; I think it was unjust to take away a quarter of the landlords' property and give it to the tenants; but that is not precisely the point to which I wish to direct your attention. The point is that in each of these four cases the Irish tenant has been taught by the powerful preaching of facts—the most powerful kind of preaching there is—that outrage will obtain from the English Government concessions which can be obtained in no other way, and that obedience to the law is not so profitable as breaking the law—that committing a series of agrarian crimes, which have now for so long disgraced the country, is repaid by the English Government by handing money from the Irish Church, from the pockets of the Irish landlords, and from the pockets of the English taxpayers to those who have committed the outrages in order that they may be kind enough to commit them no longer. Is that government? Can you imagine that any government could succeed on those terms? If you had the government of a regiment, of a ship, of a workshop, if you made it your rule of action that you would reward those who broke the law and not those who kept it, do you imagine your government would be respected? Depend upon it that it is a mistake to think that this terrible problem of Ireland arises because of the evils that exist in Ireland itself. It is a symptom of the general disease of the body politic—the disease, the symptoms of which show themselves at the extremities, is really at the heart. It is the heart, the government in England, that causes all the troubles which you have to fight in Ireland. No matter what your local treatment may be, no matter what the concessions, or at whose expense they are made, no matter how many churches you may disestablish, or how many landlords you deprive of their property, you will never cure the evil until you cure that feebleness, that want of principle, that want of consistency, which are here at the heart of the government as the cause of the disease under which we labour. It is because the benefits which can be conferred by the Executive, or by legislative measures, are treated

by the Liberal party as means of extending the political influence of that organization, and still more because when a Liberal Government is in office they are treated as coin which can be given away in instalments as blackmail to secure peace and to bribe men to keep the law—it is because of this system of your government at home that Ireland remains a disgrace to England.” In conclusion, Lord Salisbury declared that the submission of the House of Commons was complete. The House silently and sullenly echoed the mandates of the Government—a Government feeble in every other part of its policy, strong and unflagging only in turning the screw by which the caucus is worked. It was only upon the electors that the noble task in this the hour of the country’s danger devolved of restoring manliness to the Government and reality to English power.

Lord Carnarvon, in addressing a crowded meeting at Hanley, attended by nearly 4,000 persons, was not less outspoken in his denunciations of the Government, declaring that never in the whole course of recorded constitutional history had there been such gross and manifest failure as that of Her Majesty’s present Ministers. Every measure the Government had adopted, be it good or bad, had been tainted by this one great evil—it had come too late. The Government, on the one hand, had to depend upon the Irish vote, and on the other, their best friends were deserting them, or, to use Mr. Forster’s expression of himself, were being driven out. Two Cabinet Ministers had already gone, and great and honoured names were withdrawing their allegiance. Nor was this all. In the club, the market-place, the railway carriage, where they would, the same picture presented itself. Literature, science, the professions, property, education, intelligence, were all crying off from the Government, and were seeking their true home, where it ought to be, under the shadow of the Constitutional cause. Conservatives maintained that the present Government were not the persons to whom the fortunes of England should be intrusted. He could, perhaps, forgive a great deal of this stupidity, incompetence, and failure; but there were things which he found it very hard to pardon. It was hard to forgive a Minister who confessed that he had encouraged seditious agitation in order to pass some legislative nostrum; it was hard to forgive when a Minister like Mr. Forster was subjected to every sort of unfair indirect attack—outside the Cabinet indeed, but by those who were supposed to be very closely allied to the Cabinet—until he was driven out of the Government. As for the existence of a Kilmainham Treaty in some form, Lord Carnarvon, in spite of Mr. Gladstone’s subtle denials, entertained no doubt; and he bitterly complained that “while this bargain was in progress the Home Secretary absolutely taunted the Conservatives with wishing to ally themselves with the Home Rulers. The most painful part of this matter was what he could only describe as the equivocation with which it had been concealed, These were the things that

sapped the foundation of political morality and destroyed faith, not only in politics, but in public men, and justified the sneer of Sir Robert Walpole that he believed that the temptations of office were such that no honest man could long remain Prime Minister and retain his integrity. He never would believe that they could divorce morality from politics, and would never agree to the damnable doctrine that there was one code of morality in public life and another in private. He held that the State was the individual writ large. They were face to face with the gravest questions—the dismemberment of the Empire, the maintenance of law and order. New doctrines were threatening the existence of party government, and if party government perished, he feared that, like some blind Samson, it would pull down Parliament, and Government, and institutions such as they knew them. The only remedy was the union of moderate men. The Conservatives had no desire for office, but they desired to make the Government do their duty.”

These were not the only occasions on which the leaders of the Conservative party encouraged one another and their followers to prepare for possible changes in the balance of power, the result of an appeal to the country, a contingency which was discussed by the organs of both parties as by no means impossible. The position, indeed, of the Liberal party was by no means well-defined, or to the ordinary observer satisfactory. The formal secession of two prominent members of the Administration, and the rumoured lukewarmness of at least two other Cabinet Ministers, might well, it was supposed, have rendered Mr. Gladstone's position precarious. Affairs in Egypt, moreover, were rapidly drifting towards a point where a formal severance from the convictions of the Radicals, or a dangerous neglect of the nation's prestige, would have to be faced. The Conservatives were naturally full of hope, and their organs in the press urged them to attack boldly the Liberal position, which it was asserted both Whigs and Radicals were defending without heart or conviction. The result of the election in the North-West Riding, although successful for the Liberals, showed that their supporters had been diminished by nearly 1,200, while Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, a son of Lord Cranbrook, who in many respects could scarcely have been regarded as a strong candidate, polled over 700 votes more than were given to the Conservative representative at the General Election. If the Government turned to the Irish benches for support, they found that the influence of the party leader diminished in proportion as they drew closer to the Liberal leader, whilst the terms of the understanding with Mr. Parnell, as accepted by the public, raised Mr. Forster's reputation at the expense of his quondam colleagues in the Cabinet.

CHAPTER VI.

The Crimes Bill in Committee—The Renewal of Obstruction—An All-Night Sitting—Suspension *en bloc*—Mr. O. Donnell's contumacy—The Government defeat—The Arrears Bill in Committee—The Lords' Amendments—The Averted Crisis—The Bills of the Session—The Vote of Credit on the Supplementary Budget—Mr. Cowen's Resolution—Position of Parties.

THE House of Commons had reached the Committee stage of the Crimes Bill before separating for its brief Whitsuntide holidays, which lasted less than a week. In the interval before its reassembling the Government was not left without advice from candid friends as to the course it was pursuing. Earl Grey naturally occupied a foremost place amongst the critics, and in a carefully prepared and closely reasoned article in the *Nineteenth Century*, discussed the causes of Irish discontent, and of the failure of English remedies. Neither party, to which by turn the conduct of affairs had been intrusted, was blameless, and each alternately made ill-judged concessions and refused reasonable demands. In spite, however, of all this admitted mal-administration, the condition of Ireland from 1847 to 1868 had been fairly prosperous, and outwardly at least, with but few exceptions, tranquillity had been maintained. In 1866, a Liberal Administration, of which Mr. Gladstone was the chief, resisted all proposals for dealing with the Established Church in Ireland. In 1869, Mr. Gladstone's new Government was framed with the special object of carrying out the disestablishment of that body. In like manner the Land Act of 1881 was in absolute contradiction to the proposals and assurances of 1870, and in this, as in many other circumstances, the Liberal party, having opened the floodgates to the "revolutionary" spirit, was forced to follow its stream, interposing now and again the delusive check of some Coercion Act. Lord Grey then, by pointing to the actual condition of Ireland, found in it the condemnation of the system inaugurated by Mr. Gladstone in 1868. The Earl of Pembroke for his part limited himself more especially to the land policy of the Government, and complained in a letter to the *Times* (May 31) that the measures for the regeneration of Ireland, which had been forced upon a reluctant Parliament, scarcely bore the fruit expected of them. The three points to be kept in view by politicians of all parties, who wished to see Ireland prosperous, were the relief of the poorest and most crowded districts of Ireland; the attraction of capital and the institution of manufactures; and a modification of the disproportion between the numbers of landowners and tenants. In these directions Lord Pembroke contended that no progress, rather the reverse, had been made by the legislation of the two preceding years; and declared that, although the Ministry may

have staved off one difficulty and bought off another, they had achieved absolutely nothing towards a permanent pacification of the country. The Land Act he regarded as a mere temporary sedative to the land agitation, and prophesied at no distant date (as the outcome of this policy) a general strike against rent and a revolution against the English power in Ireland far more general, and more hopeless to conquer, than any that had hitherto arisen. Mr. Auberon Herbert also, from an almost unique point of view, surveyed Mr. Gladstone's Irish legislation, and declared its failure to have resulted from his abandonment of "free-trade" views, and the introduction of a compulsory and coercive system, which led men of all classes to look for prosperity outside their own industry, and to bring to bear upon the fears of the Government their ever-increasing demands.

When Parliament again met (June 1), Mr. Gladstone showed that whilst the Government were prepared to make certain minor concessions in Committee on the Crimes Bill, yet its chief enactments would be maintained substantially as the Home Secretary had explained them. On the first clause, relating to the appointment of special commissions for trying crimes, Mr. Parnell proposed that the Chief Secretary should share with the Lord Lieutenant the responsibility. This was summarily rejected by 162 to 28, but Mr. Horace Davey's amendment to omit treason and treason-felony from the list of offences triable without a jury was discussed at great length, and with singular force and clearness by its proposer. His argument was chiefly based on the fact that treason being wholly a judge-made offence, it would be dangerous to do away with the intervention of the jury in determining the guilt of a prisoner. The judges being servants of the Crown could not be regarded as impartial by the people, and the whole history of our country showed that on many occasions juries have been the only safeguard of the people against a tyrannous or an unjust Government. Sir W. Harcourt, who throughout took charge of the Government Bills, was quite shocked that so eminent a jurist as Mr. Davey should seek to minimize the gravity of political crime. The Bill, he said, was aimed at secret societies, whose object was not agrarian reform but revolution and the subversion of the Imperial authority, and murder, outrage, and arson were the means by which they worked. He could not honestly say that he believed there was a fair chance of an indictment for treason succeeding before a common jury, and to accept this amendment would advertise to the Irish people that treason was a crime which Parliament looked on with less disfavour than ordinary crime.

Mr. Bryce supported the amendment, urging that it was impossible to regard treason in the same light as private crimes, and challenging the Government to produce any proof that trial by jury had broken down in these cases; and Mr. Cowen, on the same side, pointed out that the clause as it stood would increase the pre-

judice against the judges, and asserted that all the secret societies were agrarian.

A number of speakers on the Ministerial side of the House spoke in the same sense; but the Government received full support from Mr. Gibson, speaking on behalf of the Conservative party, and from Mr. Goschen, who held that the Bill aimed not at legitimate agitation at home, but at a treasonable organisation abroad. After a day's postponement, Mr. Davey's amendment was negatived by 227 to 70, the minority including Liberals of all shades, whilst the majority was largely recruited from the Conservative ranks. An amendment to do away with the retrospective action of the Bill so far as regarded treason was accepted by the Government; but Mr. Parnell's strange proposal to exclude murder from its purview only obtained twenty-two supporters, all from among his own personal followers; whilst a like number supported Mr. Healy's amendment that a trial before a judge should take place only after an acquittal by a jury had been shown clearly to be against the weight of the evidence or in cases where the jury had disagreed. The Government, however, consented to the principle that the judges employed on a commission should be taken from a roster settled by ballot, instead of being chosen by the Lord Lieutenant; and also that their reasons for conviction should be given in open court. The Government, moreover, undertook on behalf of the Treasury to provide for the expenses of witnesses and acquitted persons, and for the payment of counsel in all cases where the prisoners were in destitute circumstances; and whilst proposing to limit the jurisdiction of the Commission to cases in which an Irish judge and jury would have jurisdiction, they refused by 131 to 22 to accept the further amendment of Mr. Healy that no person should be tried for treason or treason-felony committed out of Ireland; and after some further debate, and another division, the first clause of the Bill was allowed to pass. The next question which arose was whether the Court of Appeal constituted under clause 3 should decide unanimously or by a simple majority, but the former view only found fifty-five supporters in a full House, unanimity being requisite from the three judges trying the original case. The definition of intimidation under the following clause then gave rise to some sharp passages between the Home Rulers and the rest of the House. In the course of these Mr. O'Kelly only escaped censure by formally withdrawing and apologising for an unjustifiable attack on Mr. Forster. Mr. Gibson urged the Government to maintain their point, as the only means of grappling with Boycotting. Mr. Healy's amendment on the clause was ultimately rejected by 219 to 27; and the ground was then cleared for Mr. C. Russell to move his series of amendments intended to define more clearly the offence of intimidation, which the clause was intended to defeat. Sir William Harcourt said he would state distinctly the position of the Government with regard to clause 4. They

would not accept any amendment which would be inconsistent with the putting down of Boycotting. That was the test he was going to apply to every amendment on this clause. Boycotting did exist, and must be put down. Their theory was that a man should be relieved from Boycotting—not by the plenary authority of Mr. Dillon and his colleagues, but by the law of the land. He declined to accept Mr. Russell's amendment, therefore, on the ground that it would prevent the Government from dealing with Boycotting, and would, in fact, give a licence for the continuance of that system. The principle of this clause was the same principle as that contained in the English Act of 1871, which dealt with intimidation, and was only altered in order to meet the peculiar circumstances of the offence in Ireland. To this Mr. Dillon replied warmly that it was unfair to charge the leaders of the Land League with all the abuses that had resulted from the practice of Boycotting. While at liberty he had been applied to by people who had been Boycotted, and he had put an end to any difficulty under that head. Wherever it was improperly used the leaders of the Land League had put it down while they were at liberty. But the Chief Secretary arrested the men who could control Boycotting, and left at liberty "well-known ruffians" to carry out a system of Boycotting that was not done publicly and in the face of day, and was therefore subject to the grossest and vilest abuses. He challenged the Chief Secretary to quote a single passage from any of his speeches made in Ireland which was an offence under the English law. One of the troubles they had in Ireland was this, that the Government did not tell them what was the law which was to be obeyed. He had advised the Irish people always to keep within the law, using different arguments to that end, one of which was that it did not pay to break the law. The Chief Secretary had attributed to them all the Moonlight outrages, but that was about as illogical and unjust as to attribute all the outrages which were committed in England to the trades unions. He did not wish to say anything about the morality or desirability of Boycotting, but he would state what Boycotting as recommended by the leaders of the Land League was. Boycotting was having no dealings with a man who did certain things. They were to do no injury either to himself, or anyone belonging to him, or his property; they were simply to avoid him and have no dealings with him. The certain things were these—first, taking a farm from which anyone had been unjustly evicted; second, assisting in unjust evictions; and, third, breaking an engagement to hold out for certain terms. They never sanctioned, but strongly set their faces against, every interference with liberty; but he was prepared to admit that since the executive of the Land League had been arrested the system of Boycotting had been grossly abused. If they had not had recourse to Boycotting, Captain Moonlight would have taken the field a year earlier; and if they had been left at liberty, Captain Moon-

light would not have appeared on the scene at all. Had it not been for the rough methods of the Land League there would have been no Land Act, and there would not have been the hope that they now saw of the return of the land to the people.

The struggle over the definition of Boycotting, and how far its use was legitimate, exhausted the greater part of two sittings, Mr. C. Russell declaring, in answer to an appeal from Mr. Gladstone, that he would stand by his amendment unless he received an assurance from the Government that they would consent to some modification of their definition of intimidation. Mr. Russell, the Irish members, and every English Radical, said if this fourth clause of the Crimes Bill were passed in its original form, an abnormal criminal code applicable to Ireland for three entire years would be summarily enacted; whilst an Irish tenant-farmer would be exposed to the most serious penalties for one tithe of the "intimidation" which an English trades-union might legally employ when in the pursuit of similar ends. In face of these objections Sir William Harcourt consented to insert a proviso to the effect that the intimidation contemplated by the Bill should be proved either to deter people from doing what they had a right to do, or to compel them to do what they had a legal right to abstain from doing. Mr. Russell's amendment was then rejected by 266 to 45, and a variety of points tending in the same direction were raised by Mr. Parnell, Mr. Healy, and Professor Bryce—the last-named urging the Home Secretary to leave out those words of the clause which laid down that intimidation should include words or acts calculated to put any person in fear of injury to himself, his family, or property. After a long debate the amendment was negatived by 130 to 49; but the clause had not yet passed, and when it became clear that the Government were determined to hold to the original wording of the clause, Mr. Parnell plainly hinted that if every form of concession were refused, the Irish members would be compelled to resist the Bill to the uttermost. In return Mr. Goschen, referring to the slow progress of the Bill, and the outrages occurring in Ireland, suggested that the time was at hand when the Government would be forced to expedite the progress of the Bill by the means at their disposal. To this appeal Mr. Gladstone, on June 12, replied that, although anxious to promote the progress of the Bill, the Government was not prepared to complicate matters by asking for urgency. At length, at the end of a protracted sitting, and after numerous divisions, and the promise of the Home Secretary to assent to a clause which would save all the rights enjoyed by workmen under the Trades' Union Act of 1875, the clause was carried by 258 to 33. On the next day (June 13) the debate was for a short time delayed by Sir W. Barttelot, who, alluding to a rumour which he said was current that there was another letter in existence relating to the "treaty of Kilmainham," written by Mr. Parnell to Mr. McCarthy and submitted to

Mr. Chamberlain, asked the Prime Minister whether he would produce it. Mr. Gladstone complained of the discourtesy of speaking of the treaty of Kilmainham, after his repeated declarations that there was no treaty or compact of any sort, and pointed out that the Government had all along declined to communicate to the House the evidence on which they arrested or released any "suspect." If, then, the hon. member desired the production of the document, he must apply elsewhere. Sir Walter asked to whom, but no answer was given, and Mr. G. Elliot gave notice of his intention to ask Mr. O'Shea whether, in his visit to Kilmainham, he was not accompanied by another gentleman.

The House then took up the consideration of clause 5, which empowered magistrates to deal summarily with assaults on constables—a provision intended to protect process-servers and others. An appeal naturally arose at this period in favour of suspending evictions, but met with no support, but a few verbal concessions enabled the Home Secretary to pass the clause, as well as the following, which made membership "knowingly" of an unlawful association an offence. For three days, however, the Committee debated the limits under which public meetings might be prohibited by the Lord Lieutenant; but after a few concessions the clause was voted (June 16), as well as the "curfew clause," which authorised the arrest of suspicious persons away from their homes more than an hour after sunset and before sunrise. The next two clauses, referring to the presence of "strangers" in proclaimed districts, and to the penalties incurred by newspapers inciting to treason or violence, passed with far less opposition than might have been anticipated; but the slow pace at which the Bill was working its way through Committee began to fill the public mind with apprehensions that another session was to be lost for the purposes of general legislation. This idea was confirmed when Mr. Gladstone, on June 20, moved a resolution giving precedence to the Arrears Bill on all days when it was set down on the paper. He took the opportunity of making a statement as to public business, from which it appeared to be the intention of the Government to persevere with the Crimes Bill, the Arrears Bill, the Budget Bill, the Scotch Entails Bill, and the Corrupt Practices Bill; the Ballot Bill and the Disfranchisement Bill were left in a state of suspended animation; the Irish Sunday Closing Act would be kept alive by including it in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill; a Bill would be passed amending certain clauses of the Land Act; and the Scotch Endowments Bill and a couple of Agricultural Holdings Bills were to take their chance. Turning to the procedure resolutions, Mr. Gladstone declared that they "transcended any other measure in importance," and consequently the Government deemed it their duty not to remit them to another session in *the ensuing year*. This was the first authoritative announcement of an autumn session of Parliament, and its reception by the great body of members was not cordial; and Sir

Stafford Northcote expressed his belief that much valuable time might have been saved, and much inconvenience avoided, if Government had approached the question of the reform of procedure in a different way. After an angry debate lasting over four hours, Mr. Gladstone's resolution was agreed to by 263 against 97, and the discussion of the Crimes Bill was again renewed at the clause dealing with the right of search for arms and documents. On this Mr. Gladstone consented to an important alteration, restricting the operation of the clause to the daytime except when there was reason to suppose that an illegal meeting was being held. The Home Rulers were profuse in their expressions of gratitude for this concession, but they did not do much towards facilitating the passage of the clause, one amendment after another being moved and rejected, and progress was eventually reported at 2 A.M. (June 21) before the clause was passed. The next clause (12) imposed a special Alien Act on Ireland, but the Government accepted Mr. Morgan Lloyd's suggestion to extend the clause to the whole United Kingdom equally. This was supported by Sir J. Hay, as the representative of a Scotch constituency which, distant only twenty miles from Ireland, would become the Alsatia of these ruffians if they were driven from Ireland; and Mr. Peel, on the same side, maintained that the power was necessary to grapple effectually with a secret organisation, dangerous to Ireland and the Empire. Mr. Dillon opposed the amendment, quoting long extracts from the speeches of great Whigs against an Alien Act, and putting it to the Government how, if they accepted this power, they could refuse the demands of foreign Governments for the expulsion of the refugee assassins and conspirators who swarmed in this city. Mr. Broadhurst protested against voting away a part of the British Constitution without notice. Mr. Gladstone said that the Government, after listening carefully to the debate, had come to the conclusion that the amendment was acceptable to the great body of the House. He admitted that it was necessary to the complete efficacy of the clause, and it left the alien the same privileges as he possessed now as long as he refrained from disturbing the tranquillity of the realm. The Government, therefore, accepted it; but, considering that it was a new amendment, and that the country might be more or less taken by surprise, he proposed that it should be passed over for the present and dealt with on the report. Sir S. Northcote, considering the Prime Minister's speech, thought this a most surprising course, which showed a great want of courage and placed the House in a false position. Sir William Harcourt repelled this charge. Mr. M. Lloyd offered to withdraw his amendment, but this was not allowed, and Mr. Gladstone said that as his reasonable request had been refused the Government would vote for the amendment on its merits. Ultimately the amendment was carried by 228 to 51. Before the clause, however, was added to the Bill, Mr. Bright vindicated himself from a charge of inconsistency in

opposing the Aliens Act in 1848 and supporting it now. Then, he urged, it was intended to prevent the introduction of opinion; now it was directed against actual crime. There was, he said, no power in Ireland or in the United States that could touch the Government of the Queen; but we must protect ourselves from the contamination of American criminals of the deepest dye. The Chicago Convention he stigmatised as a "convention of traitors." This drew an angry speech from Mr. Healy, who was one of the summoners of the convention, was present at it, and spoke at a meeting connected with it. Calling Mr. Bright a renegade, he repudiated all responsibility for what was done at the convention. The spirit of mischief or hostility thus evoked was not easily laid, and in spite of the offer of the Government to accept an important amendment from Mr. Healy, the Home Rulers refused to let the clause pass until after three o'clock in the morning. The progress, slow as it was, of the Crimes Bill was suspended on June 26, in order to permit the Government to take Supply; but Mr. Biggar succeeded even then in making Irish affairs the chief topic of discourse, and detained the Speaker in the Chair until midnight by a motion for a Commission of Inquiry into Lord Kenmare's dealings with his tenantry, and an attack in particular on the Irish Land Corporation, a company formed by Mr. Kavanagh, for the purpose of enabling landlords to work their farms where their tenants had been evicted. The scheme provided for lending money on the security of the land, or for taking the farm at a low rent and working it, or for buying the farm. The indignation of the Land Leaguers was loud against what they called "this act of war."

Other dilatory motions followed, and it was not until half past two in the morning that the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) was able to move a vote on account for Civil Services. Even then Mr. Sexton threatened to oppose the vote unless he obtained from the Government satisfactory explanations with reference to the enforcement of the statute of Edward III., and the administration of the Coercion Act, more particularly in so far as it had been brought to bear against ladies. Two months, he explained, had elapsed since the Prime Minister announced the intention of the Government to abandon the Peace Preservation Act, and he complained that it was still being used.

Mr. Trevelyan, in reply, said with regard to the ladies and others imprisoned under the statute of Edward III. he had already stated that this method of imprisoning persons in default of bail was generally used for other than for agrarian offences. He believed that at the present time there were twelve people imprisoned under this Act for ordinary offences for every one detained for an agrarian crime. In releasing prisoners the Lord Lieutenant had been influenced by the length of time the persons had been in prison, as well as by the offence alleged against them. Some of the ladies now in prison had not been longer in detention

than many of those recently released. With regard to the liberation of "suspects," there had been since the Protection Act passed 940 arrests, involving 917 persons, twenty-three of them being re-arrests. The number of releases was 755. It was quite obvious that, when a great body of suspects were liberated, those who remained in detention would, on the whole, be the worst cases. The tendency of release would be to grow more slow as time went on. The principle upon which the Lord Lieutenant acted was to consider the safety of the country and the quietude of the district to which the suspect belonged. The release of the three leaders—hon. members of the House—had been absolutely justified by the results, because no injury had followed. The course of the agrarian movement in Ireland had shown that there was no reason whatever for keeping these hon. members longer in prison. He could not say the same of some of the gentlemen in Kilmainham. A great many, it was true, were imprisoned for intimidation; but the nature of agrarian crime had been much mitigated of late, and at this present moment the offence of intimidation bore a much larger proportion to the agrarian crime of the present month and the latter part of the past month than to the agrarian crime of five or six months ago. Though there had been a satisfactory diminution of agrarian offences, there were still as many in one month now as there were in a whole year in 1872 or 1873, or 1878-9. That being so, the Lord Lieutenant would be very much to blame if he acted upon any principle other than letting a man out when he could do so consistently with the public safety. The Protection Act was the only effective engine at this moment which the Irish Government had for dealing with the state of things in Ireland. He could only give general assurances, but he would say that the Irish Government were earnestly endeavouring to temper justice with mercy.

No further opposition to the vote was raised, but in consequence of the Speaker's absence Dr. Playfair had to discharge the double functions of Chairman of Committee and Deputy Speaker—passing from the chair at the table to that of the House, according as each Bill or vote was advanced by the House or in Committee.

The subsequent clauses of the Crimes Bill, although disputed inch by inch by the Irish members, were passed practically in the sense originally proposed by the Government. Absconding witnesses were made liable to arrest and detention, and the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to quarter additional constabulary in disturbed districts. The 16th section, however, which proposed to levy compensation in cases of murder and maiming on the ratepayers of the district, gave rise to long and acrimonious debates; and in spite of Mr. Gladstone's warning that the Government might be forced to ask for "urgency" if the flow of talk was unchecked, the clause was debated throughout two sittings with small results, amendments of the most trivial nature, and

at times purely verbal, being discussed with wearisome prolixity ; and on the twenty-second night of the Committee it appeared that only sixteen out of the thirty clauses comprised in the Bill had been passed. The House was, therefore, not altogether unprepared for the announcement that it would be necessary to find means of making further and more rapid progress. The meaning of the Prime Minister's warning was not long to be kept in the dark ; for the next section (17), which provided the means by which the assessment was to be levied, led eventually to another of those trials of endurance of which the two preceding sessions had already afforded instances. To this proposed rate the name of the " Blood Tax " was promptly given ; and the ingenuity of the Irish members showed itself in the various suggestions, by means of which they hoped to relieve certain classes from the payment of so hateful an impost. The discussion commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon of June 30 ; and in spite of the appeals and warnings of the Home Secretary and his colleagues, amendment after amendment was moved and lengthily discussed by each Irreconcilable in succession, and then rejected by overwhelming majorities, who, as soon as the discussion was over, retired, leaving the Irish members in sole possession of the House. A concession was offered by the Chief Secretary to the effect that the charge for compensation should be apportioned rateably among all rateable hereditaments in any district, other than those exempted by the Lord Lieutenant ; but instead of smoothing away opposition, the amendment was made the starting-point for fresh complaints and objections. About midnight Dr. Playfair threw out a warning that the excessive prolongation of debate would, if persevered in, lead to retaliatory measures ; but no notice was taken of the warning, and shortly afterwards Dr. Playfair left the chair, which was taken by Mr. Courtney, under whose firm but impartial rule no need to call to order members in any part of the House arose. At half-past five Mr. Shaw-Lefevre took Mr. Courtney's place in the chair, and in spite of the increasing irritation visible amongst both the Home Rulers and the representatives of the other parties in the House, succeeded in restraining the many imminent ebullitions of temper. At seven o'clock Sir W. Harcourt, who had only absented himself once, for less than an hour, rose to protest against the intolerable and unjustifiable waste of public time on amendments which were unreasonable and based on no semblance of argument. At about eight o'clock Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. W. H. Smith, who had been absent all night, walked up the floor of the House amidst loud cheers ; and in a House comprising something like 300 members, the Chairman put the question that Clause 17 as amended stand part of the Bill. Upon this the Home Secretary again rose and delivered a spirited speech, pointing out that upon a clause of secondary importance the time equivalent to two whole sittings of the House of Commons had been expended.

This had been done with the deliberate intention of blocking and impeding the progress of a measure for the prevention of crimes in Ireland. For weeks every method at their disposal had been used for the purpose of resisting the passage through the House of a measure which might in any manner stop the horrible and atrocious crimes now being perpetrated in Ireland. He asked the House of Commons and the country to note what had been done, in order that every member and every party in the House who desired that the abominable condition of Ireland should find some remedy might consider whether the time had not come when some method to accomplish it should be taken. Mr. Parnell accused the Home Secretary of a Parliamentary offence and of usurping the functions of the Chair, and declared that the Bill and the speech of the Home Secretary would only lead to a further alienation of Irishmen from the cause of law and order. Sir Stafford Northcote followed, and declared that it was an insult to their common sense to attempt to divert them from the business before them by the flimsy pretexts made by the hon. member for Cork. He assured the Government of the support of his party if they made any further proposal to expedite the Bill.

Shortly afterwards Dr. Playfair resumed his seat in the Chair, and the House became the scene of a succession of personal attacks. The Irish members devoted much time and trouble to contrasting the late and actual Chief Secretaries, chiefly to the disadvantage of Mr. Forster; tempering, however, their praise of Mr. Trevelyan by assuming that in twelve months' time the Irish members would have as much cause for finding fault with him as they now had with Mr. Forster. That gentleman very promptly replied that at least in one respect his rule of Ireland had not been altogether a failure; it had prevented Mr. Parnell and Mr. Healy and their friends from governing the country. The discussion had now altogether drifted away from the clause, and all efforts to resume it seemed hopeless. In the midst of an irrelevant speech by Mr. Redmond, the Chairman rose and said: "I have been painfully impressed for the last three days as to the manner in which the business of the Committee has been conducted. A limited number of members have systematically frustrated the progress of business by means of amendments, some of which were of a very practical and fair character, but a far greater number were only intended to raise under new forms questions decided by a large majority of the Committee. These amendments were made the occasion of endless repetition of the same arguments and irrelevant talk, deliberately planned to waste time. I think now the time has arrived for the Committee to carry on rationally and fairly the duty entrusted to it. The Committee must protect itself by the rules intended to meet such obstruction. It is the opinion of the Chair that deliberate and planned obstruction exists, and I shall soon have to indicate to the Committee the names of members who, in my opinion, are engaged in it."

Mr. Redmond continuing his observations, was several times called to order. The Chairman then said (it now being half-past nine), "I think the time has come when it is absolutely necessary to stop this systematic obstruction, and I severally name to the Committee as having so engaged in this course of obstruction the following members:—Mr. Biggar, Mr. Callan, Dr. Commins, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Healy, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Marum, Mr. Metge, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Sullivan."

Mr. O'Donnell (sitting in his place, and in a loud voice): "That statement is an infamy. I have been absent up till now, and I have been foully named as guilty of obstruction. You sin against all the traditions of your office."

Promising separate attention to Mr. O'Donnell's statement, Dr. Playfair severally named the various recalcitrant members, and Mr. Childers, on behalf of the leader of the House, moved that they should be suspended for the remainder of the day's sitting. After some delay two tellers were named for the Irish members, and the House divided, 126 voting for their suspension and 27 against. On the return of the Speaker to the House, the proceedings of the Committee were reported to him; whereupon Sir John Hay, a Conservative member who had more than once held office (remaining seated and speaking with his hat on) said: "Mr. Speaker, I have been for twelve hours and a half in the House, and Mr. Marum and Mr. Callan ought not to have been included in the list." No notice, however, was taken of this or similar protests, and the members named in Dr. Playfair's list, handed by him to the Speaker, were requested to withdraw. All left the House together, and Dr. Playfair at once reported Mr. O'Donnell as having insulted the Chair, and it was ordered that his conduct should be taken into the consideration of the House at its next meeting; but this was not agreed to before Mr. Cowen had interposed with notice of a vote of censure on the Chairman. A fruitless attempt to adjourn was made by the remaining Home Rule members, but it received no support from any section of the House, and the House again went into Committee on the Crimes Bill. The remnant of the body who remained endeavoured to move and speak to the amendments which stood in the name of their colleagues. As they confessed, however, they were ignorant to some extent of the purpose of the amendments and the grounds on which they were supported; two Clauses, 17 and 18, having been agreed to, and Clause 19 omitted, they asked that progress should be reported. Mr. Gladstone responded that the rest of the provisions being merely subsidiary the Committee might as well before rising finish all but the new and postponed clauses, at the same time intimating that he would demand urgency on Monday for the remaining stages of the measure. Motions to report progress were then made, alter-

nated with motions that the Chairman leave the chair, for which only nine votes at the highest were recorded. Mr. Heneage first and Sir Hussey Vivian afterwards invoked the interposition of the Chair to stay what they described as "mere trifling with the Committee;" and at length Mr. Playfair named nine more Irish members—namely, Messrs. Byrne, W. Corbet, Gray, Lalor, Leahy, A. O'Connor, O'Kelly, O'Sullivan, and Shiel—as guilty of "wilful and persistent obstruction." Mr. Gladstone accordingly moved their suspension, which was carried by 128 to 7, a decision which had been anticipated by the nine members walking out of the House together. Mr. Macfarlane and Mr. M'Coan, after a protest, also retired, and The O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Blake were the only prominent members left. Mr. Labouchere suggested that as the Home Secretary had now got rid of all his troublesome opponents he might gracefully accept the remaining amendments they had placed on the paper. Sir W. Harcourt respectfully declining, amid some laughter, to take this course, the notice-paper was rapidly cleared, the amendments which the Home Secretary had put down being all agreed to without remark. The 30th clause, fixing the duration of the Act at three years, was objected to by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Cowen, the latter giving notice that on the report he would move the reduction of the period to one year. Sir W. Harcourt replied that the longer time was recommended, among other grounds, by the consideration that the House had now to reckon with those who did not act with good faith towards Parliamentary government. Mr. Blake challenged a last division on the clause, which was carried by 69 to 6. Progress was immediately reported, amid Ministerial cheers, and at eight o'clock in the evening, a continuous sitting of thirty hours (including the suspension from seven to nine on Friday evening) came to a close.

Thirty-one divisions had been taken during the sitting, the minority in no case rising above forty, and more frequently numbering from fourteen to twenty. Eight divisions were taken on motions to report progress and that the Chairman leave the chair after the first batch of suspensions, the minority never exceeding a dozen.

When the House reassembled on Monday (July 3), the Speaker having given it as his opinion that a combination for obstructing public business came within the standing orders agreed to on January 31, 1881, Mr. O'Donnell was at once invited by Mr. Gladstone to offer some explanation of the language used by him at the previous sitting, which had drawn upon him the censure of the Chairman. To this proposal Mr. O'Donnell demurred, preferring to hear of what he was accused. Mr. Gladstone replied that the records of the House showed that the member for Dungarvan had stigmatised the action of the Chairman as "an infamy;" and that, as such language was unparliamentary, he moved that Mr. O'Donnell be suspended for fourteen

days. Mr. O'Donnell, whilst admitting that he might have been guilty of some irregularity, denied the accuracy of the words imputed to him. Having been absent from the House the whole of Friday night, he thought he had been unjustly and unfairly suspended, and in including him in his list of the sixteen the Chairman, he affirmed, had "sinned against all the traditions of his office." Mr. O'Donnell alleged that the Chairman had not acted upon circumstances within his own knowledge, but upon the "false and feloniously misleading" reports made to him as to what had occurred in his absence, and it was this which he had designated as "an infamy." He attributed the false reports in question to the Government, who had been the cowardly inciters of the tyranny practised against Irish members. Mr. O'Donnell having then withdrawn, in obedience to the order of the Speaker, Dr. Playfair explained that the responsibility for what had occurred in connection with the suspension of the sixteen members rested with him exclusively. He had not mentioned his intentions in the matter to any of the Ministers, nor had he acted on any reports made to him by others. Mr. Labouchere moved as an amendment, that, the Chairman of Committees having named Mr. O'Donnell for obstructing the business of Parliament, he having been absent during the greater portion of the sitting when the offence was committed, and not having received any warning from the Chair, the House is not prepared to take notice of the language imputed to him, and passes to the other orders of the day. Mr. Callan seconded the amendment, but, on objection taken by Mr. Gladstone, the Speaker pronounced it irregular. After some discussion, Mr. Cowen moved, as an amendment, that the House declines to express an opinion on Mr. O'Donnell's language, and therefore passes to the next order of the day. On a division, the amendment was rejected by 199 to 35, and Mr. Gladstone's motion carried by 181 to 33.

By way of utilising the remainder of an evening, of which a large portion had been thus consumed, Mr. Gladstone then moved the resolution of the previous session, by which the state of business was declared to be urgent. Mr. Parnell wished to dispense with the three to one majority, hinting that there might be some difficulty in obtaining the requisite majority in favour of urgency for the Arrears Bill; and Earl Percy in fact proposed to limit the proposal to the Crimes Bill; but both suggestions were negatived, and Mr. Gladstone's proposal was passed by 259 to 31. This division, however, showed that only 290 members were present, the vote having been taken earlier than the Whips had anticipated; so that the subsequent resolution declaring the state of public business to be urgent, which required the presence of at least 300 members, had to be postponed until the following day. The debate was therefore continued under the ordinary conditions. The new clauses of the Crimes Bill were then taken in Committee, but out of deference to the feelings of the Irish members,

or for some other unexplained reason, the Solicitor-General (Sir F. Herschell) occupied the Chair instead of Dr. Playfair. Nothing, however, was gained by this act of conciliation, for the rest of the sitting was occupied in discussing whether the new clause relative to summary procedure ought to be considered until the suspended members had had an opportunity of putting down their amendments. When it was past two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Gladstone at length gave way, and progress was reported, although none had in reality been made.

On the following day (July 4), as soon as the questions were disposed of, Mr. Gladstone promptly repaired the shortcomings of the previous sitting, and in spite of a show of opposition from the Home Rulers carried the motion for urgency by 402 against 19.

The Speaker then laid on the table the urgency rules which were in force last year, supplemented by an additional one, under which the closure may be imposed in Committee by a majority of three to one. The new rule was read by Sir Erskine May, and immediately afterwards Mr. Justin McCarthy rose and read the following resolution, which had been adopted by the Parnellites:—

“That inasmuch as the Irish Parliamentary party have been expelled from the House of Commons under threat of physical force during the consideration of a measure affecting vitally the rights and liberties of Ireland, and as the Government during the enforced absence of Irish members from the House pressed forward material parts of the measure in Committee, thus depriving the representatives of the Irish people of the right to discuss and to vote upon coercive proposals for Ireland; we, therefore, hereby resolve to take no further part in the proceedings in Committee on the Coercion Bill, and we cast upon the Government the sole responsibility for a Bill which has been urged through the House by a course of violence and subterfuge —”

At this point the Speaker interposed with the remark that the hon. member was importing debateable matter into his statement, but Mr. McCarthy continued:—

“and which, when passed into law, will be devoid of moral force, and will be no constitutional Act of Parliament.”

He and most of his friends accordingly left the House amid loud Ministerial cheers; three or four of them subsequently returning to watch the progress of the Bill they were unable to obstruct or defeat. In the absence of Dr. Playfair, Mr. Courtney took the Chair, and the Committee on the Crimes Bill was resumed. The new nineteenth clause was challenged, and according to the usage under urgency rules the Chairman called on the challengers to rise in their places. Four only responded, and Mr. Courtney declined to allow a division to be taken, seeing that the minority was less than twenty. A little later another amendment moved by Mr. Biggar was disposed of in the same summary fashion. A slight concession was made in the clause

providing resident magistrates with summary jurisdiction, Mr. Gladstone promising to advise the Lord Lieutenant not to appoint a barrister to the post unless he was satisfied as to his legal knowledge and ability. In the evening sitting the remaining clauses were run through, and the Bill as amended ordered to be reported, the only incident worthy of notice being a very strongly-worded speech from Mr. Storey (Sunderland), in which he attacked the Government for their treating political prisoners as criminals, and upbraided the Home Secretary with being more of a Tory than a Whig.

When three days later (July 7) the report was brought up, a number of new amendments were found to have been placed in the Order Book ; but under the rules of urgency they were rapidly disposed of, until Mr. Trevelyan rose to modify the fourteenth clause, which gave to the police the right of general search. In deference to a promise given to Mr. Parnell, the Government proposed to exclude night searches, except where there was reasonable cause to believe that a secret society was holding a meeting. This concession was strongly opposed by Mr. W. C. Cartwright (Oxfordshire), on the ground that its adoption would effectually hinder the detection of crime. Sir W. Hart-Dyke on behalf of the Conservatives, after twitting the Government with their carelessness as to whether proper precautions were taken or not, upbraided them with now throwing over at the last moment those who throughout the debate had supported the Bill so loyally. In reply to this challenge, Mr. Gladstone declared that he could not speak too plainly or too early in that discussion. He denied that the Government had thrown over hon. gentlemen opposite, who had stated that they agreed to their demands for coercive powers with great reluctance and alleged that the Bill was a very severe one. Let them, he continued, now accede to the demands of the Government in respect to that concession to which Ministers were solemnly pledged, and to which they must stand. He asserted that it was the duty of the Government to make criminals fear the law and to encourage the people at large to respect it. Agrarian outrages generally had in the last three months considerably diminished, while the more horrible crimes now perpetrated were found to be connected with the action of secret societies, against which strong powers had been taken. The Irish people were settling down to a more peaceful state, and the responsible Government, as the guardians of order, did not wish to have thrust upon them coercive powers which ought on every ground of public policy to be confined within the narrowest bounds prescribed by prudence. If the House thought the Government failed in the discharge of their duty, it was for the House to get rid of them ; "and if this amendment be rejected," he added, "I shall consider myself at liberty to examine my position in conformity with my individual duty as an officer of the State." Sir S. Northcote pointed out that Mr.

Gladstone's pledge to Mr. Parnell could not bind the House to accept an amendment which would distinctly weaken the Bill. Mr. Balfour twitted the Premier with his readiness to resign or to threaten to resign. Mr. Gladstone denied that he had done so. He said merely that he would consider himself perfectly at liberty to examine and consider his own personal position. The matter, however, promised to become serious when Mr. Goschen ranged himself on the side of Mr. Cartwright, and expressed the hope that the House would vote upon the amendment independently of party considerations. The possession of the power of night search by the Lord Lieutenant would not oblige him to put it in force unless in his discretion he considered it to be necessary. Mr. George Russell (Aylesbury), from the same side of the House, declared that he would on the question vote against his party as a protest against further concessions to the Land League; and the Hon. F. W. Lambton (South Durham), in an almost maiden speech, protested against the "haughty words" of the Prime Minister, and declared that if the Government would not carry out the wishes of the majority, it would be possible to find another Government which would. Mr. Bright appealed to his supporters not to be led away by a false issue, and declared that even in the Cabinet there had been a difference of opinion on this very point of night searches; but it was decided by a majority, which included Lord Spencer, that they were more irritating than useful. The Government, moreover, had pledged itself to the Parnellites, and although these had withdrawn from the House (they were sitting throughout the debate in the gallery), the pledge could not be broken. After a few words from Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who remarked that Mr. Bright's account of Cabinet proceedings was evidence of two parties in that body, the House divided. Mr. Shiel went to the galleries to beseech the Parnellites to vote, but they one and all flatly refused to do so. Mr. G. Russell and Mr. Cartwright, two Liberals, were the tellers against the amendment, which was rejected by 207 to 194. Amidst the noise which ensued, Mr. Gladstone rose and was understood to say that under ordinary circumstances he would have gone no further with the Bill, but that the condition of Ireland prevented him from so acting. At the evening sitting of the same day the remaining amendments were disposed of, and the Bill read a third time and passed without a division and with only five dissentients, all of whom were English Radical members. The Speaker thereupon announced that the state of business was no longer urgent, and the Crimes' Prevention Bill having been at once carried up to the House of Lords, was read a first time without debate.

In the division which forced upon the Government larger coercive powers than they demanded, twenty-four Liberals had voted in the majority, chiefly members of the Whig section; but the principal cause of the defeat of the Ministry was the abstention of so many of their usual supporters. Nevertheless, had the

Parnellites, in whose behalf the proviso was introduced, taken part in the division, they would have attained the exemption, which presumably they denied. Whether the disaffected Whigs had any definite object in view in inflicting this defeat on the Government was never clearly made out by their spokesmen or their organs; and it was still less manifest what personal advantage they could hope to gain by a change of Government. The difficulties, too, of the situation were not lessened by the knowledge that on the present occasion the Parnellites had held in their hands the power of making or marring the Ministerial majority. Rumours of resignation, of Cabinet changes, and even of dissolution, were industriously circulated in various quarters. When, however, the House re-assembled (July 10), Mr. Gladstone calmly reviewed the facts of the case, and by showing that the object of the amendment was merely to entrust the Government with discretionary powers, not to impede the working of the Administration, he thought it more manly to face the difficulties of a situation, from which cowards might well wish to retire, but to which brave men might reasonably be unwilling to succeed. By way, moreover, of showing the calm frame of mind with which the Cabinet faced the future, Mr. Gladstone gave the first definite intimation that the House of Commons would be called together again in the autumn to dispose of the new Rules of Procedure.

The subsequent course of the Crimes Bill was wholly uneventful. The House of Lords having little or no experience in the amendment or rejection of Coercion Bills, allowed the debate to proceed rapidly. On July 10 the second reading was moved by Lord Carlingford, and supported by Lords Lansdowne and Waveney, and in a more modified sense by Lord Oranmore and Lord Salisbury, both of whom were ready for more stringent measures, and on the following night the Bill rapidly passed through its remaining stages. It received the Royal Assent a few hours after leaving the Lords, and before the evening of July 12 had become law.

I the interval between the close of the Committee on the Crimes Bill and its final stage, the Government had managed to advance the Arrears Bill another step. On July 5, as soon as Dr. Playfair had satisfied the curiosity of certain members as to how his version of the wholesale suspension of the Home Rulers on the previous Saturday had found its way into the papers, Mr. Gladstone moved that the House should go into Committee on the Arrears Bill, promising that if the surplus of the Irish Church, estimated at two millions, failed to meet the requirements of the Act, he was ready to advance a further half-million out of the Consolidated Fund. He admitted that the introduction of the Bill had for the moment checked the payment of rent; but it would, he hoped, ultimately lead to the settlement of every outstanding question between landlords and tenants in Ireland. When the difficulty of arrears had been disposed of, nothing need inter-

vene to hinder the restoration of peace and order in that country. The Bill he held to be of urgent importance, and he did not believe the House of Commons would take upon itself the responsibility of rejecting it. The opposition to the Bill was led by Mr. Chaplin, who saw in its acceptance a still further demoralisation of the Irish people, a view supported by Mr. E. Stanhope, who regarded it as an injury to honest tenants who had already paid their rents, as well as to landlords who, no matter how liberal they might have been, would in all cases be mulcted of a certain part of the rent fairly due; and he declared that the Bill was supported by none but the Land League—but Mr. Dillon's very lukewarm approval of the measure was evidence that even in this matter that body was not united.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach, while admitting that some legislation on the question of arrears was necessary under existing circumstances, held it to be a grave evil that this measure should have originated, not with the Government, but with members below the gangway until lately detained in prison, and to whom any benefits to be derived from it by the Irish tenants would be credited. He questioned the adequacy of the Church Fund to bear the burden imposed on it, and thought that a much larger sum than half a million would have to be raised by taxation. There was, however, he observed, hardly any sum of public money he would not be ready to vote if it would restore prosperity and peace to Ireland. But there was, he urged, nothing permanently remedial in the present proposals; they were, in his view, nothing but a sop to discontent and a makeshift expedient for tiding over a difficulty, and they would sow the seeds of worse complications in the future.

Mr. Bright, answering the charge that the Bill was a sop to discontent and agitation, remarked that the greatest sop of that kind which had ever yet been offered came from the Lords' Committee of this session, and it was one which in some shape the right hon. member for Westminster was understood to recommend. Discussing the comparative merits of the system of loans and gifts, he showed that if the rate of interest was very low there would be no check on an almost universal demand for advances, which would be "shovelled out" wholesale to all and sundry; and instead of the plan costing two millions sterling it would probably absorb five or perhaps six millions. The course now proposed was one infinitely preferable to that; and, while admitting that there would be some difficulty in finding out who could pay their arrears and who could not, he stated that the court would take every reasonable precaution to ascertain the real state of every applicant's affairs, and thus guard against injustice to the State while effectually helping the tenant. In conclusion, he advised right hon. gentlemen on the other side to find some more suitable mode of exercising their powers as an Opposition than by endeavouring to make everything that was done for Ireland by the Government

appear to be wrong, especially at a time when the Ministers were entitled to the support of every loyal member of Parliament.

The arguments for and against the Bill were based throughout upon two conflicting views, which were repeated in various forms. The Ministerialists, admitting the exceptional nature of the measure, supported it because the Administration pronounced it necessary for the pacification of Ireland; whilst the Conservatives denounced it as based upon unsound principles, and asserted that its sedative effects, if any, would be of very short duration. Sir S. Northcote objected to the Bill, not because it was exceptional, but because it was bad in itself, and fraught with future mischief. He held it to be an extraordinary and very questionable doctrine that they were to pass an immoral measure in order to repress crime and to pacify Ireland. Believing that the Bill would prove injurious to the best interests of Ireland itself, and that it had no element of finality whatever in it, he offered to it his strenuous and decided opposition. Mr. Childers denied that the scheme could be fairly called immoral—a charge which he retorted on Mr. Smith's own alternative proposals. He maintained, as the result of his analysis of figures, that the Church Surplus would be ample to meet the burden to be placed upon it. The division was then taken, and Mr. Chaplin's amendment rejected by 283 against 208, the Opposition cheering loudly at the unexpectedly large minority. Above eighty Liberals, but only half as many Conservatives, were absent from the division, as were also some of the Irish members, such as Mr. Shaw, Mr. Smyth, &c. Four Whigs and one Radical (Mr. Storey) voted against the Government. Immediately after the division the House went formally into Committee on the Bill, but this was not effected before a very sharp conversation had taken place between the two sides as to whether the Bill might be taken at a Saturday sitting or not. Sir S. Northcote threatened that if that were done, the motion "that the Speaker do now leave the chair" would be opposed, and the whole debate of that night would be gone over anew. This put an end to the project for a Saturday's sitting, and at ten minutes past three in the morning (July 7) the House rose.

Once in Committee, the discussion of the various clauses proceeded with dull regularity, in a House which only showed a semblance of vitality and of interest in its proceedings when the division bells summoned members to take up their places in their accustomed lobbies. Nothing was more striking throughout the discussion than the almost mechanical recurrence of the same Ministerial majority, no matter whatever the object in view, or whoever the mover of the amendment. The Conservatives throughout consistently appeared as the champions of the landlords' interests, which they were defending against the rising tide of Socialism or worse. In this way Sir Stafford Northcote's proposal that the application to the Land Commission to deal with arrears of rent should be made jointly by the landlord and tenant was opposed

by all parties except his own followers, on the ground that in Ireland arrears were frequently used by the landlord as an engine for compelling the tenant to agree to an increase of rent, or to some change in his tenure. It was admitted that the clause was a revival of a section which had been struck out of the previous year's Bill, but, as Mr. Trevelyan urged, the Land Act having proved in this respect a failure, it was necessary to resort to a different method. A good deal of controversy arose as to whether it was a custom in Ireland to sell arrears of rent, and the existence of some such custom was almost conclusively proved. After a long discussion the amendment was rejected by 248 against 170, and almost immediately afterwards another amendment by Mr. J. Lowther, transferring the administration of the Bill from the Land Commissioners to the County Court Judges, shared the same fate, 249 voting against the proposal, and 177 in its favour. Amongst the numerous amendments to the clause some were never moved, others were withdrawn after a short discussion, whilst others again, like that proposed by the O'Donoghue, were negatived without a division. His suggestion was that the mere fact of arrears should be accepted by the Commission as proof that the tenant was unable to pay them; but Sir M. Hicks-Beach's amendments limiting the benefits of the Bill to those who had not been guilty of wilful default in the payment of their rent, although negatived by 261 against 184, was received with such marked approval from many quarters of the House that a promise to review the clause was given by the Government. Mr. Gibson's proposal that the tenant shall prove that he was unable to pay his arrears when they accrued due, was opposed by Mr. Gladstone at first, but in the course of the next sitting of the Committee Mr. Childers moved that no order should be made under the Act unless the Land Commissioners were satisfied that the tenant was unable to discharge his arrears without the loss of his holding, or the loss of means essentially necessary for its cultivation. Furthermore, Mr. Gladstone offered, in order to satisfy the desire which appeared to exist for the insertion of something specific in the Bill as to tenant-right, to introduce words later on providing that for the purposes of the Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest might, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account as an asset.

Although persons holding views so little in common as Mr. Forster, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Dickson protested against the attitude taken up by the Ministry, the amendment was, after a long debate, adopted by the House, which also summarily rejected a fantastic proposal by Mr. Labouchere that State aid should be given to any tenant applying for it, quite apart from his inability to pay his arrears, provided only he could prove that his previous rent had been excessive.

Mr. Ecroyd's proposal of an advance to the tenant to pay off his arrears in fifteen annual instalments having been negatived by

a large majority, who preferred a real gift to a sham loan, Mr. Gladstone speedily redeemed his pledge to give some legal recognition of the tenant's right as a part of his legal assets, and he consequently proposed (July 13) an amendment, which enabled the Commissioners, if they thought it reasonable, to take the saleable value of the tenant's interest into account in ascertaining whether he is able to discharge antecedent arrears. Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Plunket agreed in desiring that the Commissioners should receive a definite instruction, and not a mere permission, to consider the value of the tenant's interest, so far as they should think reasonable; but they did not succeed in their attempt at amending Mr. Gladstone's amendment. The clause, after a fruitless attempt on the part of Mr. Labouchere to get the arrears estimated at the judicial rent, was at length passed without further alteration, and substantially in accordance with the wishes of the Government. The three next clauses went rapidly through the Committee, the Government, in spite of the opposition of the Conservatives, adopting on the motion an amendment by Mr. Healy which gave power to the Land Commissioners to enlarge the term during which an evicted tenant might redeem his tenancy, the term of grace being subsequently fixed at six months. On clause 5 there was a general attack from the Conservative side on the Sub-commissioners, who were not, in their opinion, to be trusted with the administration of the Bill; and a little later a dispute arose amongst the Irish members as to whether it was wise to delegate the functions of the Land Commissioners to local magistrates, to the extent of empowering them to inquire into and to report on the financial condition of applicants. Mr. Stanhope attempted to limit the State aid to be given under the Bill to the amount derivable from the surplus of the Irish Church Fund; and in this view he was supported by Sir S. Northcote, who argued that Irish agriculturalists had no more claim to be helped out of the Consolidated Fund than distressed English or Scotch farmers; and by Mr. Hubbard, who held that it was harmful to give public money for the purpose of transforming Irish peasants into proprietors. The Government, however, maintained their point by 243 against 173, and the discussion on the Bill as it was originally brought in, closed without further opposition or incident (July 18). The new clauses, however, were destined to give rise to some lengthy discussion; although they arose out of promises or concessions offered to parties or individuals who were dissatisfied with the original proposals of the Bill. The first of these new clauses was the result of a promise to the Irish members. It provided that in the case of tenants whose holding was valued at not more than 50*l.*, having paid the whole of the rent due for the year on the last gale-day of 1881, or such other sum as the landlord might be willing to accept in lieu of a year's rent, and if antecedent arrears were due, the court might, on the joint application of landlord and tenant, advance a sum not

exceeding one year's rent of the holding, and not exceeding half the amount of the arrears. This sum would bear interest at five per cent., and be repayable by half-yearly instalments, spread over thirty-five years. Mr. W. H. Smith moved an amendment to make these loans repayable in fifteen years, but this was negatived by 204 against 98, and Mr. Marum's proposal to extend the benefits of the Act to a man who, having been evicted, had been reinstated, suffered a similar fate, as did Mr. Parnell's still more important amendment that pending the fixing of fair rents the arrears should be computed from the date of the application at the rate of the judicial rent. By some fatality, whether designed or unforeseen, the report of the Bill as amended was voted at an earlier hour than was anticipated; and though of course the opponents of the measure were loud in their protests against a "snap" division on a matter of such vital importance, there was no evidence that a continuance of the discussion was seriously desired by any section of the House. The appointment of Lord Monck when announced (July 20) gave rise to some remarks, Mr. Gibson objecting to him because he was a Liberal, and Mr. Sexton because he was a Whig, and because possibly the Home Rulers were disappointed in the hope of seeing one of their own body selected for this delicate office. Mr. Trevelyan's emigration clause, under which powers were conferred on Boards of Guardians to promote emigration, was debated with far greater keenness, and with a sense of the interests involved. Under this clause Boards of Guardians are empowered to borrow for purposes of emigration, and to obtain advances from a grant in aid of emigration to the extent of 100,000*l.* Mr. Trevelyan estimated that fifteen per cent. of the population in the poorest unions, about 17,000 souls, might be thus sent out of the country at a cost of 133,000*l.*, of which one-fourth would be subscribed privately. The Home Rulers were divided on the question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor opposing it; Mr. O'Donnell denouncing it, while Mr. J. M'Carthy urged that migration to less over-populated districts was preferable to complete expatriation. The Government proposal, supported by the Conservatives, was at last agreed to by 355 to 20, but saddled with the condition that in no case should the amount paid to an emigrant exceed 5*l.* Shortly afterwards Mr. Gladstone briefly moved the third reading of the Bill, remarking that he wished to put it on record on the part of the Government that their main determining motive in passing that measure—the exceptional character of which he fully admitted—was that they might open a way for the poorest tenantry of Ireland to obtain those adjustments of rent which were essentially connected with the policy of the Legislature for the pacification and contentment of that country. The Government had always acknowledged the grave objections to which such a measure was liable; but they felt that the evils which it was intended to meet far outweighed these objections. A

somewhat perfunctory protest from the Opposition ensued, in the course of which Sir H. Maxwell declared—

You may twist, you may alter the Act as you will,
The taint of the Land League will hang round it still ;

and the Bill was at length read a third time, and passed by 285 to 177 (July 21). The majority included 48 Irish members, whilst in the minority were 12 Irish Conservatives, 1 Irish and 2 English Liberals ; but as may be gathered from the number, the absentees, especially amongst the Liberals, were very numerous, including both Whigs like Mr. Goschen, Mr. Cartwright, and Mr. Lambton, as well as Radicals like Mr. Cowen, Mr. Baxter and Mr. Rylands.

The career of the measure in the House of Lords was not without its dramatic incidents. As rarely happens, the House was sitting on Saturday (July 22), engaged on judicial business, three landlords being present. In the course of the proceedings, Sir Erskine May brought up the Bill from the Commons, whereupon Lord Blackburne taking his seat on the woolsack, Lord Fitzgerald moved the first reading. Thereupon the Legal Tribunal resumed its interrupted duties. The real fate of the Bill had, however, been decided elsewhere, for Lord Salisbury having taken into counsel the Conservative peers, it was understood that an arrangement had been arrived at by which, while assenting to the second reading, certain important alterations should be made in Committee. In knowledge of this arrangement, the public debate was felt to be devoid of reality.

Lord Carlingford, in moving the second reading (July 27), claimed credit for the effort of the Government being one to save both landlords and tenants from a deadlock. The Government held that, as the Bill was compulsory, the contribution by the State must be by gift: that while with the majority of cases the compromise would be a great boon to landlords, in none would it be any great hardship to any one of them; and that, by intelligent inquiry, the ability or inability of a tenant to pay his arrears might be ascertained.

Lord Salisbury approved of the emigration clauses; but the emigration part of the Bill was only an afterthought, and the House had to return to the skeleton of the Bill—to the approved product of the Kilmainham Treaty. He argued that the compulsory character of the Bill was highly objectionable, and that the tenant's interest in his holding should be taken into account in ascertaining whether he was destitute. The Liberal Government had been giving this warning to landlords, "Whatever you do, don't be good-natured," and they had been teaching the Irish tenants that new concessions would be made to disturbance and crime. While thinking that the Bill ought not to be rejected on the second reading, he held that the House ought not to pass it without having first eliminated some of its dangerous provisions.

Lord Lansdowne maintained that the compulsory character of the Bill was an element essential to its success, and he trusted the House would reject any such amendment as that indicated by Lord Salisbury for taking the tenant's interest in his holding into account when judging of his ability to pay arrears. He further urged the House not to "insert provisions, designed, no doubt, to satisfy honest scruples, but in reality likely to impair the efficiency of the measure and to bring upon the House some responsibility in case the Bill should not succeed."

Earl Cowper, the ex-Viceroy, cordially supported the measure, as necessary to bring about a peaceful settlement of Ireland, as did Lord Dunraven, who on more than one occasion, both in Parliament and as a writer, had given proof of the diligence with which he had studied the difficulties of the situation. The Irish landlords, represented by Lords Waterford, Donoughmore, and Ventry, were equally opposed to the measure and to the means by which it was to be carried into effect, but, nevertheless, the debate closed at the usual division hour without a division.

The consideration of the Bill in Committee gave occasion for a far bolder display of the feelings of the Opposition, whilst from the Liberal ranks a cry was raised that in the event of the measure being passed, the Irish Land Laws might be left alone for awhile. On the very first clause of the Bill Lord Salisbury joined issue by proposing an amendment to give the landlord the option of refusing to compound for the arrears of rent due to him. He declared that if there could be such a thing on the part of the State as stealing, that offence was proposed in this Bill. Confiscation was proposed, and the only mode in which the Bill could be brought into correspondence with the principles of common honesty was to make the application of the composition provisions optional with the landlord as well as with the tenant. "If," said he, "you accept this amendment and make the operation of the Bill optional with regard to the landlord as well as the tenant, the effect will be this. The landlord will not consent where he believes that the inability to pay arrears is not genuine. In refusing his consent he will not only protect his own arrears but the interests of the State, and the funds which the State has devoted to this purpose. That there are any classes of landlords so absurd in their ideas that they would refuse 10s. in the pound for the payment of an irrecoverable debt is a thing impossible to believe." Lord Carlingford, in reply, stated that the Government would regard the decision on this amendment as equivalent to a decision on the question of the second reading of the Bill. The amendment would give the landlord a veto on the offer of the State, and would therefore defeat the object of the measure. He submitted that such legislation would be discreditable to the Government and Parliament. In answer to Lord Salisbury's assertion that the amendment would be acceptable to the landlords, Lord Carlingford held that on the contrary it would be fatal to their real interests. The amendment

would require each landlord to impose his own terms upon the acceptance of public money, and by thus introducing the element of individual interest or caprice, would create further discord between the landlord and tenant classes.

Lord Lifford believed that the Bill, with Lord Salisbury's amendment, would be a blessing to Ireland, but without it would be one of the greatest curses to that country.

The Marquess of Lansdowne held Lord Salisbury's statement that the compulsion was all on one side to be fallacious, and argued that the position of the tenant was *ex hypothesi* that he was in arrear, and if he did not come in and pay up a year's rent, the landlord was not obliged to allow him to continue in possession of the holding. Therefore, the tenant was offered the choice between eviction and complying with the provisions of the Bill. The mode of procedure recommended by Lord Salisbury would be an admirable one if the Bill were an optional one; but the whole point of the arrangement was that it was a compulsory composition of certain liabilities. The optional system had been tried and had failed, and the Government had proposed a twofold solution of the difficulties by which they were confronted in Ireland. They had obtained effectual measures for dealing with disorder, and they were now endeavouring to do something to relieve the pressure which had no doubt tended to increase crime. He should greatly regret if, on the one hand, they accepted that legislation, which was directed against crime, and, on the other hand, left unmitigated that pressure which was calculated to lead to an increase of crime in that unfortunate country. If the passage of the Bill were jeopardised, or if it passed in an unsatisfactory condition, he must say he thought the House would incur a grave and serious responsibility.

Lord Derby concurred with the Government in thinking that the amendment was aimed against the vital principle of the Bill. By the second reading the House had accepted that principle, and he could not see the advantage of destroying it by a side wind. Lord Cranbrook, after retorting that Lord Salisbury was following the precise course which Lord Derby had recommended when the Compensation for Disturbance Bill had been before the House, characterized the present measure as the product of the information received from Kilmainham. He urged, moreover, that there was no finality in Ministerial legislation, and that behind the Arrears Bill would arise other developments of the Land Act. The Lord Chancellor described the speech of Lord Cranbrook as an uncompromising opposition to a Bill which, in the circumstances of Ireland, the Government submitted to Parliament as a wise and moderate measure.

A division was then taken, and Lord Salisbury's amendment was agreed to by 169 to 98; a result which, though hardly unexpected, was regarded as the prelude to another useless trial of strength between the two Houses of the Legislature. On the

second clause Lord Salisbury proposed another amendment of about equal importance, which, after a brief discussion, was agreed to by 120 to 45. His proposal was that in the event of the tenant-right being sold, the tenant should, out of the proceeds, repay the sum which the landlord was compelled to forego under the provisions of the Bill. Lord Carlingford thought that this would be most injudicious, because it would tend to revive ill-feeling in the future. Some speakers representing Irish interests held that it would be better to teach the Irish peasant the sacredness of contract by means of the amendment, but others urged that he ought to be given at once a completely new start in life.

None of the other clauses called for much debate, except an amendment carried by Lord Waterford, relating to the "hanging gale;" and after an attack on the Sub-commissioners by Lords Kilmorey and Brabourne, and a severe onslaught on the latter by the Lord Chancellor, the Bill passed through Committee. On the following day (August 1), the Bill having been read a third time, some faint appeals were made by one or two peers to Lord Salisbury not to persevere with his amendments, which would practically render the measure inoperative. The Conservative leader, however, declared that the rejection of the Bill on account of his amendments depended solely on Mr. Gladstone's humour, and the Lords consequently decided to stand by their previous decision. On the final stage of the Bill, the Duke of Abercorn moved an amendment, the effect of which was to make it obligatory instead of discretionary with the Land Commissioners to take into account the saleable value of the tenant's interest in ascertaining whether he was able to discharge his arrears. Lord Fitzgerald stated that his knowledge of Ireland made him view with dismay the prospect of this Bill being dropped, and besought their lordships on both sides to come to some agreement. Lord Salisbury took this occasion to address a remonstrance to the Prime Minister, who, he declared, had, without any reasonable or plausible ground, insisted upon maintaining the compulsory character of the Bill. It seemed as if the right honourable gentleman took pleasure in using a great public crisis, when the forces of insurrection were behind him, to undermine the principles upon which the rights of property rested. He hoped the Government would consider the unreasonable and indefensible position they had taken up. If the result should be that the Bill came to nothing, the responsibility would rest with them. Lord Granville thought the charge of being unreasonable rather applied to those who were not influenced by the warnings they had received of the probable consequences in Ireland of the failure of the Bill, and again complained that the noble Marquess seemed unable to refrain from personalities directed against the Prime Minister. After some further recriminations, the Duke of Abercorn's amendment was agreed to without a division, and the Bill passed.

The two branches of the Legislature were thus once more arrayed against each other as they had been in the previous session; and the apparent strength and compactness of the majorities in each House rendered the outcome of the crisis for a moment doubtful. It was asserted that in the event of the Lords insisting on their amendments, Parliament would be at once prorogued, and that a new session would be opened forthwith, during which the Arrears Bill and a County Franchise Bill would be presented side by side, and everything prepared for an immediate and consequent dissolution. In the interval, however, which elapsed between the action of the House of Lords and the counter-action of the Commons, a good many speeches were made by Conservative leaders which suggested the idea that their objections to the Arrears Bill were not altogether insuperable, and that they deprecated the idea of making them the ground of a grave constitutional crisis. Lord Cranbrook, who had taken a prominent part in denouncing the measure in the House of Lords, and who was regarded as one of the champions of uncompromising opposition, speaking at Wandsworth (August 5), said the Arrears Bill might be called a new way to pay old debts, as it used in the first place the Irish Church Fund, and in the second place the pockets of the English people, to pay the debts of persons a great number of whom were perfectly able to pay them themselves, but who had contumaciously withheld the dues of their landlords. He quite admitted there were parts of Ireland where, if the tenants had no rents to pay at all, they could not live upon their holdings, and he was quite sure the English people would be ready to make large and generous sacrifices, so that these unfortunate people might emigrate and be placed in territories where they could live. But why should the English taxpayers throw their money into the sea, and for a single moment bring about the payment of certain arrears which were as certain to accumulate again as night was to follow day? With respect to this Bill he noticed that at the present time there was plenty of advice given to the House of Lords, and so far as he could understand from newspaper remarks, the House of Lords was supposed to be an assembly that had no business to act except when it acted in entire harmony with the newspaper in question. If they were to hold their legislative functions upon these conditions, he would not think them of much value. But he believed that the second Chamber was most valuable—because it put a check upon bad principles now and then, when otherwise they would gain great currency. The constituencies of this country had given no commission upon this subject to the Parliament now sitting, and therefore it was a proper interference on the part of the House of Lords to see that injustice was not done and that the British public was not robbed.

At another Conservative demonstration, especially composed of working men, Lord Salisbury at Hatfield (August 7) was still

more guarded in his language, and strove to minimize the act of the House of Lords to the utmost :

"As you know," he said, "there is a certain Bill called the Arrears Bill, concerning which there is just now considerable controversy. It is a dull subject, and I do not think it a measure of very great importance in its practical operation, and I do not know in the least what either House of Parliament will do ; but, as it is possible that the House of Lords may say, 'The measure contains in its present form principles which are so direct a departure from sound policy that we cannot sanction them without the authorization of the people,' I may say a few words on the controversy. Now, the question is one that involves an important principle. There is no principle that enters more deeply into our civil and social life than this, that every man should pay his debts to the utmost extent of his ability. But if you say to a class of men, or if they derive from your talk an intimation that they may say to themselves, "I will not pay my debts according to the practice and law of the country, but will go behind hedges and shoot at my creditor or burn his house down, and make the country too hot to hold him"—if they can say that, and if the Legislature offers them freedom from their debts as a bribe to keep the peace, very great injury is done, which is not confined to particular creditors, but extends far beyond them. It affects the whole community, because it strikes at a principle that is at the root of all our prosperity, and is the only principle on which industry and capital can work together."

But another member of the previous Cabinet, Lord Sandon, speaking at Rufford Park, Liverpool, on the same day, explained more openly the reluctance of the Conservatives to push matters to extremities at the present time.

"Heaven forbid," he exclaimed, "that at this moment the Conservatives should come into office. I am sure that no one could wish that such a tangled thread should fall into our hands to unwind ; but I do say this, that if, on mature consideration, the country comes to the conclusion that, owing to Mr. Gladstone's conduct in Ireland, the people of that country will never be quiet, thinking that he will always give them a great sum of money if they should only conspire and make noise and outrage enough ; and if they also come to the conclusion, judging from what passed in the Transvaal and Natal, that Mr. Gladstone cannot settle these terrible difficulties in Egypt, I have no hesitation in saying that there is no Conservative public man who ought not to be ready to step forward and take the post of danger if the great need of the country requires it."

On the following day (August 8) Mr. Gladstone moved in the House of Commons the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Arrears Bill, and explained with great simplicity and tact the extent of the concessions which the Government were prepared to make to the opponents of the Bill. He declined to raise conten-

tions and set going theories which for the peace and progress of the country it was better to let sleep. With regard to the first amendment, introducing the principle of joint action in lieu of sole action, it was impossible for the Government to assent to it, because, in fact, it would not allow the landlord the right of going into court, although it enabled him to veto the initiative of the tenant. He admitted that if a tenant able to pay were allowed the benefits of the Bill an injustice would be committed, and to prevent that the Bill, as sent up, gave the landlord a *locus standi*, and made him the ally of the State in securing a full investigation. But the Lords' amendment would allow the landlord to debar the tenant who was really unable to pay from access to the court. He proposed, therefore, to restore the Bill to its former shape, giving both parties liberty to apply to the court, but with the proviso that each should give the other ten days' notice. The second amendment to which he referred gave the landlord—in case of the sale of the holding after the application of the Act—the right to charge the unliquidated arrears of rent upon the proceeds of the sale, and as to this, he said, there was much to be urged on both sides. On the one side there was the desirability of making a clean sweep of the tenant's indebtedness; while on the other there was the fact that the tenant-right under the Ulster custom was treated as a security for the landlord's interest. On the whole, the Government would recommend the House to accept the amendment, but to confine its application to sales effected within seven years, and to limit the amount thus recoverable to one year's rent, which was not to exceed one moiety of the value of the tenant-right. The third Lords' amendment, proposed by the Duke of Abercorn, required that the Commissioners "shall" (instead of "may") take the saleable value of the tenant's interest into consideration in determining the question of his solvency, and this he proposed to accept, with the addition of the words "as far as they think it reasonable." The fourth amendment, known as Lord Waterford's or the "Hanging Gale" Amendment, Mr. Gladstone said the Government could not accept at all, because mainly of its dangerous ambiguity, which, on the one side, might prevent the landlord getting more than one year's rent, while by another interpretation he might get half a year or a whole year's rent more than was due to him. He intended to agree to the Lords' amendment requiring that the single Commissioner to whom any function was delegated must be a barrister-at-law, with the addition that he might be a solicitor; but he should move to limit the appeal from him to the Land Commission given by the Lords to matters of law.

The Conservatives at once showed their readiness to meet these concessions in a conciliatory spirit. The first amendment with the proposed addition, after a brief and somewhat lifeless debate, was agreed to by 293 to 157. On the second, two counter-proposals were put forward, one by Lord Lyndhurst, reducing the

limitation of the period for which the tenant-right should be chargeable with the landlord's arrears, from seven to three years. This was negatived by 197 to 83—and another moved by Mr. Healy, exempting tenancies under 15*l.* from the operation of the clause, was rejected by 135 to 73. The fourth amendment, requiring that the Land Commissioners "shall" take the saleable value of the holding into consideration when settling the question of arrears, was softened by the addition of the words "so far as the Commissioners think it reasonable," and in this form the clause was agreed to by 152 to 55. In the first and most important division the Government received the support of Lord H. Thynne (who had held office under the previous Administration) and of Sir Richard Wallace, a large Irish landowner, whilst many of the foremost members of the Opposition withdrew without voting. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that Mr. Gladstone, dining at the Mansion House (August 9) at the annual banquet given by the Lord Mayor to Her Majesty's Ministers, should speak of the danger of a conflict with the House of Lords as virtually over, and was able to congratulate the country on the progress which had been made in the pacification of Ireland.

On the following day the Commons' treatment of the Lords' amendments was taken into consideration, but previously Lord Salisbury summoned a hundred of his principal supporters to discuss privately the political situation. What actually took place never transpired in any official form, but it was understood that both Earl Cairns and the Duke of Richmond deprecated the attitude of uncompromising hostility which Lord Salisbury wished to adopt, and that, on a show of hands, Lord Salisbury's views received the support of less than a score of the peers present. The discussion in the House of Lords pointed, at all events, to some such conclusion. When the motion for agreeing to the Commons' amendments was moved by Lord Carlingford, Lord Salisbury rose and declared his opinion of the Bill to be unchanged; that the Bill made no discrimination between good and bad arrears—arrears which were unpaid on account of the ill will of the tenant and those which arose from his inability to pay—and he held that the precedent which the Bill set would be evoked some day against its authors. He went on to say:—"It is my opinion that the substantial objects of the Bill could be gained, and these dangers fruitful in the future be avoided, if it were required that the landlords should be allowed to dissent from the operation of the Bill. I believe that the terms offered to the landlords would in the vast majority of cases, accompanied as they would be with considerations arising out of the state of things in Ireland and the pressure of public opinion in that country, practically secure that the large majority of the landlords would have come in and accepted them. If you had accepted the Bill in that form you would have carried out the reform you desire without giving this dangerous precedent of public plunder to mislead future genera-

tions. But it may be said that this is an exceptional measure, that it is a final measure, and that if we pass it we shall hear no more of the subject. We heard that argument, however, last year, and we know how marvellously the germ theory has afflicted politics of recent years. We know how the measures which are pressed upon one year as final are in succeeding years pointed to as containing the germs of a principle which necessitates some further step in the same direction. What has been in the past will probably recur in the future. I hold it as most probable that this Bill will fail in accomplishing the object which you have in view. I do not believe that it will enable any considerable number of tenants to go into the Land Court." His desire had been to amend the Bill because experience had shown that if the Lords allowed a Bill to pass they were held responsible for all its enactments; and he quoted from various Liberal leaders speeches in support of his contention; and disclaiming all personal responsibility in the Bill, he concluded:—"I believe that the Bill would be only permissible with the alteration in it which makes the consent of the landlord necessary before the measure can be put into operation, and that without that alteration I believe it to be a most pernicious Bill; that it is an Act of simple robbery, and that it is a Bill which will bear the gravest fruits in the legislation of the future. Those are my opinions. I have had the opportunity this morning of conferring with the noble Lords who formed the majority of your Lordships' House, by whom the amendment was carried, which was sent down to the other House, and I found that the overwhelming majority of their Lordships were of opinion that in the present state of affairs, especially those which have recently arisen in Ireland and in Egypt, it is not expedient that the Arrears Bill should be thrown out. I do not share in that opinion. If I had had the power I would have thrown out the Bill. I find myself, however, in a small minority, and, therefore, I shall not divide the House."

The various amendments were then taken and agreed to without any division being taken, although one or two verbal alterations were introduced, which necessitated the return of the Bill to the Commons, where it naturally gave rise to some discussion, but no further changes were introduced; and on August 18 it received the Royal Assent and became law—on which day, according to arrangement, the two Houses adjourned until October 24, when the revised rules of procedure were to be discussed in the Commons.

Although the greater portion of the session, in so far as it was available for legislative purposes, had been monopolised by the needs of Ireland, nevertheless some few measures of interest and importance were ultimately pushed through. None of these, however, were those which had occupied a prominent position in the Queen's Speech. With the Corrupt Practices Bill, indeed, the Government persevered until almost the end of July, returning to it from time to time, and devoting to it such fitful energy as the

demands of Ireland and Supply would permit. The opposition to the measure was of that veiled and insidious nature which is more frequently fatal to a proposed reform than open hostility. In spite of its stringent provisions—differing but slightly from those of the Bill introduced in the previous year (*see* “*Ann. Reg.*” 1881, p. 131), it was read a second time without opposition at a comparatively early date (April 27), and it was only when the constantly increasing flow of amendments to every clause appeared in the Order Book that the Government, after having carried some of its principal clauses, was forced to abandon any further attempt to legislate in favour of the purity of elections. Similar hostility was provoked by the Bill disfranchising the various boroughs found tainted with bribery at the General Election, and recourse was had to a temporary measure suspending the question for another session.

In like manner the Ballot Act, which expired in the course of the year, was intended to be formally dealt with, and certain improvements suggested by experience were to have been proposed and its permanent adoption ratified. No time for this discussion, however, could be found, and the Bill was included in the Expiring Acts' Continuance Act, the useful receptacle by means of which measures, good and bad, are handed on from session to session. Two Scotch Bills, one dealing with educational endowments, and the other defining and extending the powers of the Fishery Board, became law, although the manner in which the latter was hurried through the House of Lords provoked a very strong protest from Lord Redesdale. The Bankruptcy, County Government, and Municipality of London Bills were never even brought in, and the session passed without any further effort being made to pass a Criminal Code—although all four of these measures had been directly promised in the Queen's Speech. Two measures, however, purely administrative, yet of high importance, the Electric Lighting Bill and the Parcels Post Bill, were satisfactorily carried through by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) and the Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett). The former measure, which embodied the recommendations of a Select Committee, gave to Municipalities the right of deciding whether or not they were in favour of adopting the electric light for street and other purposes, and if so, the permission of the Board of Trade would alone be requisite, instead of a local Act of Parliament. Municipalities and vestries were, moreover, relieved from the monopolies guaranteed by Parliament in the case of Gas Companies, and the authorities were empowered to undertake the lighting of towns and districts under their control, or of employing public companies to do so, and of arbitrarily purchasing a company's lighting rights at a fixed rate. The original scope of this clause was somewhat widened in the House of Lords, where the term for licenses granted to Companies to light districts was extended from five to seven years, and the period at which Municipal

authorities might purchase undertakings from Companies was enlarged from fifteen to twenty-one years. By the Parcels' Post Bill, Mr. Fawcett obtained power to enable the Post Office to convey and deliver parcels up to a certain limit of weight, at a fixed charge irrespective of distance. There was no serious opposition to a proposal which for many years had been adopted in nearly every continental country; but doubts were expressed whether the Post Office could compete satisfactorily with the railway companies, which might undersell the Government in important centres of trade, leaving to the Post Office the remote and unremunerative country districts. The Rivers' Conservancy Bill and the Police Superannuation Bill, measures properly forming part of the whole scheme of County Government, were abandoned towards the end of June, with apparently but small regret by those who were anxiously looking for a comprehensive measure.

The Married Women's Property Bill, introduced into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, although ostensibly only consolidating the existing laws on this subject, marked a very important advance in public opinion. Its chief result was to place married women unprotected by trust deeds or trustees in the same position as their more favoured sisters, as far as regarded their private income, earnings, or inheritance; in a word, putting married men and married women on a footing of absolute equality before the law. The Municipal Corporation Act and the Bills of Exchange Act were respectively measures of consolidation and codification, and both of them recognised to be of the highest utility; but probably the principal achievement in the Statute Book was due to Earl Cairns, who persuaded the House of Lords to accept without much demur his Settled Lands Bill, by which the chief obstacles and restrictions in dealing with entailed estates were removed. The measure was the result of the labour of a Select Committee on which the highest legal authorities had been represented, and it passed through both Houses with the cordial support of the leaders on both sides, although for a moment there was a threat of opposition from the advanced Radicals in the Lower House.

A new Education Code, revised by Lord Spencer and Mr. Mundella, also gave general satisfaction, both in Parliament and among school managers and school teachers, and also among the general public. The objects especially held in view were to relieve teachers from a vast amount of mechanical work necessitated by complicated returns, to stimulate amongst them the study of special subjects, and to open to them a higher career as assistant inspectors than had been hitherto within their reach. For the scholars—although the system of payment by results was retained—a more elastic method of testing results was prescribed, and regularity of attendance received a fuller recognition. The chief objections to the Revised Code were raised by Lord Norton in the Upper House (May 19), who considered that there

was still need of simplifying the conditions under which grants were made, and objected to the large expenditure incurred for higher education.

Our somewhat obscure relations with the islands of Cyprus and Borneo were the subject of some keen discussion. With regard to the former, Lord Waveney endeavoured to obtain from the Government (July 28) the assurance that its importance as a military position had not been lost sight of; but Lord Kimberley's reply was hardly encouraging, for it gave the impression that the difficulties in the way of successful colonisation were quite insurmountable, whilst for many years the expenditure would be in excess of the revenue. The Government, moreover, only held the island under treaty with the Porte, and that precarious tenure would not justify any large expenditure on military works. The charter granted to North Borneo in November 1877 was made the subject of discussion in both Houses, as well as at a large public meeting held in London, under the presidency of Mr. John Morley. The subject was brought forward in the House of Commons (March 17) by Mr. Gorst, who described the charter recently granted to the North Borneo Company as a piece of safe and cheap filibustering, and an attempt to extend British territory in an irresponsible way under the shelter of a trading company. He contended that the charter conferred on the company authority from the British Crown to acquire and exercise sovereign rights, and that it was not a commercial but a political company, and would inevitably involve us in difficulties with Spain, Holland, and the United States. In addition to this, there must arise internal difficulties both with British and foreign subjects, but chiefly he laid stress on the disgrace and discredit which would be brought on the country and the British flag by the sanction and encouragement of slavery which, he contended, was involved in the charter. He concluded by moving an address praying Her Majesty to revoke or alter so much of the charter as gives an implied sanction to the maintenance of slavery. Mr. Dillwyn seconded the motion, regarding the transaction as an annexation of territory without the sanction of Parliament. The charter, he held, was diametrically opposed to former declarations of pretty nearly every Minister on the Treasury bench. The motion was generally supported by the independent Liberals and Radicals, and opposed by the Government on the ground that the charter had been granted to a company which had acquired certain territorial rights with the sanction of the previous Government; and that it would be more expedient to have some such control over the trading company, as recognised by the charter, than to allow them to carry out their own views without regard to international obligations. The motion was ultimately rejected by 125 to 62.

The only other matter of interest which arose previous to the adjournment for the autumn recess was the Supplementary Budget

necessitated by the affairs of Egypt. A vote of credit (July 24), amounting to 2,300,000*l.*, was asked for by the Government, of which 900,000*l.* was for the army and 1,400,000*l.* for the navy. This sum Mr. Gladstone proposed to raise by increasing the income tax from 5*d.* to 6½*d.* for the year. As, however, two quarters had been collected at the lesser rate, a tax of 8*d.* in the pound would be levied during the latter half of the financial year. By this means he hoped to receive before March 31, 1883, 2,262,000*l.*, whilst a further half-million might be expected to come in during the subsequent quarter, though it would form no part of the revenue of 1882-3. The actual sum required for the expeditionary force he calculated to be 2,300,000*l.*, which would defray the expenses of 2,400 cavalry, 13,400 infantry, 1,700 field artillery, and of a reserve force of 3,100 to sail subsequently. To these numbers no less than 3,700 persons, discharging civil and miscellaneous duties, would have to be added, the cost of whose transport and maintenance would fall upon the vote of credit. Mr. Gladstone expressed the hope that the additional requirements of the army and navy would not prevent him from giving the promised relief to the highway rates without having recourse to the increased carriage rates, which seemed to meet with general disapproval. No serious objections were raised to the financial proposals of the Government; but general doubt was expressed that the cost of the war would be confined to such moderate limits.

The conduct of the Chairman of Committees in suspending several of the Irish members in a body during the "long sitting" of July 1 was impeached at the time by Mr. Cowen and others. For some weeks these votes of censure on Dr. Playfair remained on the notice paper, and, in the singular state into which public business had lapsed, it seemed for a long time improbable that an opportunity could be found for discussing them. At length (August 9) Mr. Cowen's motion was brought on and occupied the entire day, but it could not be said that the proceedings with regard to it were satisfactory from any point of view. From the form in which the proposition was submitted to the House it was not possible, as Mr. Raikes pointed out, to move any amendment to it; but, as it happened, the House was not able even to express a direct negative or affirmative opinion upon the question whether the record of the suspension of Mr. Dillon, Mr. Commins, Mr. Biggar, and Mr. O'Donnell should be erased from the journals. When the hour for adjournment was reached, the Irish members were still prolonging the debate, which was never resumed. In moving to erase from the "Journal" of the House this record of the suspension of the four incriminated members for wilful obstruction, Mr. Cowen reviewed the course of the Committee and the events of the particular sitting. He contended that these members had not been guilty of obstruction, that all four had been absent for many hours, and that two were absolutely away

from the House at the time when they were suspended. He showed that up to the very last moment Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Harcourt had denied the existence of obstruction, and had admitted the right of the Irish members to oppose the Bill. As to the Standing Order under which Dr. Playfair acted, he denied that either in its terms or in the intentions of its authors was there anything to be found in it justifying the doctrine of "constructive and cumulative obstruction;" and apart from the personal injustice he objected to the Chairman's action, because it would be fatal to the existence and independence of small parties in the House. Sir W. Harcourt replied that Mr. Cowen's interpretation of the law of Parliament—that it was indispensable to take an offender *flagrante delicto*—was quite unfounded, and if admitted very slight ingenuity would be needed to evade all attempts to put down obstruction. That the Standing Order was intended to apply to combination he showed from the speeches of Sir R. Cross and Sir S. Northcote, and the ruling of the Speaker in the case of the continuous sitting of the previous year. That there had been a deliberate design to obstruct the Crimes' Prevention Bill was a matter of common knowledge—indeed, Mr. Cowen had avowed it on the third reading. The four gentlemen named did not disavow that they took part in it, and their case came within both the common law and the Standing Order.

The discussion was continued at considerable length, and Mr. Cowen's views were supported by various independent Liberals; and in consequence of reference being made to Dr. Playfair's absence during the debate whilst his conduct was under review, Mr. Gladstone replied that it was not the Chairman's business to appear as a party and plead his own cause, but rather to trust to the justice of the House. In fact, the motion did not censure the Chairman of Committees, who had only taken the initiative, so much as the House, which, by its vote, had adopted and confirmed his action. But, besides this, he pointed out that the Chairman had only acted on the ruling of the Speaker in 1881 as to combined and cumulative obstruction, which ought to have been challenged long before if it was objected to. Criticising the terms of the amendment, which, he said, if passed, would emasculate the Standing Order, he asserted that if every member were to exercise all his privileges and all the rights secured to him by the Rules the House would be smitten with incapacity, and it was entitled in self-defence to take whatever steps were necessary to protect itself.

Mr. Raikes, on whose evidence before the Select Committee of 1878 the Rule is supposed to have been founded, explained that at that time he did not contemplate the Rule being applied to members in their absence, or retrospectively. He thought it better if anything were done that it should be by amending the Standing Order, and advised the withdrawal of a motion which could only weaken the authority of the Chair and shake the

foundations of order. In this view he was supported by Sir S. Northcote, who admitted that when the Standing Order was passed its authors did not contemplate the kind of obstruction which had since arisen, and also that he was not altogether satisfied with what was done on the occasion in question. But he did not think that it was a case for censuring the authorities. If the Rule were to be applied to members in their absence, and also to a number of members collectively, it would require re-consideration.

Another angry discussion arose out of the committal of Mr. Gray, M.P., to prison for three months by Mr. Justice Lawson for contempt of court. The fact was notified to the Speaker by a letter which was read to the House at its last sitting before the recess (August 17), whereupon Mr. Gladstone moved that the letter lie on the table; and, in support of what he described as a mere formal motion, he examined at length the several alternative courses open to the House. The attachment of a member by any court was a matter which he admitted called for the consideration of the House, and precedent and policy, he showed, recommended that the inquiry should be by a committee. But in the present semi-animate condition of the House it was impossible to obtain a committee sufficiently representative and authoritative to undertake such an inquiry. In deciding, therefore, to postpone the matter until October, no inevitable hardship would, he contended, be inflicted on Mr. Gray; for assuming even that the committee was of opinion that the House should interfere, there seemed to be no means by which the release of Mr. Gray could be obtained. The gaoler, probably, would not obey any order from the House to open the prison doors; and even if an address to the Crown were carried for the removal of Mr. Justice Lawson, it could not have the smallest effect on his sentence.

This course was vehemently opposed by the Irish members, who demanded that the alleged facts should at once be investigated by an impartial body, and declared that Mr. Gray's remarks on the packing of juries were fully justified. This charge was warmly repudiated by the Attorney-General for Ireland, who asserted that he knew nothing of the religion or politics of any of the jurymen accepted or set aside; but promised that the assertion made by the Irish members should be carefully examined. Mr. Gladstone's motion was eventually agreed to without a division.

The results of the attempts at legislation by private members were even less than usually successful, possibly on account of the small amount of time left at their disposal. One or two Bills carried in the Lower House—Mr. Monck's measure touching Bills of Sale, and Sir John Lubbock's relating to Bills of Exchange—fell through in the Upper House. A Sunday Closing Bill for Cornwall, adopted by the House of Commons in the closing days of the session, had no chance of acceptance in the House of

Lords. Three Bills in relation to agricultural tenancies in England, in charge of Mr. Chaplin, Sir Thomas Acland, and Mr. James Howard, differing greatly in character, but dealing with the same subjects, were recommended by Mr. Gladstone for the experimental trial of the "Grand or Standing Committees" scheme embodied in one of the Procedure resolutions. The advice was accepted neither in this case nor in the case of the Scotch Bills before the House. Scarcely more fortunate were members who pinned their fame to abstract motions than those who brought in Bills. Judicious "counting out" extinguished some tedious or inopportune discussions. Sir Wilfrid Lawson missed the chance of again obtaining the endorsement of his "Local Option" resolution; but a debate on Mr. Arnold's resolution relating to the County Franchise, though adjourned and not resumed, served to bring out a strong feeling for the need of some immediate reform, and the reiterated assurance that the Government would deal with the question at the earliest opportunity.

The net result of the session differed widely from the estimate formed of it by both friends and foes during its course. Its commencement found the Ministry united, eager to carry out a number of pressing reforms, for which the country, if not enthusiastic, was certainly ready. Before three months had passed the power of disintegration had commenced, and the approaching collapse of the Gladstone Administration was freely discussed. When the House separated, in spite of the loss of some of its most prominent members and the reversal of the policy at home and abroad which it had been supposed to represent, the Ministry stood higher in public estimation, and stronger in Parliamentary support, than at any period since its advent to power. On the other hand, the Conservative party, which at Midsummer looked so strong, and was seemingly preparing itself for any happy eventualities, found itself unable at the close of the session to challenge with any hope of success the policy of the Government in Ireland or in Egypt, and resigned itself to a general concurrence in Mr. Gladstone's acts, on the ground that they were the results of Lord Beaconsfield's precepts and prophecies.

CHAPTER VII.

The Joint Note—Concert with France—Attitude of the European Powers—Fall of M. Gambetta—Change in French Policy—Arabi the Rebel—The Alexandria Massacre—Discussions in Parliament—Constantinople Conference—The Self-denying Protocol—Meeting at Willis's Rooms—Fleet ordered to Alexandria—Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Protest—Mr. Bright's Resignation—Vote of Credit—Parliamentary Debates—Indian Contingent—Lord Dufferin and the Porte.

IN the conduct of its foreign policy the Government had displayed a reticence which irritated its opponents, whilst it gave rise to doubts and suspicions even amongst many of its supporters, that it was suffering public opinion to drift hopelessly along, instead of seeking for strength in popular confidence. On the negotiations with Continental Powers respecting Egypt, and in its attitude towards the rising anarchy of that country, Sir Charles Dilke maintained a persistent silence, parrying all questions with dexterity, and submitting without flinching, and without loss of temper, to an almost daily interrogatory. Meanwhile, the Egyptian imbroglio became more complicated. The sympathy with Arabi Pasha evinced in various quarters speedily gave way to a general mistrust in his ability and integrity; and, in spite of appearances, a very considerable majority of responsible officials and leading journals, irrespective of party politics, absolutely refused to recognise the existence of a national party or of a national movement in Egypt. The Ministry, throughout their negotiations with France, Germany, and Turkey, and subsequently with Egypt herself, ranged themselves to this opinion, and insisted upon regarding Arabi as a rebel against the Khedive and the Sultan. The aim of English policy was to maintain the *status quo* in Egypt, and, at the risk of both sentiment and convenience, to maintain French influence intact and coequal with its own. Ministerial advisers, outside the walls of Parliament, and even amongst Ministerial supporters, prophesied that partnership with France in the management of the affairs of Egypt was impossible—that the alternative of putting forward Turkey as the mandatory of the two Western Powers was merely introducing a fresh difficulty into the question. The *Times* went so far as to advocate the deposition of Tewfik in favour of Halim Pasha, even whilst admitting that that prince would regard himself as the nominee of France, who would be unwilling to admit the paramount interests of England in the Canal and along the valley of the Nile. But this suggestion that England should appear in public only as the handmaid of France, and should follow

her initiative, met with but little support when openly mooted. The eagerness with which Lord Granville consulted first M. Gambetta, and afterwards M. de Freycinet, was faintly echoed by the majority in the country; but when France displayed an absolute unwillingness to take any definite step to arrest the disintegration of the Khedive's rule, the policy of the English Foreign Office, passing, as it seemed, suddenly into more virile hands, began to dissociate itself more and more from all its Continental engagements. At first making overtures to each great Power to take part in maintaining order in Egypt, it by degrees gave the tone to the remonstrances of other nations, and finally found itself able, with the acquiescence if not with the support of every European State, to act independently in Egypt, and to assert in a striking way the isolated power of Great Britain.

In spite then of the efforts of the Opposition to obtain some indication of the policy of the Government in Egypt, the Parliament was forced to separate for the Whitsuntide recess without any more explicit information than could be gathered from the meagre statements of Lord Granville or the guarded answers of Sir Charles Dilke. The maintenance of the Dual Control, the retention of the French alliance, and subsequently the assent of the European Powers to a conference to be held at Constantinople, were the only distinct points respecting which the Ministry made any admissions; and not only did the representatives of the Foreign Office in both Houses take shelter behind the privileges of official reticence when dealing with point-blank questions, but they rendered any profitable discussion of their policy impracticable by declining to produce official correspondence on which a debate might be founded. It was not until the second week of June that Sir Charles Dilke laid on the table the first instalment of the papers relating to Egypt, and even then nothing later than February 15 preceding. The correspondence referred almost exclusively to the Dual Note presented to the Khedive on January 8, drawn up in deference to the strongly expressed wishes of M. Gambetta, as communicated to Lord Lyons towards the close of the previous year in reply to Lord Granville's desire for the exchange of views between the French and English Cabinets. Writing on December 15, 1881, Lord Lyons stated that M. Gambetta had expressed his apprehensions lest the meeting of the Chamber of Notables at Cairo, then in contemplation, might be the signal for a fresh crisis; and he expressed his wish that France and England might concert means to avert this danger.

"The first and most important thing was that the two Governments should not only be perfectly united, but should make their union unmistakably apparent, both to their friends and their adversaries in Egypt. If anyone could contrive to get his little finger in between France and England in Egyptian matters, there would be an end to all the good the two Powers had done and might do in Egypt—nay, there would be an end to the co-operation of the

two Powers throughout the world, which might confer so much benefit upon mankind. . . . The Egyptians should be made to understand that France and England, by whose influence Tewfik had been placed on the throne, would not acquiesce in his being deposed from it. It would also, M. Gambetta conceived, be advisable to cut short intrigues at Constantinople, and to make the Porte feel that any undue interference on its part would not be tolerated. Any interposition on the part of the Porte M. Gambetta declared emphatically to be, in his opinion, wholly inadmissible. . . . England and France should consider the matter in common; in order to be prepared for united and immediate action in case of need."

Down to the very close of the previous year, the English Foreign Office had undoubtedly favoured the introduction into Egypt of something like representative institutions, in the belief that they would ensure at least an approach to tolerable government, and would afford the best preservative against arbitrary encroachments either from Cairo or from Constantinople. The rapid rise of the so-called military party forced the English Cabinet to abandon this view; and persistently refusing to recognise Arabi in any other light than that of a conspirator, who had learnt his lesson in the school of Spanish *pronunciamentos*, it forthwith began to concert measures for suppressing, if necessary by force, the military party in Egypt; but as to the means to be employed, it for some time remained wholly undecided. Lord Granville's first hope lay in the Khedive, who by the influence of the moral support of the Western Powers would, he trusted, be able to restore order throughout his own dominions.

This seemed clearly indicated by the tone adopted by our representatives at the other European courts when communicating the Dual Note of January 8. Lord Ampthill informed the German Government "that it was not true that M. Gambetta had proposed, or that her Majesty's Government had agreed, to promise the Khedive material support." Sir Henry Elliot at Vienna repeated this denial, and added, to Count Kalnoky, that "it was not true that M. Gambetta had proposed or that her Majesty's Government had agreed to promise the Khedive material support, and that there was no change in the views of her Majesty's Government as to the position of the Sultan in regard to Egypt."

Count Kalnoky said that he was particularly glad to derive the last assurance, as a contrary impression prevailed in some quarters. He entirely shared the opinion of her Majesty's Government, of its being desirable that the Khedive's position and the existing firmans should be maintained: and if, as he gathered, the object of the present step was the continuance of the *status quo*, that object was quite in accordance with his own wishes. During this conversation the Austrian Chancellor exhibited no trace of displeasure at the communication of England and France having been made without any previous intimation to the other Governments.

In like manner the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Mancini, declared that his Government adhered to the principles laid down in Lord Granville's despatch to Sir E. Malet of November 4, and "so long as the present state of things continued to work they would respect it; but in the event of there occurring any violent disruption they would consider the Egyptian question as having assumed a European character, and themselves entitled to claim a participation in its settlement."

The Porte, however, was scarcely disposed to accept this view without a protest, and a few days later (January 13) addressed a despatch to Paris and London, in which the power and right of the Western Powers to deal exclusively with his vassal were strongly contested. In the first instance M. Gambetta proposed to disregard this protest altogether, holding that a Turkish intervention would be the worst possible solution of the difficulties, whilst the calling in the co-operation of Europe would be only one degree less objectionable. The peculiar interests of England and France in Egypt had been recognised by the other European Cabinets, and to disturb the existing arrangements would be to weaken the influence of those two Powers, as well as to compromise the prosperity of Egypt. M. Gambetta's views, however, seem to have undergone some modification, for on January 30 Lord Granville wrote to Lord Lyons that her Majesty's Government desired to maintain the rights of Sovereign and vassal as then established between the Sultan and the Khedive, to secure the fulfilment of international engagements, and to protect the development of institutions within this limit. They believed that the French Government shared these views. The question remained—If in Egypt a state of disorder should occur which would be incompatible with this policy, what measures should be taken to meet the difficulty?

"Her Majesty's Government," wrote Lord Granville, "have a strong objection to the occupation by themselves of Egypt. It would create opposition in Egypt and in Turkey; it would excite the suspicion and jealousy of other European Powers, who would, her Majesty's Government have reason to believe, make counter-demonstrations on their own part which might possibly lead to very serious complications; and it would throw upon them the responsibility of governing a country inhabited by Orientals under very adverse circumstances. They believe that such an occupation would be as distasteful to the French nation as the sole occupation of Egypt by the French would be to this country.

"They have carefully considered the question of a joint occupation by England and France, and they have come to the conclusion that, although some of the objections above stated might be lessened, others would be very seriously aggravated by such a course.

"With regard to Turkish occupation, her Majesty's Government agree that it would be a great evil, but they are not convinced that it would entail political dangers so great as those attending the other alternatives which have been mentioned above. If a

temporary occupation could be arranged with the full consent and under the control of England and of France, and with proper guarantees and conditions, such a mode of using force might be the least objectionable of those which have yet been proposed."

Before this despatch could be read to the French Minister, M. Gambetta had resigned, and the direction of affairs fell to M. de Freycinet, who showed himself almost as timorous and silent as his predecessor had been daring and outspoken. He expressed himself disinclined to any armed intervention in Egypt, whether by France and England together, by either separately, and least of all by the Porte.

Matters were at this moment at a deadlock. The Joint Note, which was principally due to the initiative of M. Gambetta, failed to produce any result because his successor, M. de Freycinet, was unwilling to act, and because Lord Granville, who had somewhat hesitatingly followed his colleague, was determined only to act through the Porte and with the sanction of Europe. It was therefore not surprising to find a constant interchange of views and an inexhaustible stream of despatches passing between the various Cabinets of Europe. The second batch of correspondence, published a fortnight later (June 23), comprised the history of events so far as the Foreign Office thought it expedient to make them public, from the communication of the Anglo-French Note to the courts of Europe (February 11) to May 16, in a volume containing no less than 223 despatches. The starting-point of this series was the struggle in the Chamber of Notables which had resulted in the resignation of Cherif Pasha. Neither France nor England, however, considered that a case for intervention had arisen since the new Government had declared its intention to maintain international obligations; "but," concluded Lord Granville, "should the case arise, they would wish that any such eventual intervention should represent the united action and authority of Europe. In that event it would also, in their opinion, be right that the Sultan should be a party to any proceeding or discussion that might ensue."

Prince Bismarck, in reply on February 15, expressed his opinion that an interchange of views would be conducive to the maintenance of the peaceful disposition then prevailing among the Powers. The Prince added that he considered England and France had acquired a "*diplomatic status quo*" in Egypt which should not be interfered with. On the subject of intervention the German Chancellor, "although he was personally favourable to that of the Sultan as Sovereign in Egypt, would not stand in the way of any other proposal agreed to and sanctioned by the Powers in concert." The Russian Government, through its ambassador in London, expressed itself well satisfied with the view taken by the two Western Powers, and was confident that the special interests of England and France would not be disputed by anybody so long as they did not conflict with the general interest.

The Italian Government adopted an attitude of far greater reserve; and whilst congratulating the English ambassador on the general readiness of the European Powers to discuss the Egyptian question in a friendly spirit, Signor Mancini foresaw the difficulties which might arise should the question of an armed intervention arise. He, however, thought the time inopportune to discuss a future eventuality, but pointed out that whereas the English Cabinet inclined to the employment of a Turkish force, the French Government had very different views. Personally he was disposed to the former alternative, as likely to lead to fewer complications. In spite of the assertions made in Parliament that the agreement between France and England as to the policy to be pursued was complete, it is clear that so early as April 23 Lord Granville was in a position to foresee the point on which the two Cabinets would diverge. The English Minister was then strong in his conviction that use might be made of the Sultan's influence in Egypt to control events, with a well-defined agreement that the Turkish general, under whose command would be placed the Turkish army of occupation, should not act without the consent of an English and a French general who should be associated with him. M. de Freycinet, on this view being conveyed to him, repeated his reluctance to concede to the Turkish occupation in any form, lest it should lead sooner or later to the armed intervention of the Porte, and to the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt. Lord Granville hastened to explain that his threat did not necessarily imply action, but that he counted upon the moral effect which would be produced by a joint declaration in the French and English Parliaments. M. de Freycinet expressed his doubts as to the advantages of a public declaration of measures, but urged most strongly for an assurance that if the French Government assented to the "moral" intervention of the Sultan, his armed intervention should not follow. To this request Lord Granville (May 2) repeated his general objections to any armed intervention in Egypt; but held to his opinion that if the presence of troops was rendered unavoidable, those of the Sultan would be the best suited for the objects in view. On the following day (May 3) Lord Granville learnt, through the German Ambassador, that Prince Bismarck, whilst anxious to maintain the *status quo* in Egypt, thought that if intervention became necessary Turkish intervention was the least objectionable form; that he was opposed to a joint Anglo-French occupation, believing that it would lead to disagreement and quarrels between England and France, which, whatever might be said of his supposed policy, he should be glad to see avoided.

Ten days later the French Cabinet had, however, adopted a policy which somewhat forced the hand of the English Government in the display of that material backing to moral influence upon which Lord Granville counted so much for restoring order in Egypt. The French proposal was to despatch at once for Alexan-

dria half a dozen ships of war—of sufficiently light draught to enter the harbour; and that England should be represented by a similar force; and the Porte was to be invited to abstain from all interference in Egypt, and the representatives of the other European Powers were to assemble in conference at Constantinople. If, after the arrival of the fleets, it was found necessary to land troops, recourse would be had to Turkish, under conditions to be subsequently determined. To this plan Lord Granville gave his consent, and it was thus that he was able to inform the House of Lords of the complete accord which existed between the views and aims of France and England in the valley of the Nile. The negotiations thus showed that whatever divergences of opinion may have existed between the two countries, Lord Granville and Sir Charles Dilke were literally justified in the statements made by them in Parliament on May 15. Turkey naturally raised a protest against the cavalier way in which her dignity had been treated, by the despatch of an Anglo-French fleet to Egyptian waters, and for the moment Lord Granville seemed to make light of that moral influence of the Sultan upon which he had previously insisted. This was the moment chosen by the Ministry to break silence for the first time (May 15), and Lord Granville in the House of Lords briefly recapitulated the successive stages of the negotiations. All the Powers, he declared, admitted the preponderance of England and France in Egypt; but whilst looking to these to take the initiative in any change, they claimed the right to take part in the consideration of such changes. Lord Granville altogether disclaimed the existence of any feeling of coolness between the Cabinets of Paris and London, and showed that the claim of exclusive preponderance of France put forward by irresponsible persons was never seriously broached in the negotiations. The minor differences of opinion on subjects so complicated had been either dispelled or minimised by frank intercommunication between the representatives of the two Governments; and even in the display of a naval force off Alexandria, with the object of supporting the Khedive against the Assembly of Notables, the French and English fleets would be equally represented. Lord Salisbury, in endorsing the expediency of joint action with France, expressed the hope that the maxim "Force is no remedy" would not be erected into a principle of foreign policy. Whatever might be the language we used, it would have no effect in Egypt if we did not make the Egyptians understand that, if necessary, we were prepared to back our words up with deeds; and, if recourse must be had to the sword, the paramount interests of this country required that the sword of France should not be dominant.

In the House of Commons Sir Charles Dilke was somewhat more explicit in his allusion to the divergences which had arisen between France and England, but he declared that they had been followed by an absolute accord in view of certain eventualities, which he trusted would not arise. As to the ordering of the

French and English fleets to Egyptian waters, he believed that this course would meet with the assent of the other Powers and of the Porte; but he declined to reply to the inquiry whether the understanding between France and England extended, in the event of disturbances in the interior of Egypt, to the despatch of a joint military expedition.

Up to this time, and indeed for a long time afterwards, Arabi Pasha was regarded by the English Foreign Office as a mere military adventurer—the national support which his programme gradually received was altogether ignored, and a deaf ear was turned to those warnings which came from even official sources; whilst those addressed to the public by Sir William Gregory, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, and others who were conveniently classed together as dreamers or partisans, were put aside as unworthy of a moment's attention—or, as was more probably the case, likely to lead to the continuance of a policy which had been adopted under wholly different conditions. As early as March 20, Mr. Cookson, the English Consul at Cairo, warned Lord Granville of the disintegration of the Khedive's power and rule which was going on, and hinted at the need of something more than moral support to maintain his rule.

"Meantime, there can," he wrote, "I fear, be no doubt about the disorganised and uneasy state of the provinces. This has, indeed, already caused many of the Notables and others who have a stake in the country to draw back from their hastily formed alliance with the military party, and seek for other means of escaping from its domination. Adherents of Ismail Pasha are beginning to show themselves. Not only those who desire it because they hope it will bring back, to their own profit, the old corrupt and arbitrary administration, but many others who want some one to act as 'Saviour of Society,' would now hail his return with delight; and his agents do not hesitate to assert that he would carry all before him without a blow being struck. Only Arabi Pasha is expected by them to offer any serious opposition. Ismail Pasha counts on the support of France, as he thinks that his restoration would enable her definitively to rid herself of the bugbear of Turkish intervention.

"Nor is the party of Halim Pasha idle. It relies chiefly on the support of the old Turkish party, but hardly seems to have any adherents among the military leaders or civil functionaries."

This uneasy feeling, as is elsewhere related, culminated in disturbances at Cairo and elsewhere; the Anglo-French Control was rejected, and the representatives of the Consuls-General injured.

Instructions were simultaneously sent by the two Governments to their representatives to advise the Khedive to take advantage of the arrival of the ships to call for the resignation of the Arabi ministry, to place Cherif Pasha or some such person at the head of affairs, and to connive at the deportation of Arabi Pasha and

his colleagues should the incoming Ministry show any inclination to such a measure. The policy of the Western Powers, however, rather aggravated matters and precipitated a crisis. Things grew rapidly worse at Cairo, and Lord Granville again renewed his appeal to M. de Freycinet to obtain his approval of a Turkish intervention. The French Cabinet, however, decidedly refused to follow the line of policy urged by their English allies, although it sanctioned the action of its representative at Cairo, who had joined with Sir E. Malet in an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Arabi, Ali Fehmy, and Abdoullah Pashas. Nothing came of this joint demand, and a few days later, on the eve of the invitations to the conference being issued, the English naval force at Alexandria was further increased.

On the motion for the adjournment (May 26) for the Whitsuntide recess, Sir Wilfrid Lawson seized the opportunity to bring about a discussion on the policy of an armed intervention in Egypt, which then seemed imminent, in consequence of the rejection of a joint ultimatum (which Sir Charles Dilke declared not to be an ultimatum) presented by the Consuls-General of France and England to the Egyptian Government. Sir W. Lawson expressed the alarm inspired in his mind by the actual facts and by the reticence of the Ministry, and asked for an assurance that no warlike steps would be taken until the House had been consulted. That extraordinary document—the ultimatum—prepared him for anything; but that Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party should embark on an enterprise to maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan and the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire certainly took him aback. Of course, the Prime Minister could do anything; whatever he did or said, right or wrong, would be accepted by the country, but personally he declined to be a party to such a policy.

Mr. Gladstone, in a long speech which added very little to the knowledge of the situation, said it was neither possible nor politic to give any pledge such as that required by Sir W. Lawson; adding, however, that there was not the slightest belief in his own mind that the occasion to employ force would arise. The objection to any discussion of the question arose from the multitude of parties entitled to hold a responsible opinion, and to exercise real influence with respect to it. The Government had acted on the principle that, in matters of this kind, separate action is generally to be deprecated and avoided; but, in the present instance, the general considerations which dissuaded them from separate action were infinitely strengthened, because the close and intimate relations with France in which they found themselves, in consequence of previous arrangements in Egypt, created a kind of obligation to unity, as far as policy upon this question was concerned, of a highly peculiar character. A discussion of Egyptian affairs at this moment, he affirmed, could do nothing but mischief; and in impressing this on the House Mr. Gladstone went at length into

the peculiar circumstances of the complicated Egyptian problem—our association with France, the interests of the other Powers, the position of the Sultan, the movement in Egypt, &c.; and with regard to the ultimatum he said that the Government had only received as yet a telegraphic account of the circumstances under which it was presented.

Sir Stafford Northcote, concurring in the view that a discussion without information would be injurious, remarked that the Prime Minister's statement was calculated rather to provoke than to allay public uneasiness. Mr. Cowen reminded the House that the Liberals, when in opposition, had not displayed the same forbearance which they claimed now when in office, and announced his intention of bringing forward the question after the recess.

The next stage of the negotiations was marked by the issue to the European Powers of invitations to a conference at Constantinople, by the reluctant assent of the French Cabinet to the presence of a Turkish man-of-war before Alexandria, and by repeated efforts to induce, first the Khedive, then the Sultan, and finally Dervish Pasha, who had been on a special mission from the latter to his vassal, to put a stop to the military works which were being pushed forward on the fortifications of Alexandria. All these representations remained without result, and on June 11 a serious riot broke out at Alexandria, during which the British Consul (Mr. C. A. Cookson, C.B.) was severely wounded, half a dozen British-born subjects killed, and members of the French and Greek Consular bodies injured. The total loss of life was at least fifty according to the lowest estimate, whilst the highest placed the number at about two hundred. Both Houses of Parliament on reassembling had been anxious to learn from the lips of Ministers the actual position of affairs, and the attitude taken up by the English Government. In the House of Lords (June 1) Lord Granville admitted that Arabi Pasha was the *de facto* ruler of Egypt, and that in view of possible eventualities the allied fleets would be reinforced. He had, however, no fear of the interruption of the Suez Canal, or even of telegraphic communication. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone was somewhat more explicit, and admitted that although the fleets were in the port of Alexandria, he thought the landing of troops unadvisable unless immediate danger arose, which seemed scarcely probable. The Government would protect Tewfik Pasha's life and position against any pretender, and would oppose to the uttermost the substitution of Halim Pasha, whom Arabi was supposed to support. The Ministerial statements were received by the press with meagre approval: the *Times*, admitting that the Conference was primarily intended to save French susceptibilities, called for a distinct statement of the programme which the Ministry proposed to adopt, and the conditions of the Turkish intervention; and the same paper ended by hinting that the reticence of the Ministry arose from their being without any policy of their own. The

Standard was far more specific in its charges, and declared that this country had been acting throughout in subordination to France, and twitted the Government with submitting British affairs, amongst which it placed the Egyptian question, to be regulated by European courts. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which was supposed to represent advanced Radical views, opposed altogether the idea of our holding aloof from exercising a strong pressure in settling the affairs of Egypt, and of enabling Arabi and his opponents to fight out the question of internal government in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria. The alternative drawbacks to a policy of obstruction would be the enactment of another Bardo Treaty by France, similar to that by which she had forced herself upon Tunis; or the substitution of an international Control in which three or four European Powers would be represented; or, lastly, the instalment of Turkish Pashas, who would squeeze out the riches of Egypt to transmit them to Constantinople.

Although questions were daily addressed in Parliament to the Government on the progress of Egyptian affairs, little information was obtained; and it was not until the massacre at Alexandria was known that a determined effort was made by a section of the Opposition, led by Sir H. D. Wolff, to provoke a general discussion. In moving the adjournment of the House (June 15) he contended that our difficulties in Egypt had arisen from our association with France, and the subordination of our interests to hers. The conduct of the Government, he said, had been marked by vacillation and imbecility, whilst they carried their reticence to an indefensible extremity in refusing to state the measures they had taken for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, described the supporters of the amendment as irresponsible politicians, unsupported by the leaders of the Opposition. He declared that the policy of the Government had been to work in harmony with all European Powers, to maintain all established rights, and to provide guarantees for those rights. In this the Government had been so far successful, that, not only had Austria-Hungary and Germany associated themselves in this policy, but it had been cordially supported by the Khedive and accepted by the Sultan, both of whom were acting in harmony with France and England.

Up to this moment the English Government had been guided throughout the negotiations by three cardinal principles, which were ultimately to be proved inapplicable to the exigencies of the situation. They desired above all things to retain the co-operation of France, and to carry to its extreme limit the Dual Control inaugurated by Lord Salisbury. The Conservatives, when criticising the apparent hesitancy of the Cabinet to take an independent course, declared that the Control as originally designed was purely financial, whereas Lord Granville had regarded it as almost exclusively political. The second object of the English Government had been to respect the feelings of the Sultan and the Porte,

whilst firmly declining to allow them to act independently in Egypt. The chief of the Mahomedan religion was of no less importance to the rulers of India than to those of Tunis and Algeria; and to both it was important that no needless offence should be given which might fan into a flame the sparks of religious fanaticism. Lastly, in endeavouring to maintain in Egypt the semblance, if not the reality, of a stable government, the English Cabinet was actuated as much by the desire to maintain a preponderating influence on the highway to Europe, as to guard against the introduction of a fresh source of European discord, to which an international control of the country would sooner or later inevitably lead. It was, therefore, in no spirit of Quixotic disinterestedness that, at the very first assembling of the Conference at Constantinople (June 23), the British representative was instructed to adhere to the self-denying Protocol suggested in the first instance by the French Government. By this the ground was in some degree cleared for the subsequent action of the two Western Powers, who were then able to invite the co-operation of the Sultan in sending troops to restore order in Egypt, whilst they were enabled to define such terms as rendered their despatch unlikely, and their presence, if imposed, harmless. The action of the Conference was practically limited to this point, for after the reluctance of the Porte to take part in its proceedings had been overcome, further delay arose in settling the conditions of the Turkish expeditionary force, until the news of the bombardment of Alexandria, and the withdrawal of the French fleet from active co-operation, left England the sole representative of the "united action and authority of Europe." In reviewing the events of the first half of the year, Lord Granville, writing to Lord Dufferin on July 11, the day of the bombardment of the Alexandria forts, thus summed up the situation:—

"The record of events in Egypt during the last few months shows that the whole administrative power has fallen into the hands of certain military chiefs, devoid of experience and knowledge, who with the support of the soldiers have set at nought the constituted authorities, and insisted on compliance with their demands. Such a condition of affairs cannot fail to be disastrous to the welfare of any civilised country. There seemed to be a moment when a firm assertion of authority by the Khedive with the countenance of the sovereign Power, backed by evidence of the support of England and France, and with no uncertain prospect of material intervention if the necessity arose, might suffice to produce submission on the part of the officers, and to bring the movement within bounds. The attempt was made, and unhappily has failed.

"Her Majesty's Government now see no alternative but a recourse to force to put an end to a state of affairs which has become intolerable. In their opinion it would be most convenient, and most in accordance with the general principles of international

law and usage, that the force to be so employed should be that of the sovereign Power. If this method of procedure should prove impracticable in consequence of unwillingness on the part of the Sultan, it will become necessary to devise other measures. Her Majesty's Government continue to hold the view expressed in their circular of February 11, that any intervention in Egypt should represent the united action and authority of Europe. They have, in fact, no interests or objects in regard to Egypt which are inconsistent with those of Europe in general, nor any interests which are inconsistent with those of the Egyptian people. Their desire is that the navigation of the Suez Canal should be maintained open and unrestricted; that Egypt should be well and quietly governed, free from predominating influence on the part of any single Power; that international engagements shall be observed; and that those British commercial and industrial interests which have been so largely developed in Egypt shall receive due protection, and shall not be exposed to outrage—a principle which is not applicable only to Egypt, but is essential for our national progress in all parts of the world.

“The policy pursued by them has been consistent; they have loyally acted up to their engagements with France; they have been anxious also that the other Powers should be informed and consulted in all matters affecting the position of the country. The action to which their admiral has been compelled to resort has not altered their views in this respect.”

From the moment the news of the Alexandria massacre had reached this country it was evident that the Government foresaw the necessity of asserting its power in Egypt. In Parliament little information could be obtained beyond the assurance that this country would look to the Egyptian Government for full satisfaction and compensation for the damage done to British subjects; but the daily reports of the activity prevailing in our arsenals and dockyards suggested the belief that the Government itself was not altogether sanguine as to the results of moral influence. The Opposition, meanwhile, impatient of the restraints placed on them in Parliament, held a ticket meeting at Willis's Rooms (June 29) to discuss the policy of the Government. The chair was taken by the Rt. Honble. E. P. Bouverie, Chairman of the Foreign Bondholders' Committee, one time a nominal supporter of Mr. Gladstone; but the chief speakers were from the front ranks of the Conservative party, including Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote. Two resolutions were passed, one asserting that it was the duty of the Government not to come to any settlement of Egyptian affairs which was inconsistent with the Ministerial pledges, with our traditional policy, or with British interests.

In speaking in support of this resolution Lord Salisbury denounced the policy of the Government, in refusing information and declining discussion, to be dark, mysterious, and unintelligible. He repudiated the notion that it was bound by the policy of its predecessors to act with the French a single inch beyond the line

drawn by British interests, whilst admitting that in the maintenance of the co-operation of France and England lay the secret of insuring the prosperity of Egypt. Down to the close of the previous year this policy had been pursued, and had been productive of the best results, but with the presentation of the Joint Note in January a new departure took place. The course of events since then had been most disastrous to our character and prestige; the Khedive was not made aware of the reservations with which our promise of material aid against his rebellious subjects was hedged about; Arabi, and his colleagues, gained strength from the impunity they enjoyed; and at length rendered themselves so powerful that they were able to impose themselves as Ministers on the Khedive. The second resolution, calling upon the Government to make effectual provision for the security of the lives and property of British subjects in Egypt, was supported by Sir Stafford Northcote, who insisted especially on the impolicy of the Government, which allowed things to drift until mischief, which might have been quenched at the beginning, assumed proportions which threatened a national disaster. Other speakers, including Mr. E. Stanhope, Mr. Chaplin, and the Duke of Sutherland, filled up the bill of indictment against the Ministry—the promise of assistance made to the Khedive in January and never fulfilled; our ultimatum treated with contempt; the murder of British subjects under the guns of British ships; the wholesale destruction of property; the blow struck at our political prestige, in fact, and our commercial credit in the East; and last, but not least, the alienation of the friendship of Turkey, followed by the studied insult of convening in her capital a conference against which she protested, and in which she would take no part.

Elsewhere, however, the Government found more lenient critics, who were willing to admit that since November Lord Granville's aims had been clear, and his pursuit of them persistent. The Liberal party, however, was as much divided in its counsels as the Conservatives represented its leaders to be in their acts. One section was for asserting our right to manage Egyptian affairs, and to control its government without regard to the susceptibilities of foreign Powers; others objected to the notion of our acting the part of police for the benefit of the rest of Europe; whilst a small but compact minority were opposed to the idea of an intervention in the affairs of Egypt, and maintained that our sole interest lay in the free navigation of the Suez Canal, which was separated by a hundred miles of desert from the habitable districts.

The course of events at Alexandria obliged the Government to adopt a more decisive policy than was probably its original intention. The erection of earthworks at Alexandria, which had been undertaken by Arabi soon after his triumph over the Khedive and the Anglo-French Control, had ceased early in the month of June, but on July 1 the news of hostile armaments and intentions was telegraphed by Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour. A Cabinet

Council, at which all the members (except Lord Spencer) were present, was held in the course of the same day, and it is only natural to suppose that the instructions sent on the following day to the Admiral received the approval of all the Ministers. According to Lord Granville, writing to Lord Dufferin, these instructions were "to prevent any attempt to bar the channel [into Alexandria harbour] and to acquaint the Military Governor that such an attempt would be considered a hostile act, and treated accordingly; if work were resumed on the earthworks or fresh guns mounted, to inform the Military Commandant that he had orders to prevent it; and if not immediately discontinued to destroy the earthworks, and silence the batteries if they opened fire, having given sufficient notice to the population, shipping, and foreign men-of-war." The next few days passed in alternate charges brought by Admiral Seymour against the Military Commandant to the effect that works were going on in the forts, and assurances by the latter that none were being executed. On July 6 another threat was made by Sir Beauchamp Seymour that he would open fire on the works in progress, followed by a denial that the Commandant's promise had been broken. The Consuls-General of the five Powers at this stage intervened, and offered to obtain for the Admiral more complete assurances, if he was not satisfied; to which he replied that "mere written assurances were of little value to him in view of the interests confided to him;" and on the following day (July 8) Lord Granville telegraphed to the Admiral the Cabinet's approval of the line he had taken. According to Admiral Seymour the arming of the forts still continued. At length, on July 10, Lord Granville telegraphed his approval of a notice being given that in twenty-four hours from that time the English fleet "would commence action, unless the forts of the isthmus and those commanding the entrance of the harbour were temporarily surrendered for the purpose of being disarmed." In vain the Turkish Government protested, and implored a short delay, if only for twenty-four hours, promising a satisfactory solution of all difficulties. What that solution might have been remains untold, for it was never revealed to Lord Granville or to Lord Dufferin, whilst the events of July 11 at Alexandria rendered it practically unnecessary.

However summary and high-handed the action taken by the English Naval Commander may have been, it was obviously in accordance with the views of the Cabinet, which had been kept informed of every step in the proceedings. By the great majority of people in England the policy of the Ministry was thoroughly endorsed, and in Parliament the only protest came from a few independent Radicals, who were not prepared to see their cherished principles ignored by a Government in which they thought themselves duly represented. In the House of Commons Mr. Gourley (July 12) moved the adjournment of the House, in the hope of obtaining some explanation of the policy of the Government; and in doing so inquired whether the bombardment of Alexandria had

been undertaken to protect British subjects and British interests, or to protect the interests of British and French bondholders; and if for the latter cause, why the French fleet had been withdrawn at that critical moment. Sir Wilfrid Lawson seconded the motion in an incisive speech, which was received with significant coldness by all except the Irish members, revealing the weakness of the peace party in Parliament. He said the time had come when those who felt deeply the position of dishonour in which the country was placed should not hold their peace if they were not to be held responsible for a national crime. They had been drifting into war with their eyes open, and he took blame to himself for not having spoken out earlier. Now they were at war, and they had no distinct information for what they were fighting, and there had been no declaration of war. It would not do to say that they were not at war, because it was said in another place that they were at war with the *de facto* Government of Egypt. He protested against what had taken place, which he considered was an act of international atrocity. It was a cowardly and cruel and criminal act. The Prime Minister had abandoned his principles of international non-intervention. It was said that the Government wished to maintain the rights of the people of Egypt, but the way they showed that regard was to go out and shoot them down. He objected to the blood of a single English soldier being shed for these bondholders. The Government might get the support of the Conservatives and the support of certain members on the ministerial side of the House, whom he might call "Cotton Jingoës;" but he had to tell the Government if they pursued this policy they would lose the confidence of the working men of England, who had done so much for them. Mr. Gladstone's reply, although not in his best vein, was warmly received. He declined to discuss the reason of the withdrawal of the French fleet, or our exclusive exercise of our responsibility. He would not admit that we were at war with Egypt, and our action there was to break down a military tyranny which the Government knew was in defiance of the orders of the Sultan and of the wishes of the Khedive. The Government had abjured every selfish object, and it was not against the people of Egypt, but against those who were oppressing the people, that operations were being directed. The measures taken at Alexandria were strictly measures of self-defence, and the sufferers by it were those who sought to establish a system of military violence in spite of the wishes and against the interests of the Egyptian people.

The events succeeding the bombardment are detailed elsewhere. At home, renewed activity was displayed in assembling troops and munitions of war, and collecting the means of transport for men and *matériel* to what was evidently to become a seat of war. Three days had passed since the news of the bombardment of Alexandria and the subsequent pillage of the city had reached this country, and, to the surprise of many, Mr. Bright still re-

mained a member of the Cabinet. His withdrawal, however, was not long postponed, and on the 15th, during an unusual Saturday sitting of the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain intimated that his fellow-member in the representation of Birmingham no longer formed part of the Administration. Mr. Bright's explanation of the reasons which forced him to this step was brief, and regarded by some as giving signs of embarrassment. "I have no explanation to make," he said; "there seems nothing to explain, and I have nothing to defend. The simple fact is that I could not agree with my late colleagues in the Government in their policy with regard to the Egyptian question. It has been said, Why have I not sooner left the Government? why have I postponed it to this time? I may answer that by saying that my profound regard for my right hon. friend at the head of the Government, and my regard also for those who now sit with him, have induced me to remain with them until the very last moment when I found it no longer possible to retain my office in the Cabinet. The fact is that there was a disagreement to a large extent founded on principle; and now I may say that if I had remained in office it must have been under these circumstances—either that I must have submitted silently to many measures which I myself altogether condemned, or I must have remained in office in constant conflict with my colleagues. Therefore it was better for them and better for me—the House, I am sure, will unanimously agree to that—that I should have asked my right hon. friend to permit me to retire, and to place my resignation in the hands of the Queen. The House knows—many members, at any rate, who have had an opportunity of observing any of the facts of my political life know—that for forty years at least I have endeavoured to teach my countrymen an opinion and doctrine which I hold—namely, that the moral law is intended not only for individual life, but for the life and practice of States in their dealings with one another. I think that in the present case there has been a manifest violation both of international law and of the moral law, and, therefore, it is impossible for me to give my support to it. I cannot repudiate what I have preached and taught during the period of a rather long political life. I cannot turn my back upon myself and deny all that I have taught to many thousands of others during the forty years that I have been permitted at public meetings and in this House to address my countrymen. Only one word more. I asked my calm judgment and my conscience what was the part I ought to take. They pointed it out to me, as I think with an unerring finger, and I am endeavouring to follow it."

Mr. Gladstone added a few words expressive of the regret of those who were, and still desired to be, Mr. Bright's colleagues. He declared his agreement with him in thinking that the moral law was as applicable to the conduct of nations as of individuals, but he differed from him in this particular application of it.

From this moment the country was launched upon military operations of some kind in Egypt. The decision of the Government met with general support, and criticism was almost entirely centred on the choice of the moment for the attack on Alexandria. For a month the massacres of June had been allowed to pass without overt action on the part of the Powers; and the delay which ensued was supposed to have been employed in bringing up forces sufficient to put down the revolutionary movement by a single blow. This at least was the reason put forward by certain apologists for the Government; but when the bombardment had taken place, the Admiral refused to run the risk of landing the troops under his command—the result being that Arabi's forces were able to withdraw unmolested, and the destruction of much of the European and commercial quarters of the city. It was subsequently asserted by an officer in high command that the display of greater boldness, even supported by a small number of troops, would at this moment have cut off Arabi's troops from the mainland, have forced on a surrender, and brought about the immediate collapse of the revolt. Whatever might have been the consequence of a dash made at the first moment cannot now be discussed; the opportunity was lost, and the English Government left alone—and, acting merely with the silent consent of the other European Powers, found itself called upon to restore order in Egypt. The despatch of troops was at once commenced and hurried forward with vigour. On July 25 a message from the Queen was read in the House of Commons, calling out the First Army Reserves; on July 27 the first instalment, consisting of the Royal Marines, left Portsmouth, and before the end of the month the Guards had sailed from London, and by August 15, two divisions, each divided into two brigades of infantry, and cavalry and artillery were on their way. A Staff Corps composed of the three squadrons of the Household Cavalry, two regiments of dragoons, with artillery and other reserves, a siege train, commissariat transport, and medical department, were despatched from this country.

The nominal force conveyed to Egypt from England, and irrespective of the troops, British and native, ordered from the garrisons in the Mediterranean or brought from India, was given in the official returns as follows: Cavalry, 118 officers, 2,174 sabres, and 2,006 horses; Artillery, 56 officers, 1,514 men, 1,214 horses; Engineers, 30 officers, 876 men, 222 horses; Infantry, 270 officers, 6,958 rank and file; Medical, Transport, and Commissariat branches, 98 officers, 1,384 men.

Considerable praise was due to the various departments concerned, as well as to the system of reserves which had been inaugurated by Lord Cardwell and brought into working order by his successors at the War Office, especially by Colonel Stanley. Complaints of course arose from time to time of the want of horses for the cavalry, of ammunition for the artillery, of tents for the men, and of medicine for the sick; and with regard to the last, a com-

mittee was appointed at the close of the war to inquire into the allegations which were so freely made. As for the other points, all that could be proved was that the regiments left at home had to provide horses for those ordered on foreign service, and that the operations of the Commander-in-Chief were inexplicably delayed. These are, however, matters to which reference is made elsewhere, and it is only necessary here to remark on the practical unanimity of feeling, based obviously upon an entire ignorance of the real facts of the case, which prevailed when it became known that a military expedition was being organised.

Meanwhile, diplomacy, if it led to nothing, did not remain inactive. Immediately after the bombardment of the Alexandria forts, the representatives of the six European Powers at Constantinople presented to the Porte an Identical Note, urging the immediate despatch of Ottoman troops to Egypt, limiting, however, their stay in that country to three months—unless invited by the Khedive to remain. The only reply to this request was a tardy promise that Turkey would allow herself to be represented at the Conference, and would there discuss the conditions under which an army of occupation should be despatched to Egypt. The news of the blocking of the Mahmoudieh Canal showed that, in spite of Arabi's promises, and possibly even without his consent, the traffic of the Suez Canal might at any moment be interrupted; and Lord Granville at once declared his intention to interfere, and on July 20 the Government ordered the despatch of an expedition "for the restoration of order and of the Khedive's authority, with or without the co-operation of other countries."

On the 24th, Mr. Gladstone, in Committee of Supply, moved for a vote of credit for 2,300,000*l.*; viz., 900,000*l.* for the army, and 1,400,000*l.* for the navy, of which 1,200,000*l.* was for the cost of transport. To provide for this expedition he proposed to raise the income tax for the second half of the financial year from 5*d.* to 8*d.* in the pound, equivalent to a tax of 6½*d.* in the pound for the whole twelve months. From this Mr. Gladstone anticipated 2,800,000*l.* would be obtained, of which, however, only 2,262,000*l.* would be collected in the course of the financial year 1882-3. At the same time he announced that the general state of the revenue would enable him to grant the promised relief to the highway rates without increasing the carriage duties. Passing then to consider the state of things in Egypt, he described it as one of lawless military violence, aggravated by cruel and wanton crime; and, tracing the proceedings of Arabi, he asserted emphatically that there was not a shred of evidence for his claim to be regarded as the leader of a national party. With regard to the question, What have we to do with this? he said it was too late to ask it, for we had undertaken engagements towards Egypt—which he traced back to the proceedings at the time of Sir S. Cave's mission, but more to the establishment of the Control and the substitution of Tewfik for his predecessor—from which we could not

escape with honour. At the same time he admitted that the Control had conferred no inconsiderable benefits on the Egyptian people. As to the mode in which the remedy should be applied, he said the Government had first of all looked to the Sultan; but it was now impossible to hope that the military power of the Porte would be employed to remedy the state of things in Egypt. They then looked to the common authority of Europe; and though they had not received any mandate from the Powers, they would obtain their moral support and concurrence. Moreover, in regard to the Suez Canal they would have the direct and active concurrence of France. They had no reason, however, to suppose at present that France would go further. The British Government did not consider that their duty was exhausted by simply securing the Canal; they held themselves bound to put down the present state of anarchy in Egypt, and they believed it was a duty within their powers, and in which they would have the full sanction of Europe. After justifying the bombardment as an act of self-defence, and replying especially to the charge that a sufficient force had not been sent to Alexandria to prevent the scenes which followed the bombardment, he said the objects with which the Government had gone to Egypt were, after putting down the anarchy which reigned there, to promote a settlement based upon international right, to strengthen the throne of the Khedive, and to establish equal laws and, within reasonable limits, popular rights.

Sir Stafford Northcote was of opinion that the statement of the Prime Minister—in some respects surprising and disappointing—could not be adequately discussed offhand, and he asked, therefore, for further time before the Committee was called upon to agree to the Vote. Protesting against Mr. Gladstone's attack on the late Government, he contended that his account of what happened at the time of the establishment of the Control was incorrect, and that it was the vacillation of the present Government from the time when the disturbances with the Military party began which had given rise to all the difficulties. But, admitting that the course pursued by successive British Governments made it impossible for us to tolerate the present state of things in Egypt, he asked for some further evidence that the Government had the moral support of the Powers, and also that further information should be given as to the Indian Contingent.

Full advantage was taken of the opening thus afforded for a discussion of the foreign policy of the Government. Little of importance, however, was revealed beyond what could be gained from the papers at length presented to Parliament. On the second night of the debate on the Vote of Credit, Colonel Stanley, while deprecating any opposition to the actual war measures of the Executive, reserved to himself the liberty of canvassing their past policy, and denied emphatically that the establishment of the Control had in any way involved us in any obligation to the present action. Criticising the details of the Ministerial plan, he

expressed a fear that they took an inadequate estimate of the gravity of the situation, and were repeating the mistake of the Crimean war as shown by the insufficiency of the proposed Vote. Three months would not suffice for putting down the internal anarchy of the country, as the Government seemed to believe, more especially if, as was not impossible, a religious war-cry should be raised against us.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson again stood forward as the champion and spokesman of the Peace party and the non-intervention Radicals; and, repudiating the doctrine of peace at any price, he contended that, on the showing of the papers published, the war was both unnecessary and unjust; that it was a war to obtain money for the payment of the bondholders' interest, and that we were carrying fire and sword into the country on behalf of usurers. The Government were following the same course as their predecessors, "only worse;" and if this great crime were to be committed, he preferred that it should be by his political opponents rather than by his friends.

The defence of the foreign policy of the Government was then undertaken by Sir Charles Dilke, who, in a masterly speech lasting upwards of two hours, lucidly explained the history of our connection with and obligations to Egypt since the substitution of the joint Anglo-French Control, in 1879, for the previous existing Dual Control (of a merely administrative character), established in 1876. It was by the Joint Control and the European concert—both legacies from their predecessors—that the present Government found themselves hampered; but they, nevertheless, were anxious to try every means before adopting an individual policy, however much they may have felt that British interests would be more advantageously defended. Naturally the argumentative part of Sir Charles Dilke's speech was more particularly addressed to his former colleagues, the Radicals, of whom Sir Wilfrid Lawson had been the spokesman. Starting from the view held by the Government, that the anarchy in Egypt was not the outcome of any national feeling, but that it was caused by the pressure of military tyranny, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs contended that, so soon as we had broken this military yoke from off the neck of the Egyptians, they might fairly be left to manage their own affairs. The desire of the Government was to see the growth and spread of a truly national movement, the fruits of which would be as beneficial to this country as to Egypt; and with this view they had looked favourably upon the political movement of the preceding year, until it became tainted with militaryism. At various times the Government had proved their readiness to support any truly national development; had shown no personal hostility to Arabi Pasha, although no attempt, he admitted, had been made in the early stages of the revolution to gain him to our side. When Arabi became practically dictator, the time was past; for the view of the Government was that he was guilty of complicity

in the preparations for the attack upon the Europeans in Alexandria on June 11, and holding this view, they could not recognise that Arabi's soldiers were the friends of freedom. Moreover, the paramount duty of the Government was to protect the Canal, and, whilst avoiding any attempt to crush Egyptian nationality, to maintain the influence and credit of England, and of all Europe, in the East. Our fleet was sent to Alexandria as much with this object as in view of giving a moral support to the Khedive. The fleet being there for legitimate purposes, it was necessary to protect it, and not to allow it to be driven away with ignominy. Every possible warning was given to the Khedive, to the Sultan, and to Arabi, of what would happen if the armament of the forts was persisted in; and it was the wilfulness of the leaders of the revolt which forced the Admiral at length to take steps in defence of his ships.

The subsequent course of the debate showed more and more plainly the strength of the Government position, though how far the hopes of office may have modified the general principles of some Radicals it is impossible to determine. Some interesting facts were given by Mr. McCoan relative to the origin of the national movement, which he traced back to some years before the accession of Tewfik. From an intimate but, as events showed, an inaccurate knowledge of the country he asserted that Arabi had not a shred of a national feeling behind him. His movement was a purely military revolt, got up in the interests of a narrow military class. Not only was it our interest to intervene, but we were bound to do so by actual treaty obligations, and he was sorry the Government had not recognised the obligation earlier, without reference to the European concert.

On the other hand, Mr. Richard had given notice of a motion (which he was precluded from moving) to the effect that the deplorable events were the natural result of the policy of intervention in the internal affairs of Egypt, initiated by the preceding Government, and adopted and perpetuated by their successors. In opposition to Sir Charles Dilke, he contended that non-intervention was a cardinal point of the Liberal creed, and stigmatised in strong terms the selfishness and immorality of the "war-at-any-cost party," who were at all times ready to inflame public opinion to the fighting-point, but were careful to keep away from the dangers and hardships and horrors which war entailed. Mr. Gorst, on behalf of the Fourth party, blamed the Government for utilising neither the suzerain power of the Sultan nor the national feeling represented by the Chamber of Notables to check the military revolt. But to this Mr. Chamberlain retorted that the Government had done all in their power to enlist the action of the Sultan on their side, and denied that they had at any time shown any distrust of the Chamber of Notables. Replying to the strictures of Sir W. Lawson and Mr. Richard, he dwelt on the danger to Europeans all over the East of allowing Arabi to defy the Powers, and repeated the assertions

already made that Arabi was a mere military adventurer, and opposed to the National party. It was only for the purpose of putting down the military revolt and liberating the free exhibition of national feeling that the Government had undertaken this business. When they had effected this they would retire, without attempting to carry out any selfish purpose.

Sir R. Cross pointed out that when the present Government came into office Egypt was in a flourishing and satisfactory condition; and the disastrous change which had occurred was due to want of foresight, to division in the Ministerial councils, and to consequent weakness in their action. For the sake of working with the other Powers the Government had put up with delays which had been most prejudicial; and yet at the end of it all we found ourselves isolated from all the Powers, and refused even the assistance of France in the restoration of order in Egypt. Analysing the papers, he stigmatised the Dual Note and the *Ultimatum* as insincere and not meaning what they said, and blamed the Government for not sending a sufficient force to Alexandria originally. As to the amount of the Vote, he regarded it as quite insufficient, and it convicted the Government either of miscalculation or of misleading the House.

The third day's debate (July 26) was chiefly noteworthy on account of Mr. Goschen's strong expression of hope that we should conduct our naval and military operations alone, but with the goodwill of all the other Powers. At the same time he urged the necessity of convincing Europe that all parties in this country were united on this question, and that whatever might be the changes of Government, there would be that continuity in our policy which would inspire confidence in our promises. This appeal was answered on the concluding night (July 27) by Sir S. Northcote, who nevertheless denied that the Control had been changed from a financial to a political institution by the late Government, and defied the Prime Minister to lay his finger at any point on a connection between this war and the Control. In the same way he regarded Mr. Gladstone's plea of self-defence as a mere cobweb argument, and an attempt to make war on peace principles. The Under Secretary's pleas of duty, national interests, and treaty obligations furnished a much more satisfactory justification for the war. It was quite impossible to acquit the Government of mismanagement and confusion, and of having wasted all the influence which they possessed at the outset for the pacific settlement of the business. But he was prepared to support the Government without flinching, even if he stood alone.

Mr. Gladstone, dealing with the effect of the modifications in 1879 in the Control, asserted that they established an intervention in the heart of Egyptian affairs which was certain to end in mischief. He replied again, too, to the charge that the Government had not landed a force to prevent the massacre subsequent to the bombardment, by pointing, among other arguments, to the Treaty

of Paris. By the course the Government had pursued they had entirely removed every trace of international jealousy, and had obtained the moral support of the Powers; but to break with France, as some had recommended, would have been to create a sharp conflict in Egypt, to divide Europe into two camps, and to lead to a general war. A division was then taken, when 21 (including tellers) voted against the Vote of Credit, which was supported by 277, the minority comprising 8 English Radicals, 12 Irish Home Rulers, and one Conservative (Hon. P. Wyndham).

In the House of Lords the debate on Egypt (July 24) had been short and almost perfunctory. It was initiated by Lord Granville himself, who, after tracing the action of the Government towards Egypt, admitted that France, although disposed to take steps to protect the Suez Canal, would join in no operations in other parts of the country. Supported, however, by the good-will and moral force of Europe, this country would re-establish the authority of the Khedive, and secure the rights of the Egyptian people. Our policy aimed at no monopoly of privilege or prestige, and the European Powers trusted to our loyalty to that principle. The Duke of Somerset condemned the policy of the Government as weak and vacillating, but the Marquess of Salisbury assured the Foreign Secretary that whatever they might think of this policy, all parties would assist the Executive in upholding the honour of the country.

Another point was raised in the House of Commons on a motion for permitting the revenues of India to be applied to defray the expenses of the auxiliary forces despatched from India. In answer to the charges of inconsistency brought against the Ministry for now proposing what they had a few years previously so loudly denounced as unconstitutional as well as unpatriotic, it was argued that the difference lay in the employment of Indian troops beyond the boundaries of the empire with Parliamentary sanction, instead of despatching them upon the prerogative of the Crown. Moreover, the Indian Contingent would, as on a previous occasion in 1806, under Sir James Baird, limit its operations to Egypt, whereas Lord Beaconsfield had brought them to Malta, a distinctly European country. An amendment proposed by Mr. Onslow to throw the cost upon the revenues of Great Britain was withdrawn, in order to make room for a proposal suggested by Mr. Stanhope, and adopted by the Government, to the effect that the share of the toll to be thrown upon the Indian revenue should be subjected to any future decision of Parliament. With this all discussion on Egyptian affairs in either House ceased, with the exception of an attempt, on the part of Lord Elcho (August 10), to discover to what extent the Government realised the full meaning of the events in Egypt. He expressed very decidedly his doubts as to the movement being merely a military mutiny; it seemed rather a national movement, in which both the people and the magnates acquiesced, some cordially and others unwillingly. Mr. Gladstone

absolutely refused to accept this view. In the eyes of the Government Arabi was a military oppressor, whose success would revive all the worst abuses of old Egyptian misrule; and our troops were engaged not in a war with Egypt, but in freeing the Egyptians from oppression. Various questions were from time to time addressed to Ministers respecting the operations at Alexandria, but no further discussion of their policy took place before the House adjourned.

Meanwhile diplomacy was slowly but steadily restricting the influence of Turkey to a minimum, whilst ostensibly setting a high value on her co-operation. In addition to an army of occupation, placed wholly under the control of the French and English generals, and subsequently of the English commander alone, the Sultan was pressed to proclaim Arabi Pasha a rebel. Endless delays and adjournments of the Conference followed, each representative being desirous of referring to his respective Governments even verbal changes in the protocols, which after much discussion had been adopted in principle. On July 28 the German Ambassador in Paris notified to the French Government the resolution agreed to by Austria, Russia, Germany, and Italy of placing the Canal under the joint protection of the six great Powers. The French ships then formally withdrew from all co-operation (July 29), and on August 2 Admiral Hewett occupied Suez on behalf of the Khedive. On the same day at the Constantinople Conference the establishment of a "purely maritime service for the police and supervision of the Canal" was, upon the proposal of the Italian Ambassador, agreed to, with the proviso that the land police service was to be only temporary. Some days were then spent in arranging the text of the proclamation against Arabi, and of the military convention. Drafts of both documents were constantly passing to and fro between the Powers, but always some verbal alternative or amendment rendered fresh reference obligatory; and although at one time it was authoritatively stated that the Ottoman troops would start for Egypt on August 10, the whole of the month passed, and ultimately the campaign was brought to a close without a single Turkish soldier having been landed in Egypt. Many days were spent in discussion between Lord Dufferin and the Turkish Ministers, whether the Turkish troops should proceed ("*se rendront*") to Port Said or should disembark there (*débarqueront*), and whether in the proclamation the word "foreign" interference should be allowed to be inserted, as required by the Sultan. Lord Dufferin spent eleven hours of September 15 in discussing this point at the Sultan's Palace, but before he left it he had received the news of the complete overthrow of Arabi, the dispersal of his troops, and the needlessness of Turkish co-operation or intervention. There was no doubt that the Turkish Government discovered when it was too late that they had been outwitted in the intrigues they were carrying on, and were wholly unprepared for so speedy a collapse of the Egyptian rebellion.

CHAPTER VIII.

Speeches of the Recess—The Egyptian Campaign—Lord Carnarvon and Lord
 • Sherbrooke on Foreign Policy—The Conservative Campaign in the North—
 Mr. Courtney on the future of Egypt—The Autumn Session—Debates on the
 New Rules—The Closure—The Working of the Land Act—The Reconstruction
 of the Cabinet—The Bye-Elections—Lord Granville's Egyptian Circular.

THE shortness of the Parliamentary recess, combined with the interest excited by the Egyptian campaign, tended to throw political speeches and discussions into the background. Sir Stafford Northcote, at Bournemouth (August 21), expressed his belief that in Egypt an unnecessary danger had been incurred, which by the display of greater firmness and prudence at an earlier period might have been avoided; but he declined to say anything which might embarrass the Government whilst endeavouring to support the honour and interests of the country. He spoke at somewhat greater length on the part which the Conservatives had to play in the country, bidding them be of good heart in view of the usefulness of their rôle. "The dangers," he said, "to which the constitution is exposed are great, and the enemy is very powerful and very repulsive. They are quite ready to use every weapon against their opponents, when they are out of office themselves; but once in office, they take up all they abused, and everything they found to be wrong with us is right with them." Less responsible critics were not disposed to act so leniently, and the failure of the War Office to provide sufficient means of transport for the supply of food, forage, and ammunition was loudly and generally condemned. The news, however, of the brilliant victory at Tel-el-Kebir silenced for awhile all adverse criticisms, and there was a general willingness to forget incidental blunders and shortcomings in the general sense of relief that our task in Egypt had been so unexpectedly lightened. The Tory organs throughout the country gave full and ungrudging praise, not only to the troops by whom the campaign was brought to so rapid a close, but also to the War Minister and his colleagues, who had made it plain that they were prepared when necessity required it, and able to effectively organise military expeditions. The more extreme Radicals were, however, as much divided amongst themselves as other parties were united by the warlike disposition of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, as shown by two prominent members of the party, Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Leatham, speaking in different parts of the North of England on the night after the arrival of the news of Sir Garnet Wolseley's victory. The former had failed both in Edinburgh and Glasgow to obtain respectful attention to his protests against the war, but at Aspatria in Cumberland he found

a more sympathetic audience. He argued that our isolation in the war was evidence of the dislike of European nations to embark on such a war, and declared that the opposition he had met with was attributable to the Tories, who were eager to urge the Government on to fresh military undertakings in order to disintegrate the Liberal party. Mr. Leatham at Salford took very different ground, and although opposed to armed intervention in the affairs of foreign nations, he could not but approve of an undertaking which aimed at asserting the inviolability of the peaceful Englishman, and at assuring the route to India.

On the question of Ireland Mr. J. Lowther, speaking at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield (September 7), defined very clearly the policy of the party in which he had held office. "If anybody," said he, "thought that Ireland could be ruled through the goodwill and affection of the inhabitants of England, he was grievously mistaken. The union could only be maintained by force.

With the rapid conclusion of the campaign, however, public attention and criticism drifted into other channels, and more especially towards the consideration of the future of Egypt. The actual events of the campaign had of course been rapidly transmitted from the seat of war, but under conditions which rendered independent criticism impossible. The public were consequently bound to accept without challenge or doubt the version of each day's doings the Head-quarters' staff thought proper to ratify. It was therefore not surprising to find that the official report of the campaign, when the despatches appeared in the *London Gazette*, tallied completely with the telegraphic news received from day to day. For the first time since the Crimean War the newspapers failed to furnish an outside view of the operations in the field. This might in a measure have been due to the proximity of the seat of war, and its close connection with England by telegraphic and other agencies; but, on the other hand, the benefits of secrecy were somewhat dearly purchased by the loss of confidence in the unbiassed views of commanders, and the independently acquired information of correspondents. The Government itself seemed to deprecate anything like searching criticism by a wholesale, and, as was averred, indiscriminate shower of honours upon all who were directly, or even indirectly, concerned in the Egyptian military operations. Peerages, crosses, ribands and medals were distributed with an alacrity which suggested an eagerness to hurry the history out of sight, and with a profusion which either cast a slur upon previous administrations, or rendered ridiculous all future ambition in the pursuit of such distinctions. Moreover, as the Commander-in-Chief was alone permitted to be the historian, official or unofficial, of the war, his version of the most important episodes was naturally challenged by those who declared themselves slighted and their services neglected. Hence the partisans of the two divisions which took part in the storming of Tel-el-Kebir claimed for their respective *protégés* the honour of having borne

the brunt of the battle, and carried on a somewhat indecorous quarrel as to the credibility of the accepted version.

The feeling in Europe on the occupation of Cairo was scarcely so unanimously cordial as when the news of Arabi's overthrow at Tel-el-Kebir was announced. The military successes of the British army, whether the result of good generalship, as maintained by ourselves, or of good luck and the utter want of cohesion in Arabi's army, as held by some German writers, or of well-distributed bribes, as asserted by a French correspondent and never authoritatively contradicted, were substantial enough to attract respectful notice from military Powers, whilst the power of endurance and habits of discipline displayed by the British troops were cordially praised.

But the policy of this country towards Egypt was naturally, and to the exclusion of most others, the question which most interested the public mind. Many solutions were proposed, some impracticable, and more inexpedient. The alternative seemed to lie between a return to the Dual Control, France and England acting as before as the commissaries of the European Powers; the erection of a European Directorate, in which all the Great Powers would have a seat, and something more than a consultative voice; the establishment of an English Protectorate, with powers analogous to those exercised by the English Resident at an Indian Court; or the abandonment of Egypt to the Egyptians, with effectual guarantees for the independence and security of the Suez Canal. The arguments for and against each of these solutions formed the staple of the principal speeches of the Recess; but a strong current of public opinion tended rather towards the establishment of the country into an Oriental Belgium, under the joint protection of the Powers, than to any absorption of it into the British Empire, whilst a return to its former condition of a Turkish pashalik was almost unanimously scouted.

Amongst the members of the Government, the first to speak on this delicate question was Mr. Fawcett, the Postmaster-General, in his annual address to his constituents at Hackney (September 26), but it was then too early for him to do more than speak in vague and general terms. "The future settlement of Egypt," he said, "involved so many questions of the utmost delicacy and difficulty that he would not remark on them, but they might feel confidence that in Mr. Gladstone's hands it would be proved that England had no selfish object to serve, and that her chief concern must be to secure for the Egyptian people the very best government and the greatest amount of liberty. Whatever might be the amount of control that England and Europe exercised hereafter over Egypt, they might be assured that the abuses of the former Control would not be repeated, and that the Egyptian people would not have to submit to the injustice of seeing an unduly large portion of their revenue absorbed by foreign officials who escaped very much of the taxation which fell on the Egyptian people them-

selves." With regard to the question to what extent the expense of the Indian Contingent should be borne by that country, Mr. Fawcett, recalling with natural pride his well-earned title of "the member for India," said he had not forgotten the declarations he had formerly made, and he should carefully consider them when the point was ripe for decision.

On the other hand Lord Carnarvon, speaking to a Conservative Working Men's Club at Newbury (September 28), held that although in the settlement of the Egyptian question there were many inherent difficulties, there were also some of the making of the Government; and among the latter he classed "the Conferences and Concerts of Europe so ostentatiously invoked; the gratuitous promises and the effusive protestations of its chief spokesmen. The Government had been too busy with Irish affairs to conciliate the friendship of the Porte, so that the Sultan's aid was impossible; the Khedive was helpless though trustworthy; and the Egyptian army disbanded. For all political purposes the Control had ceased to exist; and a government resting on native pashas and fellaheen was unrealisable. Against these drawbacks, the English Government had but one single counterbalancing advantage, that we, unaided and single-handed, had done the work, and that from a certain point of view we were masters of the position. With the rights, with the privileges, and with the duties attached to conquerors, and to those who undertake the re-establishment of order in a distracted country, let us respect jealously any right of any European Powers, but let us also consider carefully what are the interests both of Egypt and England. It was for the sake of those interests that we have interposed—nothing else would have justified interposition; but it seems to me intolerable to suppose that we are to sacrifice the blood and money we have already spent, and to have to do over again the work which we have just accomplished. In addition, four-fifths of the trade of the world which passes through the Suez Canal is English trade, and at the end of that canal lies a country with which our interests are vitally bound up."

At about the same time Lord Sherbrooke, addressing the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, expressed with great frankness the views of the unofficial supporters of the Ministry. "I think," he wrote, "the Government were quite right in putting down the military revolt in Egypt. Egypt is really more European than African, being united to the one by the sea and separated from the other by burning deserts. We ought to keep a sufficient British force there to keep the peace. The government should be ostensibly in the Khedive, but it should be made understood that nothing should be done contrary to the will of the English General, on whose support the existence of the State depends. We ought to be able to manage this better than anyone, for we have been practising in India for a hundred years. Everything will turn on his prudence and discretion. We never can allow our troops to be

made the means of enforcing injustice or oppression. Above all things, I would avoid a joint occupation with a European Power. It hampers us in time of peace, and is very likely, as in a recent instance, to desert us in time of war. In the present state of Europe I think our policy should be—friends with all, alliance or joint enterprise with none. Our object is not to conquer or annex, but to foster and control.”

* With the visit of Sir Stafford Northcote to Scotland, the autumn Parliamentary Campaign commenced. At Glasgow (October 4), where he attended the first Conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland, his speeches travelled over a wider ground, and laid down the points of divergence between the Conservative and Liberal policy at home and abroad. To the superior organisation of the latter party he attributed their successes at the General Election rather than to any real revulsion in feeling. The Midlothian speeches of Mr. Gladstone, the wide-spreading branches of the Birmingham caucus and the personal action of the late Sir W. P. Adam, the Whig whip, were the methods by which the results were attained. He admitted that at the moment they were undoubtedly in a large minority throughout the country, due chiefly to the ability and vigour with which the Caucus system had been worked, but aided also by the popularity gained by the Government in the Egyptian campaign. He anticipated, however, a considerable reaction of opinion when the Egyptian question came to be fully discussed. The Government, he thought, would be shown to have been responsible for the war, which he held was an unnecessary one and therefore unjustifiable. The war itself brought about that very state of things which our policy had been from the first directed to prevent. Turning to Ireland, he admitted that the number of outrages had diminished, but this was not on account of the flimsy remedial measures which had been introduced, but because the Police Acts were being administered by a strong hand and in a proper manner. He believed that if the Coercion Acts were taken away, the peace of Ireland would not be preserved by Arrears Acts. The fact was that the legislation of the Government with regard to Ireland had been of a character which may well cause grave anxiety, and the concession made to agitation was a lesson that will not be forgotten by the agitators of Ireland or any other part of the United Kingdom. The principles which had been put forward, and which had been used to justify the Government measures, might well be applied to other kinds of property and other cases throughout the United Kingdom. “You have shaken that upon which the pillar of the law rests, and you may depend upon it that you cannot with impunity violate and infringe those principles upon which society rests.” In conclusion he appealed to Conservatives to “hold up to the people of this country the true Conservative standard—a standard such as will rally round it all men who have the interests of their country at heart. And if

I may venture to use a word as the word which should be inscribed upon the banner under which the Conservatives should fight, the word I would use would be, 'Freedom.' Freedom of speech, no clôtüre. Freedom of contract, no commissions to settle all affairs. Freedom of opinion, no caucuses."

At Darlington (October 9) Mr. E. Clarke, who had rapidly achieved a reputation in the House of Commons as an able exponent of Conservative views, urged his leader's views with far greater warmth and vehemence. He charged the Government with having brought about the war by their own wilful neglect and disregard of warnings, not only from their own representatives, but from the other European Powers. The facts were on record, and if it were an honour to the Liberal party to go to Egypt and suppress whatever there was of free institutions, then by all means let them have the credit. But the Conservatives would be clear of complicity in such an unwarrantable and unnecessary war. As regards the future, he held that we must keep the Canal open, and we should not relinquish our permanent hold on some station or stations on that Canal. We should encourage Egypt, also, to follow some constitutional course, such as Sir E. Malet before the war said she had entered upon, and perhaps free institutions would eventually become acclimatised.

On the same evening, Mr. Broadhurst, the working men's representative, addressing his constituents at Stoke-upon-Trent, found an equally warm reception from an audience which in a great measure must have been drawn from the class which Mr. Clarke had addressed at Darlington. His ultra-Radical views on many points had placed him in direct opposition to the Government, to whom he looked for neither place nor protection. On this occasion, however, he admitted that in the face of Arabi's declaration it was impossible for this country to stand aloof. After the gravest consideration he had decided to support the Government, on the ground that if he had opposed it on a great issue of this kind it would have been in the hope that there would have been a majority against it, and that it would have been turned out of office. What, however, in the present instance would have been the result of that? They must have had some one in office. If Sir Stafford Northcote had been coming in as Prime Minister, it might have allayed some alarms for the future of the country; but it was not Sir Stafford. He was not mentioned, but a man who had declared that England must rule by the swiftness and keenness of the sword. Had he been in power what would have followed? The English fleet would have been sailing up and down the Dardanelles at a cost of six millions, or probably a secret treaty would have been made with Arabi, or the English Government would have sent the Turkish army into Egypt to restore order.

As the time drew near for the reassembling of Parliament, there were renewed attempts on the part of public men to interest public meetings on the question of the Closure—the only one of

the new rules which promised to awaken any strong expression of feeling on the part of those not destined to come within their reach. These efforts were only partially successful; meetings, moreover, being for the most part partisan, merely re-echoed the sentiments of the speakers, who took up their position on purely party lines. The Liberals—especially the Radicals—saw in the Closure and in the ministerial proposals nothing but an effort to make the House of Commons more efficient as a legislative machine; the Conservatives found in them a desire to limit the freedom of debate, and an attempt to degrade the ancient privilege of Parliament. At Birmingham, indeed, a public meeting was held (October 10), at the Town Hall, where both political parties were represented; and a vote was taken which showed a large majority in favour of the Closure; but this was an exceptional incident. In other places where Liberal voters and working men were reasonably supposed to form as strongly marked a majority of the constituencies as at Birmingham—for example, at Galashiels and Durham, Messrs. Gibson and E. Clarke obtained enthusiastic approval for their strong denunciations of the restrictive proposals of the Government. On the other hand, at Nottingham (October 17) the new rules obtained very general support from a meeting which had assembled to hear the extension of the County Franchise discussed; and at Newcastle on the same evening, in spite of the influence and popularity of Mr. Burt, a very strong minority expressed their disapproval of the new rules of procedure. Finally, on the very eve of the re-assembling of Parliament, Mr. Mundella, at Sheffield, had taken up Sir Stafford Northcote's watchwords, "No caucus, no clôture, no interference with contract," and declared that whilst both parties were ready to make use of the caucus, the difference between the Liberal and Conservative systems was that on the Liberal side all the electors were consulted; on the Conservative side it was secret influence and self-constituted committees, who pulled the wires and did the work they would not openly avow. As for 'no clôture,' the Tories meant thereby 'no legislation;' whilst they could scarcely hold to no interference with contract at a time when Mr. Chaplin was assuring the farmers that the Agricultural Holdings Act should be made compulsory.

Some few days earlier Mr. Courtney, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, had revived public interest in Egyptian politics by his bold assertion at Torpoint (October 11), of his belief that Mr. Gladstone would act up to his declarations of non-intervention. He would not admit that Arabi represented more than a military usurpation of a dangerous character, which it was our right to destroy, in order to rouse the national feeling, so that the Egypt of the future might be a self-government by the Egyptians themselves. Another principle he considered which should be borne in mind in the re-settlement of Egypt was that principle which Mr. Gladstone had publicly announced—that our conduct in Egypt and elsewhere should be that of co-operation with the other Powers

for the maintenance of the concert of Europe. Having restored order in Egypt and secured the neutrality of the Canal for the traffic of all nations, he would, in the words of that great statesman, Prince Bismarck, allow the Egyptians to "stew in their own juice." He would rid Egypt entirely from being under the control of the Sultan, and he would warn the Khedive that his future position depended upon his management of his own affairs, and the problem of Egypt should be worked out by its own people over the area of Egypt itself.

In the course of his speech, moreover, Mr. Courtney dealt with the incidence of the cost of the campaign with greater frankness than any previous speaker of either political party, and his views, although subjected to sharp criticism from various quarters, and by those especially interested in financial operations in Egypt, were received with warm approval by the general body of Englishmen, who were ready to prove that our intervention in Egypt was prompted by no mean considerations, but the outcome of a policy possibly selfish, but certainly patriotic. Mr. Courtney maintained that money spent in rescuing Egypt had been money spent in keeping a going concern going, and that, therefore, in the resettlement of Egypt the first claim on the Egyptian revenues should be the repayment of the cost which had been incurred in keeping Egypt going. He hoped we should not extort from the poor fellaheen a single farthing more than they ought to pay. If the interest of the bondholders came between the claims of England on the one hand and the fellaheen on the other—if the fellaheen could not pay—no doubt those who would have to forego something must be the bondholders; and he confessed he should feel a peculiar satisfaction in making the bondholders realise that the war was not entered upon and concluded in their interest. It was not for them that the English nation went to war, and it could not be that the English nation would use its power to give them a better position at the expense of other and more rightful claims.

On the same evening, at Scarborough, a Cabinet Minister, Mr. Dodson, declared that the object of the Government was not to remain in Egypt a day longer than was necessary. They hoped to see native rule established, for they desired neither dominion in Egypt for their country, nor its annexation, nor the responsibility of its administration. The Government wanted Egypt for the Egyptians, but with the condition that they would neither bear the foreign domination of any other power, or acknowledge the preponderance of any other nation.

Two days later Lord Northbrook and Mr. Fawcett had a further opportunity of explaining at Liverpool the views of the situation as seen from within the Cabinet and from the outside. The former, after hinting that the fear of anything hindering the intercourse between England and India determined in a great measure the policy of the Government, added that the anarchy which broke out had decided the moment of our intervention. As regarded the future,

he pronounced that secret treaties and concealed obligations to other countries would be avoided; and that whilst the Government had no desire to annex or govern Egypt, they were not prepared to see Egypt in the power of any other country, and were not prepared to accept the responsibility of allowing Egypt to lapse into a state of anarchy, considering the obligations already contracted. With respect to the Suez Canal, there was no desire to acquire exclusive power over the Canal, but it was not intended to allow Egypt to lapse into such a condition as to make it possible that the Suez Canal could be stopped at any time against British ships, whether of peace or war. These were the principles to which they still adhered, notwithstanding the great success achieved and the position thereby gained. The attainment of these objects was in entire accordance with the views of all the other Powers of Europe. The Powers of Europe were satisfied that there were no other intentions behind those the Government had always expressed.

Although when Parliament reassembled on October 24, the Government steadfastly adhered to its programme of dealing with the New Rules of Procedure alone, in accordance with its promise before the adjournment, the opportunity of questioning and cross-examining every Minister on every conceivable point was not thrown away by the members at large. A question of constitutional principle was moreover raised by Lord Randolph Churchill on the very first night, which, if it had been moved before the House adjourned, might have met with a wider support. It has been an almost invariable practice to reserve the Appropriation Bill for the last measure of a session, on the ground that in this way the privileges of members are reserved to the very last, although "Supply" has been closed. From this Lord Randolph Churchill argued that the House, in departing from a constitutional maxim, were placing themselves at the mercy of the Government. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, admitted the ordinary practice to be as stated by Lord R. Churchill, and that it was sound, convenient, and advantageous. It was not, however, invariable; inasmuch as in 1820—on the occasion of the trial of Queen Caroline—the House of Commons adjourned three times after passing the Appropriation Act, and on each occasion transacted business. Sir Stafford Northcote, however, declared that the case referred to had no real bearing on the issue raised by Lord R. Churchill, as in 1820 the Government brought forward no business of their own, but merely kept the House sitting for the purpose of the Queen's trial. The objections raised were probably not intended to be taken seriously, inasmuch as the House had deliberately agreed by its own vote to adjourn to October for the express purpose of discussing the Rules of Procedure. It was, therefore, somewhat unaccountable to find the motion for adjournment, which would practically have landed the House in a still greater difficulty, supported by 142 against 209 who declined to stultify the cause of their reassembling.

Next Sir Stafford Northcote attempted to obtain from the Government a promise that they would give an opportunity for the discussion of their Egyptian policy before the formal closing of the session, as well as a statement of the cost of the war, and how the charge was to be apportioned. Mr. Gladstone declined to make any promise of facilitating the discussion of a policy which was not complete, but if the Opposition formally moved a vote of censure, arrangements for a debate would be made—but as it was not proposed to ask for any further vote of credit, the obvious means of challenging the Government policy would not arise. A vote of thanks to the officers and men of the Army and Navy was indeed moved in both Houses (October 26), and, after a protest from Sir Wilfrid Lawson, agreed to. There was at one time an idea that the annuities to Sir Garnet Wolseley and Admiral Seymour would be proposed during the session; but for this purpose Supply would have to have been set up, and it did not suit the views of the Government to open this door to further discussion. The expenses of the war, Mr. Gladstone assured the House, were covered by the authority it had granted; and though it might possibly be necessary to make a further demand on Parliament, he considered that the expenses of the army of occupation should, at least partially, be borne by Egypt. A fortnight later Mr. Gladstone made (November 14) a short statement in reference to the convention which it was proposed to conclude with the Egyptian Government. The English army had been rapidly reduced from 30,000 to 12,000; but no definite proposal as to the cost of their maintenance had been so far made to the Khedive. It would, therefore, be necessary to follow the precedent set in 1815, when a portion of the English army was left in France; to place upon the estimates the number of Her Majesty's troops employed in a foreign country, and to show the amount contributed by Egypt to their support. This would be done in the ensuing session. Sir Stafford Northcote pointed out that this plan was most unsatisfactory; but as the Government had it in their power to stop all discussion, he could only protest against the course indicated, and wait until the House reassembled in its ordinary course.

The Rules of Procedure, however, furnished the real campaigning ground for the Opposition; and over the first rule—which had been originally proposed on February 20, the House spent no less than thirteen days of the Autumn sitting. The first point raised by Sir D. Wolff was to reserve to the Speaker alone the right of closing a discussion. It was contended that the Chairman of Ways and Means was always a party man; and that he therefore should not be entrusted with an invidious and delicate duty. The Government reply was, that obstruction more frequently occurred in committee, though loquacity was chiefly exhibited at other stages of a debate, and that it would be useless to guard against one source of delay, and to leave the ground clear for another. On the question of "casual chairman of committees," who occa-

sionally replaced the regular chairman, Mr. Gladstone consented to give way; but Sir D. Wolff's amendment was rejected (October 26) by 202 to 144. The next stand made by the Conservatives was upon Mr. Selater-Booth's proposal to exempt proceedings in Committee of Supply from the operation of the resolution; but this was negatived (October 27) by 166 to 102; as was also Mr. O'Donnell's cognate proposal to extend the exemption to debates on privilege, and on the business of the House. Mr. Gladstone showed a greater readiness in accepting the amendment of Mr. Storey, an extreme Radical, that the Speaker must express his opinion that the subject "has been adequately discussed" before putting the closure resolution. The next important modification was proposed by Mr. Bryce, who wished to provide that the Speaker or Chairman should put the *clôture* in operation only on the request of a Minister of the Crown or of the member in charge of the bill. If this were done, the rule would be strengthened and would act more frequently and be more promptly applied than when left to the chair, and would put the impartiality of the chair beyond all possibility of attack. Mr. Gladstone, however, objected, that to cause the minister or the private member to intervene would lower the dignity of the Chair, and hamper the chairman instead of relieving him. The minority, moreover, would be placed more at the mercy of the majority, and thus, one of the grievances supposed to lurk in the resolutions, would be made real. Mr. Raikes, an ex-chairman of committees, raised his voice in favour of Mr. Bryce's amendment, holding, that whatever pressure was exercised to shorten a debate should be open and not indirect; and Mr. Cowen followed on the same side, claiming for the House the responsibility which it was unjust to shift upon any individual. Eventually the Government carried their view by 152 to 100.

The next points which engaged attention were:—(1) the ten minutes' rule proposed by Sir H. Tyler, under which the Speaker, instead of closing the debate, should limit the speeches after notice to ten minutes' duration; (2) Mr. Gibson's suggestion that notice—the length to be left to the Speaker's discretion—should be given of any intention to put the closure in operation; (3) Mr. Hicks' proposal that it should not be applied to any ministerial measure until the end of the fourth night of the debate. These were all disposed of after some time, but without leaving any trace of their passage. At length the great question of the constitution of the majority by which a debate was to be closed came on for discussion. A meeting of the Conservative party held (October 31) at the Carlton Club showed, it was said, considerable division of opinion as to the manner in which the contest should be protracted. The "light horse," amongst whom the "Fourth Party" held a foremost place, were understood to be anxious to carry on the fight against the new rules by every device admissible in Parliamentary warfare, whilst the older and more responsible leaders of the party hoped to obtain more concessions and better

terms, by frankly treating with the Government. No formal arrangement was come to between the two sections; but it was understood that only on certain essential points were the more fiery and intractable spirits to count upon the support of the veterans and ex-officials. The first battle-ground shown by the Opposition was Mr. Gibson's amendment, requiring the vote of two-thirds of those present to make the closure operative. Obstruction, he argued, had hitherto always proceeded from small cliques, and there was abundant reason for the House to interfere, to prevent public business from being brought to a standstill by a knot of irresponsible malcontents; but, on the other hand, it would be a dangerous innovation to clothe a bare majority with the power to gag their opponents. The protection to be obtained from the independent position of the Speaker, or the Chairman, he regarded as illusory; as in the process of time, more rapidly than was imagined, both of these officials would be elected by a party vote for the purpose of carrying out the will of the majority in a partisan spirit. He ridiculed the favourite safeguard of the supporters of the new rules, "the evident sense of the House," which he declared would speedily come to be synonymous with the obstreperous clamour of the party in power, or the insidious whispers of the ministerial whips. He denounced the proposal, therefore, as intended to crush constitutional opposition, as certain to degrade the character and authority of the Chair, and as aiming at reducing the House to the position of a superior department of the Government of the day, whose decrees it would be summoned to register with more or less debate as suited the temper of the leader of the House; and he ended by calling on the Prime Minister to explain why he had made the offer of a compromise in May which he withdrew in October. Mr. Gladstone at once rose to reply, and declared that, although the Government were not prepared to regard the question as one of confidence, they did not conceal their opinion that a two-thirds' majority closure-system would not only be inefficient, but would be worse than no closure at all. He pointed out that the question was not the closure, which had already been affirmed, but whether it should be applied by an artificial majority. As to colonial experience, he admitted that it did not afford an argument for the proposal; but the Government, he said, did not ask for this power because it was a good thing *per se*, but because they thought it was better than to allow the House to sink into a condition of impotence. As to the offer of May last, he admitted that the policy of it was doubtful; but the Government then estimated that if they could get rid of procedure they would have six weeks left for the general business of the country, and they were ready to pay that heavy price for the advantage. As to the fears of the Opposition, he repeated his profound conviction that the Speaker could not and would not, and that he would not dare to, deviate from his impartiality, and that any Minister or party who attempted to abuse the rule would be speedily visited

with absolute ruin. For small minorities the rule provided ample securities, and to gag a large majority was absolutely impossible. Within a month, he maintained, an Opposition, smarting under a sense of injustice and oppression, would have no difficulty in unseating the Speaker and bringing the business of the House to a standstill. He objected to the two-thirds' majority because it was unjust to small minorities, inasmuch as the numerical safeguards now contained in the resolution could not be worked with it and must speedily be dropped out. It was unjust also to the majority, as it handed over their rights to the minority, and paralysed their power to discharge the duties which they had undertaken towards the country.

Throughout the evening the debate followed party lines with scarcely any deviation and with little novelty of argument, Sir John Lubbock being the only Liberal who supported the theory of the two-thirds' majority on the ground that it would be more effective against the obstructives, while it would not have so drastic an effect on the regular Opposition. On the following day Lord John Manners argued that one of the evils of the closure, not an unmixed one as he thought, would be to greatly enhance the power of the House of Lords; but one still greater and wholly unmixed with good, would be the instability which would result to all the legislative efforts of the House of Commons. Lord Randolph Churchill, to the surprise of his colleagues, spoke with considerable force in opposition to the amendment—opposed as he was to the closure, he held proportional majorities to be a still greater innovation. If there was to be a closure, it was infinitely better to have one that would bring the system into contempt, than to make a compromise which, whilst clothed with arbitrary power, would deceive the public by a semblance of fairness.

A still more startling contribution to the formation of public opinion was furnished on the last night of the debate by Mr. Labouchere, who, speaking for the democracy, hoped the closure would be used often for party purposes and in the interests of speedy legislation. The democratic idea was frequent Parliaments, plébiscites on all great measures, followed by a mandate to the Government to carry them. When the country had made up its mind, discussion was useless, and he would give the Opposition half an hour to state their views and no more. When this democratic millennium arrived, he looked forward to passing numerous measures in this way, and so to bringing the country rapidly into harmony with the "spirit of the age." On behalf of the Home Rule party, Mr. Parnell said he agreed with Lord R. Churchill that the two-thirds scheme would be used against the Irish party alone; but under the Government plan, whatever measure was meted out to them would also be meted out to the Conservatives. He could not admit that the *clôture* in any form would facilitate legislation; but, as between *clôture* by a bare

majority and a proportional majority, he objected to the latter because it would be fatal to the rights of the Irish party, and, therefore, he and his friends would vote against this amendment. Sir S. Northcote said he would not pry into the secret negotiations of which the speech just delivered was the outcome, but if the Opposition were to be beaten he was glad that it would be by the aid of those who were the cause of this resolution. He adhered to his opinion that the House ought to offer the strongest opposition to the closure in any form, and he supported the amendment merely as being less mischievous than the *clôture* pure and simple. The object of the resolution was not merely to deal with obstruction, but to stifle fair discussion; and he feared that the establishment of the *clôture* would tend to diminish the good feeling which ought to prevail in the House, and the confidential and friendly relations between the Chair and the members of all parties. Lord Hartington, in closing the debate, denied that there had been any secret negotiations with the Irish party, and disclaimed altogether the imputation that this resolution was intended to benefit one particular party and to silence the other. Adverting to Mr. Labouchere's speech, he declared that if he thought it probable that the closing power would be used in the spirit described by him, he should have great doubts about being a party to it. But no constituency, he believed, expected that any measure, however much it might be desired, should be passed without full discussion. The object and intent of the resolution were that every subject brought before the House should be adequately, but not more than adequately, discussed; while prolixity could have no other object but to waste time and defeat legislation.

The division was then taken, when 288 supported Mr. Gibson's amendment—whilst 322 followed the Ministerial lead. The majority was nearly double that which had been predicted by those who were least hopeful as to the success of the Government: and the division list showed some interesting features. The Irish Home Rulers, so steadily hostile to the Government on other occasions, supported them by 28 votes; whilst Mr. Shaw, who generally voted with the Government, was, now, the only Home Ruler amongst the Conservatives. With him went the three Fitzwilliams, Mr. Walter, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Albert Grey—the last representative of the “pure Whigs.” Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Marriott, and the extreme Radical, Mr. Joseph Cowen, also voted in favour of the two-thirds' majority: but many prominent Radicals, and the “Fourth party,” consisting of three persons, absented themselves; whilst a considerable section of the Whigs of the type of Lord E. Fitzmaurice and Mr. Heneage voted with the Government.

In the face of this verdict it became evident that amendments which were only verbal or arithmetical variations of Mr. Gibson's proposal would stand but slight chance of acceptance, although they might furnish materials for unlimited discussion. Of this nature was Mr. Harcourt's proposal of a five-eighths' majority to

enforce the closure; Mr. Salt's minimum majority of 300 (instead of 200) when the majority was over 40; and Mr. Brodrick's suspension of the closure when the minority reached 150 votes. All these amendments were negatived by substantial majorities, but by numbers which proved the flagging interest of the House in the matters at issue. Of a somewhat different type were Mr. W. H. Smith's demand to allow any ten members to enter their protest on the journals of the House, against the enforcement of the closure on any particular occasion, and Lord John Manners' proposal that the division for applying the closure should be taken by ballot. By a curious coincidence the Government majority (84) against this was identical with that by which Mr. Gibson's amendment had been rejected; but on that occasion 560 members had voted, whilst on the ballot resolution only 184 were present.

A somewhat interesting debate next arose upon the meaning of the "evident sense of the House," which occurred in the first rule, and, in answer to an invitation to give his interpretation of the words, the Speaker said it would be the duty of the Chair to ascertain, as far as possible, "the evident sense of the House at large." But this limitation, or extension (for it was variously regarded) of the original resolution did not meet the views of the Government; and, the Speaker having declared himself powerless to direct his interpretation to be entered on the votes, unless a special motion were made to that effect, a lengthy debate ensued, the proposed addition was negatived, as was also a motion by Mr. A. Balfour that the rule, when passed, should not apply to the discussion of the other rules. To this Mr. Gladstone strongly objected, on the ground that to accept it would be to admit that the closure would prevent free and full discussion. The various amendments having been finally disposed of, Sir S. Northcote moved the rejection of the first resolution as it now stood. The long debate which ensued, in the course of which no single argument of force or novelty was adduced, was probably, in some measure, a reply to an appeal to the Conservative party, not by its recognised leader, but from Lord Randolph Churchill, who sounded the challenge of "no surrender" in the columns of the *Times* newspaper. In this letter he claimed for the Conservatives an effort to maintain freedom of speech, even at the expense of that "liberal legislation" which the Government seemed to regard as of paramount importance. He explained his opposition to Mr. Gibson's amendment, on the ground that its acceptance would have been justly regarded as a compromise, and would have prevented the Conservatives from resisting the main proposition. The Government majority, he admitted, was beyond doubt; but he urged that it was a question whether, on a great constitutional point, the decision of a narrow majority would justify the acquiescence of the Conservative party. "If," wrote Lord R. Churchill, "the proposed change were brought forward in the form of legislation, the House of Lords would have to be consulted, and would

in all probability exercise their right of referring the question to the electors. But though the interests involved in the question of closure are greater than any that have been imperilled since the time of the Long Parliament or the Bill of Rights, the House of Lords is precluded from exercising its constitutional office. What, then, can the Conservatives do? Fortunately, the Government have themselves provided a remedy. They have declared that no business of a legislative character remains to be brought forward during the remainder of the session. They have, by unconstitutionally passing the Appropriation Bill before the prorogation, relieved the House of the necessity of considering Supply for the service of the year. No opposition, however protracted; no debates, however prolonged; no motions for adjournment can by any possibility be stigmatised as obstruction of public business. It appears, therefore, that Sir Stafford Northcote is not only entitled, but called upon, as the leader on this question of nearly half the House of Commons, should his resolution be defeated under the circumstances I have sketched above, to announce to the Government that he refuses to allow this question of procedure to go forward without an appeal to the constituencies, and that with this end he will advise those who have supported him to make a determined and constitutional use of the rights of Parliamentary minorities. It would be impossible for the Government to refuse the challenge." Lord R. Churchill ended by declaring that if the present opportunity of fighting were neglected, either from pusillanimity or political miscalculation, before the present Parliament came to an end the Liberals would have so successfully manipulated the electorate that the chances of the Tories regaining power would be gone.

Whatever may have been the hidden motive, or whoever may have been the unseen inspirer of this challenge, it gave evidence of that want of harmony in the councils of the Conservatives of which so much capital had been made by their opponents. It was, therefore, doubtless, to give some outward proof of harmonious feeling, if not of concerted action, that Sir S. Northcote mustered his forces to bring about the rejection of the rule. In defence of his view, Sir S. Northcote said the House was taking a first step in the direction of sacrificing the sources of its strength, and, though he admitted the necessity for some action, this remedy was worse than the disease. Discussing the resolution in its present form, he argued that the provisions for the protection of small minorities were illusory, and the initiative of the Chair would be no protection, as it was impossible for the Speaker, in the long run, to stand up against the expressed opinion of the majority. It was most inauspicious that the resolution should be brought forward as a party measure, in order to forward party objects, and the House, he predicted, would be obliged to go further in the same direction. With regard to the other resolutions, he said that the attitude of the Opposition in regard to them

must be qualified by what was done with this resolution. The policy of the Liberals was explained by Sir W. Harcourt, who denied emphatically that the resolution was introduced for party purposes, to give a triumph to either party, or to silence the Conservative Opposition. The real object was to devise some method of economising the time of the House, and to put a stop to the various modes of wasting time and preventing the progress of business. The Government were acting on a conviction that a remedy like this was indispensable, and he put to the Opposition the responsibility they would incur in rejecting this weapon, if a strong minority should come into the House determined to paralyze all action.

For three days the debate dragged its slow length along, the Conservatives declaring that all the objects avowed by the Liberals could be obtained under the other proposed rules, and that consequently the determination to have the power of the closure concealed some unavowed intention; whilst the Liberals persistently held to their point that its only object was legislation, which the Conservatives, under the pretext of preserving the Constitution, were anxious to render impossible. Mr. Gladstone rose somewhat unexpectedly early on the third day (a Wednesday), in order, as he said, to show that the Government did not even tacitly admit that a prolongation of this debate was a useful employment of the public time. There might, no doubt, be many members desirous of speaking, but not so many desirous of listening. He had taken the trouble to note the number of members present on the other side of the House during this week, taking care that the whole of his numbers should relate to periods when Opposition speakers were addressing the House. On Monday night at 11.30 there were 26 above and below the gangway; on Tuesday at 7 o'clock there were 24; at 7.30 only 20; at 8 o'clock only 10; and at 10.30 (although one of their most distinguished members was speaking) the total was but 28. At 12.30 it had fallen to 23, and at midnight to 18. On that day at 1 o'clock there were on the opposite side of the House five members above the gangway and one below, and he the member that was addressing the House; at 2 o'clock the total was 13. Then he admitted that it rose to 16, and at 3.30 to 17; and when the last speaker rose to address the House there were 36 gentlemen present. That was the manner in which the Opposition—when it was stated that the death-knell of freedom of speech was being struck—treated this matter. The people of the country were taking the deepest interest in this matter, and had risen to tell Parliament to do more and talk less. He had been asked how he expected the closure would be applied. He expected that it would be applied according to the mind and the intelligence of the Speaker, on his honestly interpreting the resolution of the House; and that his interpretation would be accepted with the respect and confidence of every section of the House. His notion was that when the rule was passed, if it was

found to work badly and affect the traditions of the Chair, the House would find a remedy, and would take care that no such evils would prevail. As to freedom of speech, he contended that at present freedom of speech did not exist in the House, but that in the main freedom was to a large degree enslaved. Addressing the Irish members, he pointed out to them that none were more interested than they in a modification of the rules of the House which would give time for Irish legislation, and especially the question of local self-government.

Naturally a speech of this character led to recriminations, and Mr. Stanhope was able to point to the equally empty Liberal benches, of which the ordinary occupants showed their lukewarm adhesion to the Government proposals by holding themselves aloof at all times except when the division bells summoned them from their hiding-places. The only display of great oratorical power was to be found in Mr. J. Cowen's unsparing denunciation of a rule which was to destroy all that had enabled the House for centuries to triumph over the aristocracy, and the sole object of which was to enable the Government to pass a batch of bills, which would not satisfy the interests of the State so well as the wise and liberal administration of the laws already in existence. At length on the fifth day (November 10), long after midnight, a division was taken, and the first rule was adopted by a majority of 44. The Government supporters, numbering 306, were made up of 281 English and Scotch Liberals, and 25 Irish Liberals, of whom four or five were classed as Home Rulers. The minority (262) were composed of 207 English and Scotch Conservatives, 19 Irish Conservatives, 31 Home Rulers, and one Irish Liberal (Sir John Ennis), and four English Liberals, Messrs. Marriott, P. A. Taylor, Cowen, and Courtauld. Thus after nearly three weeks' uninterrupted discussion—exclusive of the many days and nights spent on it in the earlier parts of the session, the principles of the Closure were for the first time introduced into the British Parliament. The time spent upon the new rule was considerable, but except in the opinion of those impatient of restraint, or clamorous for change, the delay was not out of proportion to the change effected by it in the habits of the House of Commons. The lengthy debates, moreover, cleared the way for the discussion of the other rules, and rendered concessions more easy.

The second resolution, the object of which was to put a stop to the constantly increasing practice of moving the adjournment of the House during "question time," in order to provoke an irregular discussion on Ministerial conduct or policy, was disposed of after little more than two days' debate—though not altogether in its original form. Mr. Gladstone consented to adopt Lord R. Churchill's suggestion, that the rights of private members as regards the adjournment should be restored to them when all the questions on the paper were disposed of, and that ten members should be entitled to demand a division; as well as Mr. H.

Fowler's that the right should be allowed to any member rising in his place, and stating that he desired, with the leave of the House, to discuss a definite matter of urgent importance, on condition that 40 members rose in their places to support the proposal. The third rule, enabling the Speaker or Chairman, on motions for adjournment, to confine the debate strictly to the motion, and forbid a second motion to the same effect being made by the same member, was agreed to with but few verbal alterations. Nor did the fourth rule, which dealt with the necessity of clearing the House for a division when the minority does not exceed 20, give rise to much more than a technical controversy as to how far this proposal conflicted with the rights reserved to any ten members under Rule 2. Ultimately the Government accepted amendments from various sides of the House, and agreed to confine the rule to motions made during a debate or in Committee, and that members should not be directed to stand up until two minutes (measured by the sand-glass) had elapsed. During the discussion of the fifth rule, which empowered the Speaker to silence a member for continued irrelevance and tedious repetition, Mr. Gibson was called to order under the third rule for not confining his remarks to reasons in support of a motion for adjournment. No further incident of importance arose until Rule 8—the half-past twelve o'clock rule—came on for discussion. The Government proposed to exempt from its operation motions for leave to bring in bills, and bills which had passed through Committee. Sir John Hay would gladly have seen the half-past twelve o'clock rule abolished altogether, as a hindrance to legislation and a fertile source of obstruction; whilst Sir J. Mowbray held the precisely opposite view, reminding the House that it had been passed originally to protect members, and to preserve the dignity of the House. Lord George Hamilton went even further, and proposed to put back the limit to midnight, and that the House should always rise at 12.30 A.M. (a suggestion which was negatived by a majority of 43, as was Mr. E. Clarke's to rise at 1.30 A.M.), and Sir H. Holland wished to have the notice of "blocking" signed by six members, and renewed every week. Ultimately it was decided that the notice of opposition signed by one member should be valid for only a week, at the expiration of which it might be renewed, and on the motion of Mr. Thorold Rogers the nomination of select Committees was exempted from this rule. The ninth Resolution, dealing with the Standing Order passed in 1880 by Sir S. Northcote, gave a power of suspension for wilful and persistent obstruction; and Mr. Gladstone, in introducing it to the House, pointed out that its operation was not to accelerate business, but to punish individual offences; and to be of any service it must be made more stringent. He proposed, therefore, that the first suspension should be for a week, the second for a month, and the third for the rest of the session. Sir R. Cross regretted that the Government had not laid more stress on this method of dealing penally with individual

offenders, and that they had preferred to punish the mass for the offences of the few; but he regarded Mr. Gladstone's proposal of increased stringency as monstrous. Mr. Gorst then moved an amendment requiring that the case of each member shall be dealt with separately by inserting the word "individual." Mr. Gladstone admitted the importance of the point, but doubted whether this amendment would carry it out, and Mr. Parnell, in supporting it, animadverted on Mr. Playfair's use of the Standing Order to suspend a number of members *en masse*—which, he maintained, had never been intended when it was passed. After a long discussion, it was stated by the Home Secretary and Mr. Chamberlain that the Government would abandon the doctrine of constructive obstruction, and would agree to a proviso that two members should not be named at the same time unless several members have concurred in the act for which they are named.

At this point a slight interlude took place, arising out of a promise (supposed or implied) made by Mr. Gladstone to give Mr. R. Yorke an opportunity to move for a committee of inquiry into the "Kilmainham Treaty." The promise, if real, was held by Mr. Gladstone's supporters to have been given by him in a moment of irritation, and that, having once assured the House that no such treaty existed, it was not consonant with his dignity to permit an inquiry. When then, in reply to the taunts of the Conservatives, Mr. Gladstone moved the adjournment of the debate, at ten minutes past twelve o'clock, Mr. Labouchere opposed the motion in a discursive speech, in the course of which Resolution 2 and Resolution 5 were invoked against him, and he was three times called to order by the Speaker. Mr. Collings, Mr. Mellor, and Mr. Causton also strongly protested against an adjournment at so early an hour for the purpose of considering Mr. Yorke's motion, but as soon as the hour of 12.30 was reached the opposition collapsed, and the adjournment was agreed to without a division. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Conservatives had shown almost equal astuteness in preventing Mr. Labouchere from moving that his colleague in the representation of Northampton, Mr. Bradlaugh, should be heard at the bar of the House in support of his claim to be sworn.

When the debate on the resolution for preserving order was resumed, it was clear that the hasty proceedings of the Chairman in July had left unpleasant recollections on all sides of the House. Mr. Gorst urged that a member must be present when named; but, although Mr. Gladstone at first objected, he subsequently accepted words from Sir John Hay which secured the same result. Strong objections to the doctrine of collective obstruction were put forward by men differing so widely as Sir R. Cross, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Rylands; whilst Colonel Nolan related an incident connected with the collective suspension episode, which, until explained by Dr. Playfair on a subsequent occasion (Nov. 22), suggested that the Chairman had held at the time referred to that to vote

with the obstructives, even without speaking, would involve suspension. The feeling on the dangers lurking in the Rule as originally drafted was so general that at length Mr. Gladstone consented to add a proviso by which collective suspension was only to be recognised in an event hardly likely to arise. The scale of punishment to be inflicted on individuals suspended for obstruction was fixed at one week for the first offence, one fortnight for the second, and a month for the third, the service of a suspended member, however, being still claimable by any Select Committee of which he might have been a member. By Rule 10 the Speaker was empowered to refuse to put a motion for adjournment when he was of opinion that it was "an abuse of the rules of the House," the condition accepted being in lieu of that originally proposed by Mr. Gladstone, who wished to substitute "for the purpose of obstruction." The two remaining Rules, dealing with the consideration of Bills when reported as amended, and with the rights of the Government to have supply set down on Fridays, and to be able to go into Committee thereon on Mondays and Thursdays without hindrance, were agreed to after some short discussion.

These practically formed the whole of the new procedure as originally sketched out by Mr. Gladstone at the opening of the session; but public opinion had for a long time been setting in favour of some more practical machinery for the transaction of special business than the ordinary methods provided. Mr. Gladstone therefore proposed to the House (November 2) his experiment of appointing two Grand Committees for the consideration of all legal and commercial Bills. Each Committee was to be composed of not less than sixty and not more than eighty members; but the quorum on each might be fixed at twenty. Their proceedings were to be public; and they were not to sit whilst the House was sitting without order (a limitation due to the strong representations of Sir R. Cross and Mr. Dillwyn); and all Bills referred to a Grand Committee and reported to the House were to be proceeded with as if reported by a Committee of the whole House. Mr. Gladstone, in advocating the trial of an experiment which was to be limited to one session, pointed out that in the proposed division of labour the special experience and qualifications of members could be utilised, and the work of legislation more effectually advanced than by the use of the most repressive Rules. With the passing of these New Rules, the business for which Parliament had been kept in session came to an end; but, in spite of the firm hand with which the course of business had been arranged, it had not been possible to prevent discussion on one or two other topics. Foremost among these was the working of the Irish Land Act, for which Mr. Parnell obtained a night by putting in operation the power given to a Member under the Second Rule to bring forward a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by forty others rising in

their place. On the occasion referred to more than 100 members from different parts of the House rose. The ground upon which Mr. Parnell made his demand was the practical (though not total) failure of the Land Act, owing to the limited period of grace allowed to the tenant for the payment of the rent for 1884. In the absence, moreover, of any decision as to the "hanging gale" clause the exact amount due could not be ascertained; whilst it was an absurdity to saddle with payment of legal expenses a tenant who was proved to be unable to pay his rent. Costs of this kind were a legitimate charge upon the Church Fund, as would also be the arrears which a tenant was unable to pay. The general scope of Mr. Parnell's criticism was strengthened by the particular points and isolated cases brought forward by various Irish members. The process of the Land Courts was very slow, for in the first year only 17,000 cases under the Land Act were disposed of, whilst 62,000 remained to be dealt with. Had it not been for the voluntary agreements between landlord and tenants, the block of business would have been still greater. With the Arrears Act it was still worse, for out of the 2,000,000*l.* which had been estimated as necessary to put the Act in full operation, scarcely 200,000*l.* had been applied for. The general points of dissatisfaction were that the Healey clauses were not carried out, and that the farmers were consequently losing thousands a week; that the Bright clauses did not work; that unfair leases were not declared void; that reductions of rent should date from the passing of the Act; and that costs should be given where rack-renting was proved. The defence of the Government was left to Mr. Trevelyan, who said that the fears expressed by the Irish members as to the failure of the Arrears Act were not shared by the Government or the Land Commissioners. As the next six days and the next six weeks were critical, it was important that the Irish tenants should understand clearly that whatever arrangements were necessary to bring them within the Act must be made within the periods specified. As to costs, he said that Mr. Parnell's proposal would give the Irish tenant more than he had a right to anticipate; and on the matter of evictions, he pointed out that by the Land Act and the Arrears Act a most powerful machinery to check them had been set up, as was shown by their gradual decrease during the last few months. With regard to the distress, they had come to the conclusion that relief by public works was an extravagant and demoralising system, and they would sanction no public works for the relief of distress which would not otherwise be undertaken. But he was able to give the most positive assurance that the people would not be allowed to starve.

With the final adoption of the New Rules the business of the Autumn Session, which had lasted six weeks, came of a sudden to an end; as much from physical exhaustion of some of the leading statesmen on both sides, as from a sense that in Egypt, Ireland,

and on the Continent of Europe many delicate matters were under discussion which were better left to the Executive. The strain of work after so short an intermission as that allowed found its first victim in Mr. Childers, on whom the responsibility of the military expedition to Egypt had fallen; Sir Stafford Northcote was the next to follow, leaving the leadership of the Opposition in commission between Lord John Manners and Sir R. Cross, who acquitted themselves of a somewhat troublous task with tact and success, obtaining from the Government some important concessions in the later Rules of Procedure. Mr. Fawcett's sudden and severe illness, though not actually traceable to his work in Parliament, aroused throughout the country a display of sympathy which was not forgotten when it became known that Mr. Gladstone himself had broken down under pressure of work and responsibility.

Before, however, this untoward outcome of the Autumn Session became known, he had succeeded in making a fresh distribution of the seats in the Cabinet, whereby the losses of the year were made good, and the burden of business more evenly distributed. The Marquess of Hartington replaced Mr. Childers at the War Office, the latter taking the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, hitherto held by Mr. Gladstone in conjunction with the place of First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Childers's acquaintance with finance and his long training at the Treasury and in Parliament had pointed him out as Mr. Gladstone's successor, if Mr. Goschen's views on the County Franchise still rendered his entry into the Cabinet impossible; and Lord Hartington's previous service at the War Office made the prospect of the work to be done there less formidable than it would have appeared to any other Cabinet Minister, Lord Northbrook alone excepted. The successor selected for Lord Hartington took the public by surprise, as it had been assumed that Lord Derby, whose entire adhesion to the Liberal party had been announced by himself, would have willingly returned to a department of which in a sense he was the original designer. This profession of faith was made by Lord Derby to the Manchester Liberal Club (December 13); and whilst cordially adopting the general principles of Liberalism, he enunciated opinions which were taken as the conditions upon which he joined Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. He maintained that we had no business to remain in Egypt a day longer than necessary to restore order. He would have nothing to say to a protectorate which was only annexation in disguise; and he protested most strongly against any line of policy which should break up the good understanding between France and England. In Ireland he trusted that the Cabinet would abstain from encouraging fresh and large measures of legislation in regard to the land question; and whilst looking to good results from a peasant proprietary, he believed that good results would be obtained by spending some millions in promoting emigration. In England he wished to see County Boards established, the government of London reformed, and the Corrupt

Practices Bill passed, the Bankruptcy and Patent Laws amended, and a Codification of the Criminal Law. A few days subsequent to this speech Lord Derby entered the Cabinet as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Kimberley being transferred to the India Office. In his former post Lord Kimberley had not generally given satisfaction either to his own party or to his opponents, though the latter were not altogether displeased at seeing him carry on at the Cape the policy which had been inaugurated by Sir M. Hicks-Beach. It was with difficulty believed, however, that this was Mr. Gladstone's sole reason for transferring Lord Kimberley to the India Office, where the two delicate questions of Bengal land tenure and the opium traffic needed a more skilful handling than the latter had displayed in critical moments. It was therefore assumed, though without reason or evidence, that Lord Derby's views on Egypt not being altogether endorsed by the other members of the Cabinet, it was necessary to find for him a post where their practical application would not be called for. A far more important change was the promotion of Sir Charles Dilke to a seat in the Cabinet as President of the Local Government Board, vacated by Mr. Dodson, who succeeded to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, left *en disponibilité* since Mr. Bright's retirement in July. It was rumoured that Sir Charles Dilke's appointment was not accepted without considerable reluctance, and that it required a display of great firmness on the part of the Prime Minister to carry into effect the expressed wishes of a large section of his supporters. Sir Charles Dilke's career as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs had been a conspicuous success; and not only the Radical party, of which he was one of the leaders, but the whole House of Commons bore testimony to his tact no less than to his capacity for business. The presence, moreover, of two Radicals in the Cabinet was but a tardy recognition of the support given by that section of the Liberals to Mr. Gladstone's Government, and any further delay in admitting their claims might have brought about a serious breach in the existing arrangements.

Three contested elections towards the close of the year were rather noteworthy as showing the power of local interests than as serving as a guide to political feeling. At Salisbury, a small cathedral city, the sitting member, Mr. Grenfell, having accepted a post at Court, failed to secure re-election; his place being taken by Mr. Kennard, a local Conservative, who for a long time had been watching his opportunity to avenge his defeat in 1880. The difference between the two candidates was just over a hundred votes; and, as seems generally to happen in constituencies of this nature, a bribery petition ensued. At Cambridge University the retirement of Mr. Spencer H. Walpole, who had been its representative since 1856, gave the resident Liberals an opportunity of finding how hopeless was their chance against the proxies of the non-resident graduates. Professor Stuart, who presented himself as

the champion of the minority, was supported by credentials which should have commended him to those interested in University reform and distinction; but he was beaten by nearly three to one (3,491 to 1,301) by Mr. H. Cecil Raikes, a very strong Tory, who had lost his seat at Chester at the General Election, and had found a temporary resting-place at Preston after the death of Sir John Holker. The contest at Liverpool was of far greater interest, not only as showing the changes of opinion which had been going on in the second largest city of the kingdom, but as bringing into notice a new development of Conservatism. Mr. S. Smith, the Liberal candidate, expressed himself very distinctly against Home Rule, and declared that he desired for England social rather than political reforms. In other points his political programme was of a mild and practical type, whilst he announced himself as a thorough supporter of Mr. Gladstone's Irish and foreign policy. His opponent, Mr. Forwood, also a local candidate of great weight, announced himself a "Tory Democrat," prepared to vote for Household Suffrage in the counties and a wide redistribution of power, and ready to support popular demands for reforms of all kinds. The result of the election gave Mr. Smith 18,198, against 17,889 polled for his opponent, showing a strong revulsion of opinion since the defeat of Mr. Plimsoll a few months previously; but at that time Lord Derby had not so openly thrown in his lot with the Liberal party.

With reference to the affairs of Egypt, the Government were able before the year closed to point to a very definite step towards the solution of the difficulties which had faced them on the collapse of Arabi's rebellion. From all quarters they had urged upon them the danger of reconstituting the Dual Control; and its abolition would probably have been easier had not our troops become the sole guarantee of order in Egypt, and their immediate withdrawal opposed by the Khedive. The alternative, therefore, lay between ignoring France altogether in the settlement of the government of Egypt, or of resuming with her the Control system which had existed down to the middle of the year. In coming to a conclusion it was impossible for Lord Granville to ignore both the feeling of this country and the inclination of the Khedive, who, whether or not a passive instrument in the hands of Lord Dufferin, made his objections to a renewal of the Anglo-French Control very plain. The first step taken by Lord Granville had been to instruct Sir Auckland Colvin to resign his post of Joint Controller, and thus by an indirect act to break up the joint arrangement. So long as military operations were going on and the country in disorder, the need of the Controllers was scarcely felt, but no sooner had peace been restored than the Khedive became anxious for the return of Sir A. Colvin, without however apparently wishing for that of his French colleague. The *amour propre* of the French Foreign Office was naturally aroused by this undisguised preference for British advice, and drew from M. Duclerc a protest against the attempt of Lord Granville

to abolish the Joint Control by indirect means, whilst establishing the right of sole influence in the Egyptian affairs, but that he was ready to agree to the abolition of the Control when proved desirable. To this Lord Granville replied (October 22) that he was ready to adopt this course forthwith, and suggested that the Khedive should appoint a single European financial adviser, with functions of a far more limited character than had been exercised by the Controllers. The offer of this post to a French official was not accepted, and ultimately Sir Auckland Colvin accepted the post of Chief Financial Adviser to the Khedive. Of no less importance was the scheme for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, put forward by Lord Granville as a further instalment of the settlement of the Egyptian question. By this arrangement it was proposed that the Canal should be open to the ships, armed as well as merchant, of all countries at all times, and that, as on the arm of a sea, no special privileges beyond those of the three miles' limit should be accorded to the ships of one Power to the exclusion of another. All belligerent operations within the Canal would be prohibited by convention. As regarded the internal affairs of Egypt, the establishment of a gendarmerie under the command of a European officer, who at first would be an Englishman, would guarantee order. This commandant of the gendarmerie, or by whatever title he would be recognised, would be appointed by the Khedive; and by this means all appearance of imposing upon the Egyptian Government a tutelage it resented would, it was hoped, be avoided. Various other matters dealing with the administration of justice, such as the temporary suspension of the mixed tribunals, were also touched upon, not in the tone of argument or even of apology, but as the results at which the English Cabinet had arrived after long and anxious deliberation. The programme thus laid down was to be the starting-point of English foreign policy in the succeeding year.

CHAPTER IX.

Ireland—Captain Moonlight—The Murder in Connemara—Suppression of the Land League—State of the Country—National Newspapers—Change of Policy—The Dublin Murders—National Exhibition—Mr. Gray's Imprisonment—Disensions among the Nationalists.

THE year 1882 opened if possible more gloomily in Ireland than its predecessor had done. Though the Land League was suppressed, though its chief leaders were in prison, the condition of the country was worse than ever, and seemed to become more and more hopelessly disorganised day by day. Undoubtedly the imprisonment of Members of Parliament like Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Kelly had succeeded in breaking the power of the Land

League, but it had done little or nothing towards restoring the country to quiet. The members of the many secret societies that abound in Ireland had found their favourite forms of action terribly restrained by the more open agitation established and carried on by the Land League. Now that there was no longer a Land League, the secret societies had it all their own way, and outrages of various kinds multiplied alarmingly in all parts of the island where the influence of these occult bodies extended. A new and dangerous organisation, headed by a mysterious individual known as “Captain Moonlight,” distinguished itself for midnight maraudings, farm burnings, mutilations of cattle, and similar crimes.

At last the police arrested a man named Connell, who seems to have been drifting about among the Cork hills and the Killarney mountains, dressed in a sort of military costume, and levying a kind of black-mail upon the peasantry. Papers were found on the man, orders for shooting and clipping and the like, all signed “Captain Moonlight,” which seemed to show that he was no other than Captain Moonlight himself. Captain Moonlight to save himself promptly turned informer, gave evidence which led to a great many arrests, and then disappeared and was heard of no more.

But the arrest of Captain Moonlight did not necessarily mean the stoppage of Moonlighting; nor the cessation of outrages, nor, unfortunately, of incessant rumours and stories of outrages of the most exaggerated kind. Archbishop Croke, the leader of what may be called the National majority among the priesthood, declared that a large number of outrages were invented or grossly exaggerated for the mere purpose of inflaming public feeling and injuring the Land League. Archbishop Croke, though a Nationalist, was by no means an extreme man. He had never failed to denounce wild action of any kind; had always used his influence for the preservation of peace and order. His opinion, therefore, was well worthy of serious consideration, and it must be admitted that while the condition of Ireland was bad enough, rumours and exaggerations of all sorts were in circulation, with and without intent, which made it appear a good deal worse than it really was.

Arms were frequently seized by the police, and the authorities were convinced that the importation of weapons into Ireland was being successfully carried on on a very large scale. The two most serious crimes that marked the beginning of the year were the murder of two bailiffs in Connemara and the shooting of an informer in Dublin. The first of these murders occurred in January, when two of Lord Ardilaun’s bailiffs, an old man and his grandson named Huddy, were sent to collect rents in a part of Connemara known as Joyce’s country, from the fact that through constant intermarriages all, or almost all, the peasants of the district bear the name of Joyce. Into the Joyce country they went, and in the Joyce country they disappeared; search was instituted, the waters of Lough Mask were dragged, and the bodies of the Huddys found. They had evidently been shot, and then tied up in sacks with stones

and flung into the Lough. For many months no clue to the murderers was obtained, and it was not until the end of the year, at the time of another terrible crime in the Joyce country, that the murderers of the Huddys were discovered.

Late in February an informer named Bernard Bailey was shot dead in Skipper's Alley, Dublin, at a time when the place was crowded with people, when the lamps were lighting, and policemen on duty in the immediate neighbourhood. But the assassins were not discovered, and the offer of a reward of 500*l.* failed to elicit any information. Bernard Bailey was a labourer who was supposed to have given information which led to an extensive seizure of arms by the police in Brabazon and Cross Kevin Street in the preceding December. He had received several threatening letters, and had, it is said, lived for some time entirely in the police barracks, which he left to go into the workhouse. On Saturday, February 25, he went out into the street, and was immediately killed.

Towards the end of 1881 a proposal had been brought before the Corporation of the city of Dublin by Mr. Charles Dawson, M.P., that the freedom of the city should be conferred on Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon, then in Kilmainham Prison. The question was fiercely contested, and Mr. Dawson's proposal was finally defeated by the casting vote of the Lord Mayor, Dr. Moyers. The New Year, however, gave Dublin a new Lord Mayor in the person of Mr. Dawson himself, and the question at once came up again. Dr. Moyers was punished for his casting vote by being refused by a large majority the usual vote of thanks accorded to a retiring Lord Mayor. Then the proposal to give the freedom of the city to Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon was brought forward by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., and, in spite of an opposing amendment by Mr. Brookes, M.P., on the ground that to do so would be to support the No Rent manifesto, was carried by a majority of 29 to 23. The defeated members of the Corporation talked of further resistance—even hinted that as Messrs. Dillon and Parnell were not burgesses they could not legally receive the freedom of the city; but on having it pointed out to them that this argument would, if successful, necessitate the removal of the names of Mr. Gladstone, of President Grant, and other distinguished persons who were not burgesses from the roll, they forebore to press the point, which indeed it seems had in reality little to support it. The Corporation, or rather the Parnellite majority in the Corporation, asked the Lord-Lieutenant to allow Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon to attend at the City Hall to receive the freedom of the city, but the request was of course refused.

Though the Land League was suppressed, the Ladies' Land League declined to admit defeat. Women had played a great part in history before, had marched to Versailles at the heels of shift Usher Maillard, had disarmed military opposition, had conquered a king. Would the Irish constabulary be more ungallant than those Gardes Françaises? would a Lord Lieutenant

be more difficult to manage than a Louis Capet? Such, or similar thoughts, may be supposed to have animated the minds of the Lady Land Leaguers when they announced that, in despite of all proclamations and prohibitions, they would hold their meetings all over the country on New Year's Day; would meet Mr. Forster at Philippi. Miss Parnell came over from England to preside at the meeting in the League Rooms in Sackville Street, Dublin, at which there were many wild speeches made, and allusions to the uncrowned King of Ireland. Similar meetings took place on the same day in every part of Ireland where a Ladies' Land League had a branch organisation to raise its head. One or two Lady Land Leaguers were arrested in consequence here and there, but practically the Government thought it wisest to ignore the existence of the Ladies' Land League rather than extinguish it by any violent suppression. So the Ladies' Land League lingered on throughout the year until it was finally abolished by the National leaders, Messrs. Parnell and Dillon, whom, if report were at all well-founded, the Lady Land Leaguers regarded with very little favour in the end, as temporizing and half-hearted politicians.

Mr. Forster, of course, was more unpopular than ever. Threatening letters snowed on him; one at least was more than threatening, and might have exploded had not aroused suspicion taken proper precautions. Yet for all his unpopularity he was able to make a journey of inspection into county Clare, then much disturbed, to go about among the people unescorted, and make earnest well-meaning appeals to them, which were well enough received, to support the Executive in carrying out the law. It is to be regretted that Mr. Forster had not acted more in this manner from the beginning. Like most of his acts since he took the office of Chief Secretary, it was done too late. The Executive, as advised by Mr. Forster, always used the means at its disposal, whether of coercion or of conciliation, just too late for either to be of effective service. It was no use for Mr. Forster now to go among the disturbed districts and make sensible speeches; the mischief had been done, and was not now to be mended by any efforts of his.

Meanwhile the popularity of the men in prison only increased. Dublin had given them the freedom of her city, and other Irish cities were not slow to follow her example. Cork conferred its freedom on Mr. Dillon; freedoms came in to the Kilmainham prisoners from all directions. Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon could exercise all the privileges of freemen in an embarrassing variety of places when once they came out of Kilmainham. But when this coming out of Kilmainham was to take place no man could say.

A curious bye-election served to show that the Land League and its leaders were not losing popularity in the country. Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Member of Parliament for Meath, felt himself compelled for his health's sake to resign his seat in the early part of the year. The name of Mr. Michael Davitt was at once brought

forward, and the founder of the Land League was elected without opposition. He was not, of course, allowed to take his seat. The Solicitor-General showed that as Mr. Davitt was a convicted felon working out his sentence in Portland Prison at the time of the election, he was by that fact disqualified, as O'Donovan Rossa in 1870 and John Mitchel in 1875 were disqualified. A new Land League candidate was immediately proposed—Mr. Sheil, formerly Member for Athlone—and was returned without opposition.

On April 2 a terrible murder took place. Mr. Smythe, a large landowner in Westmeath, had become very unpopular with his tenants, and his life had been for some time threatened. On April 2 he was returning from church in a carriage with his sister-in-law, Mrs. Henry Smythe, and Lady Harriet Monck, when he was fired at by three men with blackened faces, who made no attempt to conceal themselves, and who successfully escaped. The shots missed Mr. Smythe, but struck his sister-in-law in the head, killing her instantly. The circumstances of this murder were exceptionally ghastly, for it had always hitherto been maintained that, no matter how unpopular a landlord might be, he was always safe so long as he was in the company of a woman, and threatened landlords often lived long by availing themselves of so simple a precaution. Mr. Smythe wrote a very bitter letter to Mr. Gladstone, laying the guilt of the blood upon him and his Ministry. Mr. Gladstone replied in a singularly temperate letter, expressing his profound regret and sympathy, and kindly ignoring the wild personal charge made against himself. Mr. Smythe then addressed an indignant circular to his tenants, accusing them all of complicity in the murder directly or indirectly, and telling them that in future the rents were to be paid to a non-resident agent "who can make no future allowances, nor do anything on the property not strictly required by law."

The fear of assassination led many persons to take careful measures to protect themselves. Of all these, perhaps the most characteristic and complete was that of Major Traill, R.M., who in a letter to the *Daily Express* gave a curious picture of his daily life. He always went about with a guard of two policemen, one armed with a Winchester rifle, carrying twelve rounds ready and fifteen extra rounds in pouch, the other armed with a double-barrelled gun loaded with buckshot and eight extra rounds; he himself carried a revolver and six spare rounds, and his groom carried a revolver and five spare rounds. At no moment of the twenty-four hours was a revolver out of reach of his hand, and his wife had a revolver too, and knew how to use it. Being thus guarded against any attempts at assassination, Major Traill dryly concluded, "The man who attempts my life and lives to be tried by a jury is entitled to their merciful consideration as a brave man."

But if Major Traill was perfectly justified in taking all possible precautions to defend his life or sell it as dearly as might be,

there was no such justification for an extraordinary circular which Major Clifford Lloyd thought fit to issue later in the year. In this document the police were told that if they should "accidentally commit an error in shooting any person on suspicion of that person being about to commit murder," the production of the circular would exonerate them. Of course such a document, which practically authorised any policeman to shoot on sight anyone whom he fancied might possibly be going to commit murder, could not be tolerated by the Executive. Even allowing to the constabulary the best intentions, it is easy to see that in troublous and excited times harmless persons—beggars by the roadside, labourers in the field, belated wayfarers, anybody at all—might have been shot down by an excitable constable with a revolver in his hand and such a circular in his pocket. Between this and any amount of such precautions as Major Traill and others like him were taking there was all the difference in the world, and the circular had to be withdrawn.

Early in the year a very remarkable publication was made under the official authority of the Irish Land Commission. This was the reprint of a series of articles which had appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* under the title of "How to Become Owner of your own Farm: why Irish Landlords should Sell and Irish Tenants should Purchase, and how they can do it under the Land Act of 1881." Those who thought this heading rather remarkable for a work issued with the authority of the Government-appointed Commission, found much more cause for wonder on reading the pamphlet itself. There they found a vigorous and able exposition of the principles of peasant proprietorship, interspersed with enthusiastic commendation of the Land League as "the most widespread, the most powerful, and in its effects, we believe, the most enduring organisation of our time," and allusions to the cause for which "Parnell and Dillon and Davitt laboured and suffered." Naturally such a pamphlet, issued with official authorisation, and at a time when the Land League was suppressed as illegal, and Parnell, Dillon, and Davitt were in prison, created no small excitement in Ireland. An inquiry was immediately instituted; the pamphlet was found to be written by Mr. George Fottrell, an able and rising Dublin solicitor, who had been appointed secretary to the Irish Land Commission. Mr. Fottrell, while defending the pamphlet as well calculated to advance the cause of peasant proprietorship which the Commission had at heart, immediately resigned his secretaryship, and the pamphlet was withdrawn from official circulation at once.

The Government had great difficulty in dealing with the chief of the Land League journals, *United Ireland*, and with the large introduction into Ireland of the *New York Irish World*, a journal of the fiercest and most pronounced opinions. *United Ireland* was suppressed, and was being seized incessantly, but it continually made its appearance in some form or other. Sometimes it was

printed in Dublin under conditions of great difficulty, and sold or rather smuggled about; then it was printed in Paris and exported to Dublin, where it was generally seized on arrival; then again it was taken over to Liverpool to be set up, and introduced from there surreptitiously into Ireland. All the activity of the police could not prevent the circulation of the paper in some form or another. Week after week it kept on appearing, encouraging the agitation to continue, and assailing the Government in unmeasured prose and in vigorous cartoons. The *Irish World* was a much wilder and more dangerous journal than *United Ireland*, and the copies sent to Ireland by post were generally seized by the English postal authorities, to the great indignation of the staff of the *Irish World*, who inquired indignantly, "Is a thick-headed, shock-haired, leaden-hearted old reprobate like Forster going to succeed in keeping out the light, or are we to see America triumphant and defeating this hirsute Forster?" In one sense America, as represented by the *Irish World*, was triumphant, for with all the zeal and watchfulness of the Government it could not prevent the frequent introduction of the journal into Ireland.

Early in April the rumour suddenly ran through Ireland that Mr. Parnell had been released from Kilmainham. The greatest joy was expressed at the news, and bonfires blazed in every village in the three provinces; but the excitement was allayed by the later information that Mr. Parnell had indeed been released, but only on parole for a few days, in order that he might go to Paris to attend the funeral of a relative. The terms of Mr. Parnell's parole engaged him not to take any part in political matters or demonstrations of any kind, and it is needless to add that the conditions were absolutely observed. Mr. Parnell did not return to his prison quite as soon as was expected, and the absurd scare got possession of some minds in Dublin that the Land League leader did not mean to come back at all. Such baseless apprehensions were, however, promptly dissipated by Mr. Parnell's return to Kilmainham on April 24.

This temporary liberation was but the herald of freedom for the imprisoned Land Leaguers. For some time, indeed, the Government had been greatly embarrassed by the necessity for keeping Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Kelly in prison. The hoped-for reformation in the country which that imprisonment was to effect had not taken place; on the contrary, the country was evidently getting more and more hopelessly disorganised; and, at the same time, the responsibility of keeping so many men imprisoned merely as "suspect" increased daily. Many offers were made to the three leaders in Kilmainham of liberation on condition of their leaving the country, or even of going across to France for a short time, and returning to Ireland when they pleased. The imprisoned Members declined all conditions of the kind. In the meantime, ever since the temporary release of Mr. Parnell, many-tongued rumours had been circulating in Dublin. It was whispered

that Mr. Dillon was to be released. The statement was denied, was whispered abroad again, and again denied. It was clear that some curious political event was going to happen, but few outside the Government circle were prepared for the startling character that the event was to wear. On May 2 Ireland was electrified by the news that Mr. Forster and Lord Cowper had resigned; that Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Kelly were to be immediately released unconditionally; nay more, that Michael Davitt was once more to become a free man, and that the Government had undertaken to bring in an Arrears Bill on the lines of a measure drafted by Mr. Parnell himself.

What was the cause of this strange Ministerial change of front? This was the question everyone set himself to ask and answer to the best of his ability during the days immediately following the amazing news. The Government explanation itself was, one might well think, sufficiently clear and reasonable to satisfy curiosity without any further gropings for hidden motives and secret reasons. Mr. Gladstone and his Ministry had imprisoned certain men at a certain time because he believed that it was for the good of both countries that he should do so. The condition of the country since had led him to the conclusion that the ends he had in view for the pacification of Ireland and the settlement of the Irish question would be further advanced by releasing the imprisoned members. Mr. Gladstone had been conspicuous, all through his political career, for his readiness to recognise when he had made an error and his willingness to sacrifice those personal feelings of pride which have so often led Ministers to pursue an unlucky course, simply because they had begun and were too proud to draw back. But so simple an explanation would not satisfy the wiseacres who always know more of Ministerial purposes than the Ministers themselves, and an imaginary "Kilmainham Treaty" was at once invented, in which it was supposed that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell had made many mutual pledges to assist and countenance each other, and that the liberation of the prisoners was the fulfilment of the first article of the convention. Nothing in the subsequent history of the year showed anything to justify the assumption of the existence of any such negotiations, even were the repeated denials of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell not to be considered sufficiently conclusive.

Mr. Forster, however, was entirely opposed to Mr. Gladstone's new policy. Having entered on one particular line of action, he was for following it up to the end, regardless of consequences; and he refused to be any party to the new arrangement. He resigned, and Lord Cowper resigned with him. Lord Spencer was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, and Lord Frederick Cavendish, second son of the Duke of Devonshire and brother of Lord Hartington, was appointed Chief Secretary in Mr. Forster's stead.

For the first time since Mr. Gladstone's Ministry took office

there seemed to be a cordial understanding between the Government and the Irish party. Each side seemed to have awakened to the fact that its opponents were honest and honourable men, really trying to do their best, and that the welfare of Ireland was the real desire of each. If such an understanding could have been arrived at earlier, the history of the past two years might have been very different; but the impartial observer is compelled to admit that on both sides—on the part of the Ministry as well as on the part of Mr. Parnell and his followers—there was a fretful impatience, an ostentatious incredulity as to the good intentions of the other, which widened day by day the breach between the great Liberal majority and the small Irish minority. Now, however, all this seemed to be at an end; the unhappy quarrel seemed concluded. The Government appeared to accept the fact that it was impossible to govern Ireland without taking into account some of Ireland's ideas as expressed by her representatives. Ireland appeared well pleased to admit that the Liberal party were as sincerely anxious to benefit the country now as they had often done before. All over Ireland there was a feeling of joy that the time of trouble had passed away; that misunderstandings had ceased; that the new era had begun at last. Indeed, it seemed like a new era. The imprisoned leaders were released, were actually consulted by the Government; the Chief Secretary who, with the best intentions, had succeeded in making himself as unpopular as Castlereagh, was out of office; the reign of coercion was to cease, and new and much-desired legislation was to be undertaken immediately. It would be difficult to over-estimate the good effect that the change produced in Ireland. But, unfortunately, there were in the country men to whom reconciliation was hateful, who hated the constitutional agitation with all their hearts, and who dreaded nothing so much as its triumph. During the suppression of the Land League, the secret societies which fostered such feelings had grown and thriven. While the Land League was in existence their influence had dwindled away; the moment the power of the Land League was destroyed the secret societies again asserted themselves and their dangerous methods. So much to explain the catastrophe which suddenly destroyed so many bright hopes of peace and reconciliation between the two countries.

On Saturday, May 6, Lord Frederick Cavendish arrived in Dublin to be present at the entry of the new Viceroy, Lord Spencer. When the ceremony was over he took a car to drive to the Viceregal Lodge in the Phoenix Park. On the way he passed Mr. Burke, a well-known Castle official of many years' standing. Lord Frederick Cavendish got off the car, dismissed it, and walked with Mr. Burke through the Phoenix Park. It was a bright summer evening, between seven and eight; scarcely less light than at noonday. There were many people in the Park. Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were walking along the principal road—a

wide highway for walking and driving, with flat grassy stretches at each side, and trees here and there. It seems almost incredible that in such a place, a park full of people, and at such a time—the clear bright evening of a summer day—two men could have been suddenly set upon by armed assassins, and literally been cut to pieces without anyone noticing what was going on, and without any opposition being offered to the escape of the murderers; yet that is precisely what did happen. Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke had got to within a few yards of the Phoenix monument; they were within sight of the windows of the Viceregal Lodge, which lay at their right a few hundred yards away. Some boys on bicycles who passed them were the last to see them alive. The bicyclists drove round the Phoenix monument, passed a cart with some four men on it driving rapidly away, and came back to find Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke lying on the ground dead, and covered with wounds. When the alarm was given, the bodies were soon recognised, but all trace of the assassins had disappeared, and such efforts as were made in the excitement of the hour to track them down were futile. It soon transpired that several persons were witnesses of the ghastly murder who had no idea what they were witnessing. One man, who was walking with his dogs at some little distance off, saw what he believed to be a group of roughs struggling together in the road; he saw a couple of men fall and some others drive away without any feeling of surprise; nor had he, until he arrived at the spot where the dead bodies were lying, the slightest idea that he had been looking at one of the most horrible tragedies on record. It is even more painful to know that from the windows of the Viceregal Lodge Lord Spencer himself was looking out of the windows, and saw with unconcerned eyes the scuffle on the road some hundred yards away, little thinking that what seemed to be the horseplay of half a dozen roughs was in reality the murder of two of his colleagues.

The effect that the news produced in Ireland and in England was one of universal horror. The leaders of the National party, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Davitt, at once issued an address to the Irish people and to the world, expressing their horror and despair at the shameful crime which had brought disgrace upon their country. The manifesto concluded, “We feel that no act has ever been perpetrated in our country during the exciting struggles for social and political rights of the past fifty years that has so stained the name of hospitable Ireland as this cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger, and that until the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke are brought to justice, that stain will sully our country’s name.”

The feelings expressed in this manifesto were generally shared in Ireland. In Cork, a meeting, chiefly composed of Nationalists and Land Leaguers, passed unanimously the following resolution:—“That this meeting of the citizens of Cork, spontaneously assembled, hastens to express the feelings of indignation and sorrow with

which it has learned of the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. T. H. Burke last night; to denounce it as a crime that calls to Heaven for vengeance; to repudiate its authors, whoever they may be, with disgust and abhorrence, as men with whom the Irish nation has no community of feeling; and to convey our condolence with the families of the murdered."

Similar resolutions were passed in all parts of Ireland, and the sincerest regret and horror appeared to prevail all over the country. But the murderers could not be found, and up to the present time no trace whatever of them has been discovered. During the weeks immediately following the murder the police made many arrests, but in no cases were they able to establish any evidence of guilt in the prisoners. Later in the year a man named Westgate gave himself up in a South American port as one of the murderers, and was brought to Ireland to be examined; but it was soon found that his confession was false, it being clearly proved that he had sailed from Ireland some days before the murder had been committed.

Mr. G. O. Trevelyan was appointed as the new Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Government immediately passed an exceptionally stringent and severe Crimes Act, of which the particulars are elsewhere detailed.

Whatever the value of some of the powers conferred by the Bill might be, the need of something even stronger than "curfew-clause" legislation was given in June by two terrible murders which were committed long before sunset. On June 8, Mr. Walter Bourke and his military escort were shot at from behind a loop-holed wall near Gort, and both killed. On the 29th of the month Mr. John Henry Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, and Mr. Keene, his steward, were shot also from behind a loop-holed wall, near Lough Rea, and both killed. In neither case was any clue to the assassins discoverable.

The 15th of August was the occasion of a great national celebration in Dublin. On that day the great statue of O'Connell, cast from designs by Foley, which had been set up in the end of Sackville Street opposite the O'Connell—formerly Carlisle—Bridge, was to be unveiled. On the same day the Exhibition of Irish Arts and Manufactures was to be opened. The history of this Exhibition was somewhat curious. Towards the end of 1881 the scheme of an exhibition of Irish manufactures in Dublin was proposed by some of the leading Dublin citizens, amongst whom Mr. Dawson, M.P., the Lord Mayor elect, and other Irish members were conspicuous. These gentlemen had determined that the Exhibition should be entirely of a national character, and though they would undoubtedly have received Government assistance for their scheme, they chose to trust to their own exertions to carry the thing through, and they gave considerable offence in many quarters by their refusal to solicit or accept either Castle or Royal patronage for their undertaking. It was confidently predicted that an Exhibition got up under these conditions must of necessity be a

disastrous failure. Nothing of the kind had practically been done without Castle countenance ever since there was a Castle, and the experiment was condemned in many quarters before it was attempted. But the founders of the scheme were not to be daunted. Headed by Mr. Dawson, they certainly worked hard for the success of their project, and by August 15 the Exhibition, which was entirely the work of the National party, was actually ready.

The Exhibition, which was erected at the back of the Rotunda, was a really very pretty building of glass and iron, and it contained a display of Irish art and manufactures which was highly creditable to the artistic and industrial efforts and resources of the country. There was some fear that the day of the celebration would be disturbed by some fierce outbreak in Dublin, in consequence of the numbers of persons who would come into the city from the surrounding country. Great praise is due to Mr. Trevelyan and the authorities, who, while taking every precaution to be in readiness in case of any outbreak, made no display whatever of military or constabulary force. In Sackville Street, where the chief events of the day were to take place, there were no policemen visible; the town was apparently left in the trust and charge of the people themselves, and the result fully justified the wise action of the authorities. All the day the most perfect order was maintained everywhere. No rioting or unseemly displays of any kind occurred. The great procession, some miles in length, of Dublin guilds and trades, headed by the popular members of Parliament, went its appointed course from Stephen's Green through the city and down Sackville Street to the foot of the veiled statue of O'Connell, through streets densely filled by enthusiastic crowds no whit disheartened by an occasional rainfall, which indeed served only to heighten the national character of the proceedings. The statue was unveiled; the Exhibition was opened and was immediately crowded with curious visitors, and the whole day passed off without leaving any unpleasant memory of any kind behind it.

The next day the long-deferred freedom of the city of Dublin was conferred upon Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon in the City Hall. Some considerable excitement was caused during the ceremony by the arrival of the news that Mr. E. D. Gray, M.P., the owner of the *Freeman's Journal* and High Sheriff of Dublin, had just been committed to prison by Justice Lawson for contempt of court. A man named Francis Hynes had been tried for a murder and condemned to death. A letter was published in the *Freeman's Journal* by Mr. O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, declaring that on the night before the finding of the verdict the jury, who were in the Imperial Hotel where Mr. O'Brien was stopping, had behaved in a very noisy manner under the influence of drink. The *Freeman* published an article on this letter written by Mr. Gray, and commenting very severely upon the conduct of the jury. Mr. Gray was accordingly summoned before Mr. Justice Lawson for

contempt of court, and was condemned to three months' imprisonment, to pay a fine of 500*l.*, and at the expiration of his imprisonment to find bail for 5,000*l.* and two sureties in 2,500*l.* under penalty of a further imprisonment of three months. Mr. Gray went to prison. Many of the Irish members in Dublin immediately went back to London, where the Parliament was just drawing to a close, to make the case known there; a proclamation, signed by the Lord Mayor and Mr. Parnell, was posted in all parts of the town calling upon the people to make no disturbance in consequence of the arrest. A public subscription was immediately started to meet the fine, which was promptly paid off. To dispose of this matter at once, we may say that Mr. Gray was kept in prison for a couple of months, and then released by Mr. Justice Lawson. The whole matter was afterwards made the subject of an inquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons, which, however, decided to take no action in the matter, on the ground that Judge Lawson was within his rights and privilege in what he had done.

On August 17 a terrible outrage took place in Maamtrasna, in the Joyce country, which was connected with the murder of the Huddys in the early part of the year. A party of disguised men entered the house of a family named Joyce, consisting of a man, his wife, mother, two sons, and a daughter, and massacred them all with the exception of one son, who was severely wounded. The murderers, however, had been seen and tracked by three farmers, who afterwards gave evidence which led to the arrest of the gang. The murderers had some reason to fear that the Joyce family knew of the murder of the two bailiffs whose bodies had been found in Lough Mask and might betray it, and they tried to prevent this by a wholesale massacre. Three of the murderers were convicted and condemned to death, and executed on December 15. Five others pleaded guilty and were condemned to death, but the death penalty was commuted by the Lord Lieutenant. The murderers of the Huddys, two men named Higgins and a man named Michael Flynn, were then discovered on the evidence of an informer, tried, and Flynn and one of the Higginses were sentenced to death.

During the greater part of August the Irish Executive was much embarrassed by what threatened to be and what in certain districts became an actual strike on the part of the Irish Constabulary. The Constabulary had been agitating for increased pay and some other reforms in the service. The Inspector-General of Constabulary unfortunately characterised the conduct of the men who had rendered the Government great service during two very trying years as "disloyal"—a word which roused the greatest indignation throughout the whole force, and which had to be apologised for later. The Viceroy made several promises of redress of grievances which quieted the agitation for a short time, but it soon broke out again, chiefly in Limerick and in Dublin. On September 1 there was an almost general strike of policemen in

Dublin. Special constables had to be hastily enrolled. For the time Dublin might almost have been called the City of Proclamations, for every wall bore placards—some from the Lord-Lieutenant calling upon loyal citizens to come and enroll themselves as special constables, some from the Lord Mayor, Mr. Dawson, M.P., entreating all citizens to keep order. In fact, during this period of the strike the Lord-Lieutenant and the Lord Mayor figured for a time as rival and hostile potentates. The Lord Mayor did not at all approve of the special constables enrolled by the Viceroy, and was anxious to organise a body of his own, and the Lord-Lieutenant objected strongly to any such step on the part of the Mayor. The timely surrender of the Constabulary and the return of the policemen to their duty put an end to a very unpleasant crisis. There was actual rioting on more than one day, and the military had to be called out to clear Sackville Street at the point of the bayonet.

The extreme Nationalists lost an old leader in August by the death of Mr. Charles Kickham. Mr. Charles Kickham was an author and a journalist who had taken part in the Fenian organisation of 1867, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude. After remaining three and a half years in Portland Prison he was released, but his health, which had always been delicate, was much weakened by his imprisonment, and for the remaining years of his life he took no part in Irish politics, but lived quietly outside Dublin, occasionally writing a little for some of the National papers. A large funeral procession was organised to do honour to his remains.

Some slight excitement was caused in the early part of September by the arrest of Mr. Henry George, the Correspondent of an American paper, and Mr. Joynes, an Assistant-Master at Eton, who were travelling together in Ireland. The arrest was a mere mistake, and the two gentlemen were at once released; but Mr. Joynes wrote an amusing account of the adventure to the *Times*, and afterwards published a little book upon the Irish question which led to disagreements between himself and the Head-Master of Eton, and to Mr. Joynes's retirement from his position of Assistant-Master.

On October 17 an Irish National Conference was held in the Ancient Concert Rooms, Dublin. The object of the Conference was to form an organisation which should unite into one body all sections of the Irish party, whether Nationalists, Land Leaguers, or Home Rulers. The new body was styled the Irish National League, and its programme was undoubtedly of the most comprehensive nature, for, in the words of Mr. Parnell, its objects were "National self-government, land law reform, local self-government, extension of the Parliamentary and Municipal franchises, and the development and encouragement of the labour and industrial interests of Ireland." This formation of the National League on the ruins of the old Land League recalled curiously enough the historical parallel of O'Connell's societies for the pro-

motion of Catholic Emancipation, which the Government was always suppressing and the Liberator always re-creating under a new name.

At first the new organisation seemed likely to cause some dissension among the National party. Mr. Michael Davitt was well known to hold very different views from those of Mr. Parnell on the land question. While Mr. Parnell for the time contented himself with making peasant proprietorship the basis of his demands, Mr. Davitt was an enthusiastic advocate of the nationalisation of the land, and he had a considerable following in the country. Mr. John Dillon, too, was supposed to be in favour of more advanced views than the leader of the Parliamentary party, and this impression was confirmed by the sudden announcement that Mr. Dillon intended to resign his seat in Parliament. The cause alleged was ill-health, and it was indeed well known that Mr. Dillon's physical condition was far from good, but it was immediately bruited abroad that there was a split in the National camp. A little later, however, Mr. Dillon was induced to withdraw his resignation at the request of Archbishop Croke, but he shortly after left the country to recruit his health in warmer climates. Mr. Davitt, though he still adhered to the principle of nationalisation of the land, and advocated it warmly on every platform where he spoke, offered no opposition to the new organisation, and for the time all appearance of disunion among the party was averted. But the threatened split proved a real split among the National Irish across the Atlantic. The *Irish World* and its followers not only espoused Mr. Davitt's theories, but fiercely attacked Mr. Parnell and the Parliamentary party, while most of the Land League branches throughout the States adhered to Mr. Parnell's policy.

The Corporation of Dublin were again conspicuous in November. One of the body proposed that the freedom of the city should be conferred on Sir Garnet Wolseley, in recognition of his distinguished services in the Egyptian campaign. This was strenuously opposed by the more extreme members of the Corporation, and a story was circulated to the effect that Sir Garnet Wolseley had expressed a wish for a rising of "the Paddies," that he might get a chance of putting them down. As the story, though improbable, found many believers, some friends of Sir Garnet Wolseley thought it worth while to write to him, asking if there was any truth in the tale. Sir Garnet Wolseley at once replied that there was no truth in it, and added, "I trust I may not live to see civil war in any part of Her Majesty's dominions; but should such a calamity ever befall us as a nation, I hope I may not have anything to do with it. Although I am not any politician, no Irishman could wish to see Ireland loyal, peaceful, contented, and prosperous, more than I do." In view, however, of the strong feeling manifested, the proposal to confer the freedom of the city on Sir Garnet Wolseley was withdrawn.

On November 11, a period of considerable absence of outrages was broken, and Dublin society much alarmed by a mysterious attempt to assassinate Mr. Justice Lawson. The judge was walking on the north side of Merrion Square, about five o'clock in the evening, when one of his escort of four men, two detectives and two army pensioners, who always accompanied him of late, observed that a suspicious-looking man was apparently dodging the judge. This man was then observed to put his hand to his breast, when he was seized by the one of the escort who had first observed him, and was found to be holding a loaded seven-chamber revolver in his hand. He was at once disarmed and given into custody. He was afterwards tried and sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

Towards the end of November, Dublin was the scene of several more outrages. On the night of November 25, an attack was made on several detectives by armed men in Abbey Street, and one of the detectives was killed. The next evening a man named Field, who had been juror in the trial of a man named Walsh, who was executed for the murder of a policeman at Letterfrack, was attacked by assassins outside his own house in North Frederick Street in the dusk of evening, stabbed several times and left for dead. The assassins escaped, and no trace of them could be found, but their victim, though his case was considered hopeless at first, did finally recover from his injuries.

On December 5 there was a curious scene in the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin, to which Mr. Michael Davitt and Mr. Healy, M.P., had been summoned to answer for certain wild speeches they had delivered in Ireland which appeared calculated to disturb the peace of the country, and to give sureties for further good behaviour or else go to prison. As it was well known that both Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy would refuse to find securities, the result of the case was looked forward to with great interest; but for the time the whole affair came to nothing. Mr. Davitt succeeded in obtaining a postponement of the case for ten days, and he also elicited from the Attorney-General the fact that the prosecutions were established under statutes of Charles the First. This appeal to antique laws at a time when the country was under a severe coercive legislation gave a somewhat unreal air to the entire business. It seemed to be Ministerial opinion that the matter had better be let drop, as there appeared to be scarcely sufficient ground for taking any action, and for the rest of the year, at all events, nothing further was heard of the matter.

The last political event of the year of any importance was a violent speech by Mr. Biggar at Waterford, in which he made a fierce attack upon Lord Spencer and the jurors in the recent trials at Dublin. The Executive decided to prosecute Mr. Biggar for this speech, but the prosecution did not take place until the new year had begun.

In looking over the history of the year in Ireland, it must be admitted that the record is gloomy enough. Not only were

ordinary crimes and outrages frequent, but several murders and assassinations of unusual magnitude and horror took place, and the disturbance and disorganisation of the country in the early part of the year undoubtedly exceeded that of 1881. But with the end of the year the condition of the country was certainly more hopeful. The Irish Executive, though armed with the powers of one of the severest Coercion Acts ever passed against Ireland, had not been obliged to put its most stringent clauses into use, and the abandonment of trial by jury had not been resorted to. The ordinary forms of law were found sufficiently powerful in all the recent cases, and the fear that no juries could be found to record convictions even in the most flagrant cases of crime proved unfounded. The effect of the Land Bill, strengthened and supported as it was by the Arrears Bill, was widely beneficial, and it may be hoped and believed, carried with it the assurance that the Government had the welfare of Ireland deeply at heart, and were doing their best to deal with the many and complicated problems which the condition of the country presented. On the whole, therefore, though the chronicle of the year 1882 had been dark and terrible enough in Ireland, it may be admitted that it did not close under such gloomy circumstances as its predecessor; and that with the apparent possibility of a better understanding between the people and the leaders of the two countries, there was something like the brightness of hope for the New Year.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THE second series of the triennial senatorial elections, held on January 8, 1882, resulted, as was expected, in a great Republican triumph. The senators returned by departments sit, it will be remembered, for nine years, and one-third of their number retire every three years. In January 1879, the departments with the initials G. W. O. began the first series of triennial elections, and the Reactionary majority, which had previously filled up the vacancies in the 75 life-seats with their own candidates, was signally defeated. The complete returns, of the second series, showed a gain of at least 24 seats to the Republicans, or, if the three seats lost by the Jules Simon group were considered, 27. This last group was thus reduced from 23 to 20, while the Republicans proper numbered 187 to 93 Reactionaries. The view taken of these results by the Cabinet of M. Gambetta was thus indicated by the *République Française*:—"Not only have none of the successful Republican candidates pronounced against the idea of revision, but we do not remember to have seen a single programme in which the question was evaded. . . . The revision figuring in all the programmes endorsed by the electors, is, to use the expression of the Ministerial programme, a wisely limited revision. One alone, of the elected, put himself forward as an advocate of the immediate abolition of the Senate, namely, Commandant Labordère, who included this trifling reform in his minimum programme. . . . Several other candidates, such as MM. Tolain, Rivière, and Ferrouillat, intimated that they would have no aversion to the change, but relegated it to the future." But the expectation that anything like unanimous support would be given by the party to the proposed revision of the constitution was doomed to early disappointment.

On January 10, the Senate and Chamber reassembled. M. Brisson was elected President of the Lower House by 296 votes, and in the Upper, M. Gauthier de Rumilly, the oldest senator, delivered the opening address, which was neither more nor less than a vigorous pleading against *scrutin de liste*, and against revision. On the 13th of the same month, the Radical Left (Ballue,

Naquet, &c.) met, and decided to interview M. Gambetta in order to demand that the revision of the constitution should be declared urgent, but that *scrutin de liste* should be dropped, and explanations given as to the reforms proposed. The interview, which took place on the following day, was, as M. Naquet put it, "unsatisfactory." It really came to nothing, for M. Gambetta simply declared that he "should explain his policy to the Chamber." After this abortive attempt at an understanding, the tendency to disaffection became so general in the Republican ranks, that on the meeting of the Chamber the first care of the President, M. Brisson, was to exhort those present, in a vigorous speech, to union. M. Gambetta then laid on the table his project for the Revision of the Constitution.

The clauses of this unsuccessful scheme by which M. Gambetta had elected to stand or fall, need now only be briefly summarised. They were five in number:—(1) That the election of departmental deputies should take place by *scrutin de liste* instead of by *scrutin d'arrondissement*; (2) that one fourth of the Senate (75 members) should be elected by an electoral college of both Houses voting separately; (3) that a Senator's tenure of office should be limited to nine years; (4) that provision should be made for the proportional representation of communes in the election of delegates to senatorial elections; (5) that the powers of the Senate in respect of the Budget should be limited to what is called "*droit de contrôle*." This "right of control" has varied slightly in extent at different times in France, but as interpreted by M. Gambetta it would have given the Senate the power of remonstrating with the Lower House as to any item of the Budget of which it disapproved, but would not have permitted it to insert any grant which had been suppressed by the Chamber of Deputies.

When the Committee on this Bill came to be elected by the bureaux of the Chamber, it was found that out of 33 members one only, M. Pellet, was a supporter of the Government scheme. The result of their deliberations was, therefore, a foregone conclusion, and when M. Gambetta on January 21 responded to a summons from the Committee, the conference which took place between them as to the details of the scheme only showed the personal hostility of its members, and made it clear that he would have the greatest possible difficulty in carrying his measures. On January 23, M. Andrieux, the President of the Committee, presented the report which advised the rejection of *scrutin de liste*, "because on this question an individual will has substituted itself for the will of the nation," and concluded with a resolution proposed in these terms:—"Conformably to Article 8 of the Constitutional law of February 25, 1875, the Chamber of Deputies recognises the necessity of revising Articles 4, 7, and 8 of the Constitutional law of February 24, 1875, relative to the organisation of the Senate, and Paragraph 3, Article 1, of the Constitutional law of July 16, 1875, on the relations of the public powers, and

declares that it is expedient to revise the Constitutional laws." In the course of the discussion, which was fixed for the following Thursday, M. Gambetta made one of his most eloquent speeches, and passionately repudiated the charge brought against him of nourishing traitorous designs by which to secure a permanent dictatorship for himself; but at the same time he plainly declared that the Government attached the greatest importance to *scrutin de liste*. A motion for entire revision of the Constitution having then been put by M. Barodet, and negatived by the Chamber, M. Gambetta next demanded the rejection of the resolution proposed by the Committee. He requested the House to take it in detail, and to give priority to the final clause which affirmed the expediency of revising the Constitution. The Government, he said, asked the Chamber to reject this clause, for as it had just negatived total revision, which he had himself described as no revision at all, it was logically necessary to strike out this clause. When this clause had been expunged the Government, he added, would ask the Chamber to tack to the remaining part of the resolution, an affirmation of the expediency of revising Paragraph 2, Article 1, so as to enable the Government to bring *scrutin de liste* before the Congress, which was to be intrusted with the revision of the Constitution, and which would then decide whether or not to adopt it. M. Gambetta clearly hoped by these tactics to induce the Chamber to accept limited revision, and thereby give an opening for the reconsideration of his favourite reform; but the Chamber, on the proposition of the Committee being put to the vote, maintained the revision clause by 282 to 227. M. Gambetta thereupon announced that the Government considered this vote as attributing to the Congress the right of effecting the complete revision, and that under these circumstances, in conformity with his preceding declarations, the Cabinet would take no further part in the discussion. The whole resolution proposed by the Committee was then voted by 262 to 91, and on January 27, M. Gambetta placed his resignation in the hands of M. Grévy.

It had been clear from the first that the Chamber did not trust M. Gambetta, and this fact must be taken into consideration in estimating the expediency or the wisdom of the course which he decided to pursue. He himself saw clearly the suspicions of which he was the object, and he insisted on challenging a vote of confidence so as to ascertain the amount of support on which he could reckon in the conduct of public business. The method which he selected for doing this was at least effective. The proposal to inscribe the principle of *scrutin de liste* in the Constitution was one which he was perfectly justified in making: this principle actually formed a part of the traditional policy of the advanced section of that Republican party to which he belonged. The objections taken to it, when we come to look into the statements made by the Committee and by the various speakers in the course of the discussion, will be seen to be purely personal, and were

inspired not by any dislike to the reform in itself, but by the fear lest it should be the indirect means of adding to the power and popularity of a Minister who seemed, to other men, to be already both too popular and too powerful. M. Jules Simon himself did not shrink from declaring that the Chamber would not hesitate to vote *scrutin de liste* if it could do so without M. Gambetta.

The country at large shared, to some extent, in the feeling of the House, but this was due not so much to any diminution in M. Gambetta's personal popularity as to the insignificance of the men by whom he was unfortunately surrounded. Ready as he had always been to take small account of fools, he yet seemed to have had an undue proportion of the like in his immediate circle, his imperious temper probably compelling men of weight and character to stand aloof from him in private life, even as it had deprived him of their aid in the formation of the Cabinet of November 14. All those who had then refused to co-operate with M. Gambetta, now came forward and rallied round M. de Freycinet, as will be seen from the following list of the new Cabinet which appeared on January 30. M. Léon Say, who had been elected President of the Senate about a fortnight before, became Minister of Finance; M. Jules Ferry took the portfolio of Public Instruction; M. Goblet that of the Interior and Public Worship; M. Humbert that of Justice; General Billot that of War; Admiral Jauréguiberry that of Marine; M. Varroy, Public Works; M. Tirard, Commerce; M. Mahy, Agriculture; M. Cochery, Posts and Telegraphs, whilst M. de Freycinet, the President of the Council, took charge of Foreign Affairs. The Cabinet, thus composed, could reckon on what might be called a negative majority in the Chamber, that is to say, on a majority composed partly of the friends of M. Gambetta, but chiefly of his opponents, who were ready, in order to prevent his return to office, to vote for any measures brought in by M. de Freycinet.

In the programme, concerted by the public men who gathered round M. de Freycinet, financial policy held a conspicuous place, and was the subject of a discussion and agreement summed up by M. Léon Say in these words: "Ni conversion, ni émission, ni rachat." The Ministerial declaration was read in the Chamber by M. de Freycinet himself. "Of the important reforms which demanded attention there was one," he said, "which had better be deferred, namely, the revision of the Constitution. . . . There was," he added, "no hurry as to the modifications to be introduced into the electoral system of the Senate. The first thing to be settled was, according to M. de Freycinet, the long-vexed question of judicial reform; next came the revision of Military Institutions; then, after an allusion to the financial crisis caused by the recent failure of the Union Générale, he said that, "There could be no question, for the moment, of the purchase of railways by the State or of the issue of new *rentes*; on the contrary, he felt that it would be desirable for some time to restrict, as far as possible, all appeals

to the national credit." . . . In conclusion, he promised, "to modify the Law of 1867 in respect of commercial enterprises, so as to introduce effective guarantees for private interests and public morality." In spite of the general desire to make things pleasant to the new Ministry, in order to mark the satisfaction felt at the fall of M. Gambetta, the Extreme Left could not conceal its displeasure at the announcement of the adjournment of the question of the revision of the Constitution; the rest of the speech fell flat, cheered only now and again by the Left Centre, and even in the Senate, M. de Gavardie's ejaculation: "Well, we've got a poultice instead of a mustard plaster!" seemed to have expressed pretty accurately the prevailing tone of feeling.

A few days after the reading of the declaration, ministers were interpellated in the Lower House by MM. Granet and Lockroy, as to their refusal to take up the revision resolution and carry it before the Senate, but they obtained a vote of confidence by 287 to 66; only the Extremists and one third of the Radical Left voted against the Government, and about a hundred Republicans, probably Gambettists, remained resolutely neutral.

Chief attention now centred on M. Say's Budget. The main question was: Shall the extraordinary Budget be maintained in its old form?—that is to say, be provided for every year by the issue of 500 millions of Government *rentes*—or shall it be lightened, not only in the current year, but in those following, by an arrangement with the railway companies? During 1882 the aid afforded by the railway companies was to consist in the reimbursement of capital previously advanced to them. In succeeding years it was to come through the construction of lines conceded or leased to them for fifteen years. M. Say also grappled with the troublesome question of the floating debt, which had reached a height never before known, and amounted to about two milliards. This huge sum, provided for out of the deposits of State creditors, was looked upon as the precursor of a new loan, and thus appeared to be a standing menace to the market. M. Say, therefore, proposed to convert the permanent portion of the deposits into immobilised *rentes* to the extent of 1,200,000,000 fr.: an arrangement which would, it was supposed, tranquillise the market, and must, of course, have rendered any fresh issue impossible for at least two years. The third prominent feature of the Budget was the proposal to base the estimates on the average rate of progression, and not, as hitherto, on the yield of the last complete year. M. Say pointed out that owing to two years intervening between the estimate and the realisation, false ideas had constantly been engendered as to the amount of the disposable surplus and possible remissions of taxation; he himself, he said, had resolved to propose none for 1882, and he wound up his general statement by justifying his determination to issue no fresh loans in the following remarks on the crisis through which the money market was at that moment passing: "The crisis to which we refer is not that the

effects of which were seen on a recent bankruptcy. That event, the inevitable consequence of a culpable speculation, is the symptom, and not the cause, of the difficult period the money-market is just now traversing. The truth is that more securities and enterprises, and especially more banks, had been created than were necessary to absorb the annual savings of the country. A sort of disease seized men such as has occurred at certain periods. But it is a well-known disease. No country can boast of having escaped it, and France, with her industries and thrifty population, is better situated than any other to recover from it speedily. All that is needed is patiently to wait till the savings have again restored the equilibrium. There are speculations in capital as there are speculations in merchandise. The latter buy the produce of industry to deposit in warehouses, with the hope of selling it again. If they buy more than is necessary to provide for the normal consumption, they are exposed to having to keep their stock and stop their purchases for want of resources. This makes prices go down. The only means of preventing the fall seems often to these speculators to be to go on buying, which they do with borrowed capital, and they only stop buying when their credit comes to an end. Then begins their ruin, but then also begins the convalescence of the market. The liquidation of all they have amassed, it is true, can only be effected slowly, but it can be effected if the consumers, attracted by lower prices, at length consent to absorb what had been bought up imprudently. Speculators in capital go to work in the same way. They were recently seen borrowing hundreds upon hundreds of millions to buy up securities which investors neither would nor could absorb. They created banks to hold in deposit these securities till the investor presented himself. In such circumstances first-class securities may, like others, be temporarily locked up in warehouses by speculators. This is what happened to the last Three per Cent. Redeemable Loan. Only a small part of it has as yet been taken up by investors. The rest is in the hands of a special, clever, and, no doubt, rich public, but one which, nevertheless, can only keep the property by means of loans contracted at the Bourse under the name of 'continuations.'"

In the election of the Budget Committee the Chamber showed its determination to support the Government; any other line would indeed have been an open confession of its own weakness, and would have amply justified the course pursued by M. Gambetta. This friendly demonstration was completed by the appointment of Mr. Wilson (an avowed partisan of M. Say's Budget) as President of the Committee. In April, both Houses adjourned, to meet again early in May, but the discussion of the Budget of 1883 was delayed until July 21, when the debate was opened by M. Allain Targé (Minister of Finance in the Gambetta Cabinet) in a speech which occupied the whole sitting. He subjected M. Léon Say's schemes to severe criticism, declared that the Chamber was pre-

sented with what might be called a penitential Budget, asked whether the optimism of M. Magnin, or the pessimism of M. Say were correct, but acknowledged that the financial situation of 1882 was not quite satisfactory, for the supplementary credits amounted already to 177,000,000fr., and there was no surplus, and in conclusion passed very vigorous strictures on the method adopted by M. Léon Say in estimating the revenue of 1883.

The interest which was excited by the debate on the Budget paled for a while before that aroused by the Egyptian question. In the course of April the investigation into a vague plot against Arabi Pasha had resulted in sentences so severe against all accused, that the Khedive applied to the English and French Consuls for counsel, and also asked advice of the Porte. During the interval which elapsed before the receipt of a reply from Constantinople there was much excitement; the Khedive again appealed to the Consuls of England and France, and they, acting on instructions, bid him take decisive measures. He, then, decided on commuting the sentences of death which had been passed into exile, for the consuls' instructions had been to recommend reasonable commutations. The Ministry requested the Khedive to modify his decision; he stood firm; but Ministers, instead of resigning, convened the Assembly of Notables. The delegates, however, refused to assemble, whereupon the Ministers tried to effect a reconciliation with the Khedive, who refused to compromise.

In order to explain the action at this juncture of the Consuls of France and England, it is here necessary briefly to sum up the course of previous events. On January 9, when it became clear that a struggle between the Khedive and the military party which had carried Arabi Pasha to power was probable, a collective note, assuring the Khedive of the support of France and England, was communicated to him by the Consuls of those two Powers. The Porte thereupon (January 18) remonstrated, and declared the action of France and England both unnecessary and contrary to precedent. Thus encouraged from Constantinople the Egyptian Ministers proceeded to take up a menacing attitude towards the European Control, and obliged the Khedive to sign a decree conferring on the Chamber of Notables the right to vote the Budget. On February 8, the French Controller-General joined the British in presenting to the Council of Ministers a letter protesting against the terms in which the Control had been mentioned in the ministerial programme. In this joint note the Controllers pointed out that the programme treated the European Control as if it existed, like the *Caisse* of the Public Debt, merely to name the revenues assigned for the service of the Consolidated Debt, whereas the Khedive's decree of November 18, 1879, conferred upon the Controllers the fullest right to investigate every part of the Egyptian financial system, together with the position and rank of Ministers, as well as a voice in all questions concerning the financial situation of Egypt, whether referring to the revenue

especially set apart for the service of the Unified Debt and the Five per Cent. Railway Preference Loan or to the revenue assigned to any other public service.

The British and French Controllers-General requested Mahmoud Pasha to communicate to the Khedive a copy of their letter, and to submit it to the Ministers at the Cabinet Council held on the same day. Almost simultaneously with the presentation of this letter the President of the Council of Ministers sent a note to the Consular body declaring that the placing of the Egyptian Budget wholly in the hands of the Chamber of Notables would not interfere with the rights of the British and French Controllers-General, whose duty it was to look after the interests of the bondholders. The Controllers at once forwarded this note (without reply) to the Consuls-General, with an intimation that they could not accept the view which it embodied, as, if excluded from the control of the Budget, they would be powerless to prevent the occurrence of national bankruptcy.

Fears now began to be generally entertained in France that the country might be drawn by England into an armed intervention in Egypt, but M. de Freycinet on February 23, in reply to M. Delafosse, stated that he "firmly hoped that no intervention . . . would be needful, and that the desired result would be attained simply by our attitude. The Chamber must hope that we shall not take part in any military intervention. . . . The Chamber may be certain," he added, "that as long as we are on these benches no adventure need be feared." The French and English agents continued to receive identical instructions, but their joint negotiations were limited for the moment to the discussion of Clause 34 of the Organic Law, by which the service of the Egyptian debt alone was declared to be exempt from the control of the Chamber of Notables. Meanwhile the report of the Controllers was presented to the Khedive. It showed a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 600,000*l.* yearly for 1880-81, which surplus was given partly to public works and partly to the redemption of the debt, but the report stated that the Budget of the Chamber for 1882 imperilled the liquidation scheme by exceeding the allowances fixed by the Commission of Liquidation and by increasing the military estimates by nearly one-half, whilst the military disturbances of 1881 had arrested the execution of reforms of provincial administration and all other projects of improvement. The Khedive was now in a situation of great difficulty, his ministers openly defied his authority, and on May 15 M. de Freycinet telegraphed as follows to M. de Noailles, the French Ambassador at Constantinople:—"In consequence of the recent occurrences in Egypt, the Governments of France and England have decided to send to Alexandria a squadron now in course of formation at Suda. In order not to complicate the situation, it is necessary that the Turkish Government should abstain from all intervention and meddling interference in Egypt. I invite you to

make to the said Government recommendations in that sense. It would be desirable that you should throw out a hint to the Sultan (*que vous puissiez laisser entrevoir au Sultan*), in very moderate terms, that it is not improbable that at some future time different proposals might be made to the Porte. You will, for carrying out these measures, act in concert with your English colleague, who has received similar instructions." The Porte at once addressed a note to France and England declaring order restored in Egypt, and asserting that there was no necessity for the despatch of the French and English squadron. On the 21st, the allied fleet entered the port of Alexandria, and on the 26th the agents of France and England presented to the Egyptian Prime Minister an ultimatum demanding the temporary banishment of Arabi Pasha and the resignation of the Ministry. To these demands the Ministry replied by submitting to the Khedive a reply affirming the incompetence of England and France to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt. The Khedive refused his approbation, and his Ministers offered their resignations. At this juncture M. de Freycinet, after standing out for three months against the English proposals for Turkish intervention and asserting that no French Government could stand which consented to it, suddenly discovered that such intervention, if at the request of England and France, would be a harmless matter. A Cabinet Council was held at the Elysée on May 29, which was, according to the following note communicated to the Havas agency, "exclusively engaged in the consideration of the Egyptian affair with a view to put an end to the anarchy now desolating (*sic*) Egypt, and which compromises the interests of the Western Powers. The Council agreed on a proposal for a Conference in which France and England and a Turkish Delegate are to take part. This Conference, the object of which is a provisional settlement of the present crisis, is not intended to prevent the Conference which is in course of preparation at Constantinople, and in which the other Powers are to be represented." The Marquis de Noailles now joined with Lord Dufferin in requesting the Sultan to make a declaration in favour of the Khedive, and Dervish Pasha was despatched to Alexandria, as commissary, by the Porte; his arrival was followed by a riot, in which at least seventy Europeans were killed. The Constantinople Conference met on June 22, and at the suggestion of France, all the Powers signed a self-denying protocol. A debate was raised on the same day in the French Chamber by Casimir Perier, who asked what instructions had been given to the French Ambassador. M. de Freycinet replied, "That after the exchange of views which had just taken place the Great Powers had recognised, on the initiation of France and England, the expediency of deliberating together on the present situation in Egypt. . . . The Government of the Republic and the English Government had consequently proposed to convene the representatives of the six Great Powers in conference. The exclusive object of the deliberations would be the

settlement of the questions raised by recent events . . . on the bases indicated by the despatches of January 6 and June 12. . . . Should the conference fail of its aim, France would regard her liberty of action." Here M. Gambetta was heard to ejaculate "Enfin!"

The French public were now thoroughly alarmed, and imagined that they were threatened by two dangers. On the one hand they feared that England was dragging them into a new adventure more serious even than that of Tunis, and on the other they believed that Prince Bismarck counted on attacking them as soon as they should be entangled. France therefore occupied the position only of a spectator during the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria by the English on July 11 and 12, her men-of-war steaming off to Port Said, and leaving only two small gunboats behind. After this M. de Freycinet tried to save his position by separating the question of the Canal from that of Egypt generally. England came to his aid, and on July 19, an Anglo-French declaration was made to the Conference, to the effect that England and France, recognising the principle that all action should receive the sanction of Europe, requested the Conference to designate the Powers who, in case of necessity, should undertake to protect the Suez Canal. But these projects were shipwrecked on Prince Bismarck's repeated refusal to join in giving any mandate to England and France. Another attempt was then made, by these two Powers, to obtain that moral support from Europe, without which M. de Freycinet felt that it was impossible to carry the French Chamber along with him. Their ambassadors, on July 24, informed the Conference that their Governments were ready to take measures for the protection of the Suez Canal, and invited the other Powers to join them, but not one accepted this invitation.

Prince Bismarck now perceived that he had dealt a probably fatal blow to the French Cabinet; as a way out of the difficulty he induced Turkey—who had at length consented to enter the Conference—to accept the invitation of the Powers to send troops to Egypt. But England, who had rapidly increased her forces, now demanded that before the Turkish troops should land the Porte should conclude with her a military convention. In this way, she practically took the whole matter out of the hands of the Conference, and thereupon Prince Bismarck—partly to allay the dissatisfaction felt at this turn of events by the Eastern Powers, of whom he was the leader, and partly because he hoped so to save M. de Freycinet from fall—brought forward, through Italy, a proposal for a joint European protection of the Canal, and thus contributed to bring about the very catastrophe which he was desirous to prevent.

On July 8, Admiral Jauréguiberry laid on the table of the Chamber a Bill providing an extraordinary Naval Credit to the amount of 7,836,000 fr. "destined to meet expenses necessitated by events in Egypt." M. Lockroy moved the adjournment of the

House, for the election of a special committee, by which the Bill would be considered instead of being sent before the Budget Committee. A discussion took place on this, which brought M. de Freycinet to the tribune. In reply to M. Lockroy, who accused the Government of secretly preparing for war, he declared "that the purpose of the credit was to reconstitute the reserve squadron . . . " but added that "around us preparations are being made for contingencies of which nobody can foresee the full bearing. . . . We are making preparations in harmony with the general situation of Europe" . . . "no decisive act pledging you will be accomplished or commenced without your having had an opportunity of discussing it, and taking your resolution, with all the circumstances before you." On July 17, M. de Freycinet stated to the committee appointed by the Chamber to consider this Naval Credit, that should the Porte refuse to send troops to Egypt with the required guarantees, France would be prepared to perform her part of the task which would fall upon the European Powers. Eight thousand men were, it was then said, ready to embark at Toulon, where troopships had been prepared to receive them.

The debate in the Chamber on the Naval Credit was opened on July 19, by M. Lockroy, who was followed by M. Charmes. M. de Freycinet then explained the policy of the Government as regarded Egypt. He said, that if Turkey accepted the proposal of the Conference, France would exercise supervision over her intervention. If the intervention of Turkey did not take place, the Conference would be called upon to study the question of a European intervention, and if France was comprised, as was probable, among the Powers requested to intervene, the Government were disposed to accept that mandate on condition that it should be clearly defined. The Suez Canal could not cease to be free, and if other nations established themselves upon it to protect it, France must be with them. Even with regard to the Suez Canal, the French Government desired to provoke a deliberation of the Conference, while, however, preserving its liberty of action. An agreement in that sense was concluded with the British Cabinet. The English alliance and the European concert were the two means which had been constantly followed. After short speeches, by M. Delafosse and M. de Larochevoucauld, M. Gambetta followed. He exhorted the Government to cling to the English alliance, and suggested that larger powers should be given to the Executive during the recess. To a Turkish intervention he was extremely hostile. "To bring the Turk back," he said, "to the foot of the Pyramids, was to play with edged tools; it would bring certain risk of kindling a conflagration in Tunis and Algeria, create an impression that the Sultan was master, and repudiate the policy of the last fifty years." M. Gambetta also objected to France going to Egypt as the gendarme of Europe. It was, he said, a part unworthy of a great nation. If they went to Egypt, it would be not for the sake of the national party, but to protect French interests. "When

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you go to Egypt," he continued, "you will find England there, and though England is ready enough to emancipate people of her own race, she knows the fellah and his degree of preparation for civil life, and is not very likely to take the so-called National Party *au sérieux*. If, therefore, you go to Egypt with an idea of bolstering up the National Party, there will be bickerings with England, and the relations between us may be tinged with bitterness. There are some people who view without apprehension the possibility of a conflict with England. I speak with a deep consciousness of the interests and welfare of my country, and it is with the deepest conviction, and no inconsiderable reflection as to the future, that to quarrel with England would be the rashest and most unjustifiable of adventures. I repeat it, at the cost of the greatest sacrifices, never break off the English alliance. . . . And what most attaches me to the English alliance in the Mediterranean is that I dread that a possible rupture will open to England rivers and territories where your right to live and trade are greater than her own. It is not to injure French interests that I desire the English alliance; it is because they cannot be upheld without that accord. If there should be a rupture all is lost." In conclusion, the speaker declared, that though the vote was insufficient, he should support it, because it implied that Egypt would be wrested from Moslem fanaticism and military revolution, and once more brought within the sphere of Western policy.

The Chamber passed this Credit on the 19th—after hearing the ultra-radical view extremely well put by M. Clémenceau—by an overwhelming majority, 340 to 66; but when M. de Freycinet appeared to support the Bill before the Senatorial Committee he had to avow that the Conference had refused its mandate. He would therefore, he said, leave England to act alone, and should restrict French operations to the protection of the Suez Canal. A second credit of 9,410,000 fr. for this purpose was introduced on the 24th. On the 27th the Committee reported against it, but M. de Freycinet requested that the discussion of the Bill might be adjourned till the following Saturday (29th). "I have," he said, "this morning received a despatch from Constantinople, announcing that Turkey declared her readiness to carry out the proposal of intervention addressed to her by the Conference on July 15. I wait more detailed information as to the Porte's attitude, and desire to concert with England before opening the discussion on the Bill before you." But the panic which had seized upon the Chamber grew greater with every day's delay, and when the vote was taken on Saturday, July 29, the deputies refused the proposed Credit by an overwhelming majority. M. de Freycinet, in moving the vote, announced that the Cabinet was unanimous on the subject, and made it a question of confidence in the Ministry. M. Clémenceau followed, with a telling speech against the vote. "There seemed," he said, "but two lines of policy open on the

Egyptian question, intervention or non-intervention; the Cabinet had discovered a third, which united all the inconveniences of both and had none of the advantages of either. Ministers," he went on to say, "did not seem to be conscious of the fact that, for the defence of the Canal, Cairo was the really important point, and that it was for that reason that England was marching towards it. The result of the Government proposal would be that the French would mount guard over the Canal, in which were concentrated the interests of England, while the British army would fight at Cairo. He had no hesitation in rejecting such a singular conception. Moreover, it was clear to him that England, having got entangled in the wheels of the complication, was anxious to draw France in after her. . . . There might be advantages in intervening in Egypt, but there were none in sending soldiers to the banks of the Canal for the sole purpose of mounting guard over it for England. Such a line of policy was one of humiliation. The situation would be untenable, and the country would infallibly be involved in war. . . . In contemplating the possibility of English, French, Italian, and German troops side by side on the banks of the Canal, he could not but distinguish the handiwork of a man who was preparing a conflagration in Europe. Under such circumstances he would not give the Government the mandate they demanded, not because it meant war—there were occasions when a nation must resign herself to wage war—but because they did not know, because there was not a diplomatist in Europe who could know, what was being prepared for them or where they were drifting." On a show of hands the first clause of the Credit was negatived, and, a division being called for, the numbers were 416 to 75, thus almost exactly reversing the proportions of the vote given on the Naval Credit of July 19. On leaving the House M. de Freycinet and his colleagues immediately sent in their resignations, which were accepted by M. Grévy.

Here may be said to have come to an end the connection of France with the Eastern question during 1882. It need only be further stated that, when the note of the Egyptian Government, abolishing the Control, was communicated to the French Cabinet on November 12, M. Duclerc intimated to Lord Lyons that France would regard this measure as inspired by the English Government, and urged that the Joint Control, having been established by the French and English Governments, its suppression by the Government of the Khedive could not properly take effect until both the other contracting parties had sanctioned it. The propositions which were made at a later date by the English Government in regard to Egypt, were also considered by the French Cabinet to be inconsistent with "the legitimate interests of French influence" in that country. A final reply was sent early in December to the English note offering to France the Presidency of the Public Debt Exchequer, as a compensation for the abolition of the Anglo-French Control. It rejected this proposal, and in doing so set

forth the political character of the interests which France meant to preserve in Egypt alongside of, or apart from, the financial interests possessed by her citizens, to whom also she owed protection, and left it to England to devise a scheme capable of reconciling the interests of the two Powers, expressing a hope that such a reconciliation might eventually be effected.

After the vote of July 29, a new Cabinet was formed by M. Duclerc of elements taken from the Gambettist or Republican Union and the Democratic Union which leaned both on M. Ferry and M. Gambetta. Its chief characteristic was its exclusion of the Radical element. It was understood that it would rely on the support of M. Gambetta, just as M. de Freycinet had relied on M. Clémenceau, who overturned him at the first difference of opinion. It was, however, thought probable that it might count on a longer duration of office than that enjoyed by M. de Freycinet's cabinet. All possibilities of government with the present chamber seemed exhausted, and the fall of M. Duclerc was therefore feared as likely to entail a dissolution which might be fatal to most of its members.

M. Duclerc, the President of the new Cabinet, had been Minister of Finance in 1848, and had started in life as a printer's reader; M. Fallières, who now became his Minister of the Interior, had been under-secretary for that department in the Ferry Cabinet; M. Devès, the Minister of Justice, had been Minister of Agriculture under M. Gambetta, M. Duvaux, Minister of Public Instruction, also belonged to the Gambettist group, and the same may be said emphatically of M. Pierre Legrand, Minister of Commerce and *ad interim* of Public Works. M. de Mahy retained his post as Minister of Agriculture, and his example was followed by M. Cochery at the Post Office, by General Billot and Admiral Jauréguiberry, at the War Office and Admiralty; whilst M. Tirard exchanged the portfolio of Commerce for that of Finance.

On August 7, the ministerial declaration, of which the following extract will give the principal points, was read by M. Duclerc in the Chamber and by Admiral Jauréguiberry in the Senate:—"The vote given by the Chamber on July 29, brings before you," said M. Duclerc, "a new cabinet. Its first duty is to tell what meaning it attaches to that vote and what conduct it dictates to it. In refusing the credits necessary for the occupation of a portion of the Suez Canal, the Chamber took a measure of reserve and prudence which is not abdication. The Government will be inspired by the idea which dictated that vote, and will conform its conduct thereto. If events intervened which appeared to involve the interests or the honour of France, we should hasten to convene the Chambers and to submit to them the resolutions which circumstances prescribed. Though less urgent, internal questions, nevertheless, claim our attention; but on this point nothing can be jeopardized or broached during the impending suspension of your sittings. We shall profit by the time you will give us for resum-

ing the consideration of these questions. We shall endeavour, with the co-operation of your Committees, to secure the liberal and progressive solutions they require. We propose to ourselves one other aim. We shall strive to bring together and conciliate the various sections of the Republican majority, and if, with your help, we can attain that patriotic result, we shall think we have accomplished the task which, in existing circumstances, is most essential to the common interests of the Chambers, the Republic, and France." This declaration was coldly received. The Chamber proceeded to vote the provisions of the Budget for the collection of the direct taxes, &c. ; on the question being put, M. Clémenceau, as might be expected, expressed his utter distrust of, and dissatisfaction with, the new ministry.

Before entering on the history of the administration of M. Duclerc, it will be well to take note of certain measures which were completed during M. de Freycinet's term of office. The scheme for girls' intermediate education had been gazetted on January 23, just before M. Gambetta's fall. It provided for two stages; the first, of three years with classes all obligatory, and the second, of two years with some classes optional. An examination will be necessary to pass from one to the other, and another examination at the end of the five years will secure a diploma. The optional subjects of the second stage include the elements of Latin. The head mistresses will be appointed by the Government after an understanding with the local authorities. To M. de Freycinet fell the task of carrying the Compulsory Education Bill through the Senate. Many of the amendments introduced into this Bill by the Senate in 1881 had been rejected by the Chamber. But the Senate of 1882, as modified by the January elections, counted many more thorough-going Republicans than that of the year previous. On March 10, they reversed by a large majority their decision of July 1881, as to M. Jules Simon's amendment, by which "Duty towards God" was inserted at the head of the curriculum of primary schools; when the bill was then sent back to the Chamber, this had been one of the amendments to which it refused to agree; but M. Jules Simon resolved to move it again. He explained that he did not desire any theological teaching, but simply that the schoolmaster should teach the old morality of past generations as an honest manly father of a family. He was asked what God he meant. He meant the God acknowledged by all religions and by all spiritualistic philosophies—the God called to witness by the juror and proclaimed by every successive Constitution, even that of 1793. He asked the Senate to erect a barrier against moral contagion, against advancing impiety, and against bills which were actual insanities. Some consolation was necessary for the less fortunate classes, as also for soldiers who marched to the fight with "God and Fatherland" on their lips. M. Jules Ferry, in his reply, described M. Simon's amendment as a political manœuvre on the part of the Clerical party, and on a division the

amendment was negatived, and the first article accepted, as sent back from the Chamber, by 177 to 89. An unsuccessful attempt was also made by M. Delsol to obtain the exemption of the children of the upper classes from the annual examinations; but the Bill, although the Conservatives persisted in fighting every clause, was finally passed without substantial alteration, and promulgated on March 29.

The settlement of Tunis was also a matter which came into the hands of M. de Freycinet; the vexed question of the Enfida estate had been arranged by an exchange of properties between M. Lévy and the Société Marseillaise, and one of his first steps was to recall M. Roustan (February 12) who was gazetted to Washington on February 22, and replaced at his former post by M. Paul Cambon. At this moment Gabès was again reported to be unsafe, and the insurgents on the Tripolitan frontier were urging a war indemnity and causing alarm at Sfax, so that the state of the country demanded that speedy measures should be introduced for its reorganisation, and on July 17, a Bill which embodied detailed provisions regarding the financial question, the mode of intervention in customs duties and public works; together with arrangements placing every branch of the public service in the hands of French officials, passed the Chambers by 382 to 87, but has not yet been reported upon by the Senatorial Committee, which delayed its proceedings in expectation of the conclusion of the new treaty with the Bey. M. Delafosse challenged M. de Freycinet in the course of the discussion on the Bill as to his views on the subject of the capitulations; and M. de Freycinet replied that "they must eventually disappear, and that the Government would do all in their power to hasten their disappearance." His fall alone prevented him from fulfilling his pledges in this respect, but the negotiations which he had commenced were brought to a successful termination by his successors, and on December 24, it was announced that an agreement had been come to with "all the Powers for the abolition of the capitulations in Tunis, and that only the signature of the documents was required to make it effective." Count Menabrea, it was added, would shortly confer with M. Duclerc in the matter, for Italy, somewhat mollified by the removal of M. Roustan from Tunis, had been gradually brought into more friendly relations with France, and had consented, in the course of the summer, to send, once more, an ambassador, General Menabrea, to Paris.

The winding up of the negotiations connected with the new Commercial Treaties, spread itself over the first half of the year. On March 25, the Belgian Treaty was ratified by the French Chamber; as were those with Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Norway, Austria, and Switzerland, together with a navigation Treaty with England, on the 31st of the same month. But the legislature of Holland rejected that which had been concluded with the Dutch commissioners, and ten months' fruitless negotiations

with England were ended by the introduction to the French Chamber on February 23 of the following Bill: "Clause 1. From the promulgation of the present law, goods of English origin or manufacture shall be subject on entering France to the same treatment as those of the 'most favoured nations.' Clause 2. The above clause shall not apply to colonial products, which remain subject to the general tariff." In introducing this Bill M. Tirard summed up the latest phases of the negotiations in these words: "To prevent English imports from falling on March 1 under our general tariff, there was semi-officially an idea of a temporary arrangement, comprising in a partial treaty the clauses adopted by the negotiators, and leaving outside those on which no agreement had been effected. These latter, including woollen and cotton tissues, would have remained under the existing system with the option for importers of demanding the application of the tariff annexed to the new treaties concluded by France. The negotiations, moreover, would have gone on until a definitive arrangement. We had to set aside this solution, which, by prolonging fruitless negotiations, would have indefinitely prolonged the uncertainty of our economic system, contrary to the general wish of the country so clearly expressed by yourselves and the Senate at the time of the last Renewal Bill. This solution being set aside, and both Governments being desirous of not severing every commercial tie between the two countries, an idea simultaneously arose on both sides—the mutual concession of the most favoured nation treatment. We pointed out, however, to the British Government that this arrangement pure and simple would not place both Powers on an equal footing. France is, or is about to be, bound for ten years by the treaties awaiting your ratification, and which cover nearly the whole of our general tariff, so that the fixity of our Customs system would be ensured, and thus give the other party full security. England, on the other hand, will in a few days be no longer bound by our commercial treaty, and will be free to alter her tariffs, which she might raise the very day after the operation of the new convention. Now, whatever our confidence in the economic liberalism of Great Britain, whatever the certainty even of that great nation's friendship for France, we did not think it possible to sanction by treaty so evidently unequal a situation. We therefore asked for the insertion in the proposed convention of a stipulation for the maintenance of the existing English duties on French goods. This demand was not accepted by the English Government, which means to retain freedom of action as to its tariffs. We then proposed to insert a clause releasing France in the event of the English treaties being altered. This clause, which had the inconvenience for us of making England sole judge of the duration of the treaty, was no better received than the previous one. The English Cabinet next proposed to us a treaty giving reciprocally the 'most favoured nation' treatment, with power of rescinding it at twelve months' notice. We replied that this

would not do away with the inequality already noticed, for during twelve months we might be bound to maintain our tariffs while England had raised hers. Her Majesty's Government finally offered to reduce the notice of rescinding to six months. This proposal, still leaving a glaring inequality, did not seem to us more acceptable than the former one. We were thus placed under the alternative of either accepting a treaty putting us in the conditions of inferiority just described, or of applying our general tariff to English goods on March 1. . . . To this vexatious situation we have endeavoured to apply a prompt and effective remedy. We might have proposed to you a revision of our general tariff, bearing especially on English imports, both as affecting consumers and materials for our industries, but this would have had the serious inconvenience of unsettling the work so laboriously framed by our predecessors in the last Chamber. Looking, too, at the situation in which the last proposal, fruitlessly offered to England, would have placed us, we found that without binding ourselves by a treaty we could attain the same result by spontaneously giving England the advantage of the 'most favoured nation' treatment. We thus avoid the immediate application of the general tariff to English goods while retaining full control of our own tariffs in the improbable case of the English Government raising the duties on French imports. We have not inserted in the Bill any provision indicating our intention of making the 'most favoured nation' treatment conditional on the maintenance of the existing English tariffs. This is a right which we can exercise as we please, and is consequently needless to insert in a Bill."

The views known to be entertained by M. Tirard as to the desirability of specific duties were not, however, shared by his distinguished colleague, M. Léon Say, the then Minister of Finance. Several of the leading Chambers of Commerce declared themselves hostile to the protectionist views put forth for the most part by the minor manufacturing centres. Lyons, St. Etienne, Bordeaux, deplored the rupture of the negotiations with England. The Bordeaux Chamber, on March 7, addressed a letter to M. Tirard, taking a strong Free Trade line, and asserting that the *Conseil Supérieur*, and a majority of the Chambers of Commerce, at the meeting held in 1879, had expressed their wish that the new treaties should be more liberal than those of 1860, and should be made the means of another step towards Free Trade. It should also be noticed that M. Léon Say, when he visited Bordeaux on June 20, declared his opinion that "it would soon be perceived that specific duties entailed greater inconvenience than *ad valorem*. He was," he said, "convinced that before long the dangers of specific duties would become apparent to all, and that they would be modified whenever it became, as it must become, impossible to define sufficiently precise categories."

M. Tirard, who replaced M. Léon Say in M. Duclerc's Cabinet, as Minister of Finance, not only differed from him as to his com

mercial policy, but took a totally different view of the financial situation of the nation to that held by his predecessor. On November 6 he attended the sitting of the Budget Committee, and stated that he had withdrawn from the agreement entered into by M. Léon Say with the Orleans Railway Company. He was of opinion, he said, that M. Léon Say had presented the Budget for the financial year 1883 in too gloomy a light. He himself, though, had never intended, as had been asserted, to resort to an issue of Treasury Bonds to meet the requirements of the Extraordinary Budget, as he considered (agreeing on this point with M. Say) that such a step was inexpedient, considering the state of the market and other existing circumstances. The 250,000,000 fr., wanted for the Extraordinary Budget to replace the amount which M. Say would have obtained by the reimbursements of the railway companies, should be supplied, thought M. Tirard, by appropriating the 150,000,000 fr. voted in 1881, but not spent, for the War and Public Works Departments, and the 100,000,000 fr. which formed the aggregate of the reimbursements from the companies to the State for 1881, 1882, and 1883. M. Tirard added, that, looking to the amount of unexhausted anterior credits, the Treasury, in his opinion, could provide for all urgent necessities with the funds which it already had at its disposal.

But the Budget Committee questioned the accuracy of M. Tirard's calculations as to the sum of 159,000,000 fr. which he maintained was at the disposal of the Government from unexpended credits; they also objected to any increase of the floating debt, or loan from the Bank of France, as being a dangerous method of raising money, and were in favour rather of reverting to the project of a convention with the Orleans Railway Company (such as was proposed by M. Léon Say) in order to meet the expenses of the Extraordinary Budget, or else of reducing the extraordinary expenditure. The Minister of Public Works was also directly at variance with M. Tirard. On November 13 they both attended the sitting of the Budget Committee in order to offer explanations. M. Hérisson declared that he could not carry over to 1883 more than 60,000,000 fr. of the credits voted for Public Works during 1882. This being the case, the sum required to balance the Extraordinary Budget of 1883 would be 93,000,000 fr. M. Tirard contended that the Minister of Public Works would, he was convinced, be in a position to hand over more than 60,000,000 fr. at the end of the year. He, however, refused to estimate the amount which would be available, and persisted in demanding the addition to the Floating Debt of the sums that might be required to balance his Extraordinary Budget. The Minister of Public Works was asked whether he would consent to a reduction of the credits for the Extraordinary Budget of 1883. M. Hérisson acknowledged that such a measure was possible, but refused to take the responsibility of indicating in what proportion the credits might be reduced.

Some idea of the heavy responsibilities of the Minister of Public Works may be formed from the fact that the total expense for the year 1882 for the construction of new railways alone was estimated at 5,000,000 fr. Out of the 9,645 kilomètres of new lines projected in the first series of M. de Freycinet's great scheme, 7,434 kilomètres were actually in course of construction, and a sum of 1,167,364,000 fr. had already been expended. Of this sum a total of 820,000,000 fr. had been found by the State, the rest being furnished by the different railway companies themselves.

Doubt was, however, thrown on the accuracy of the figures laid before the Budget Committee by M. Hérisson, and not by M. Tirard alone. M. Sadi Carnot, former Minister of Public Works and reporter of the Committee to which the Budget of that department was referred, stated that the amount set down for railways declared to be of public utility was excessive, and that the completion of the lines now in course of construction would not absorb the resources at the disposal of the Ministry of Public Works. On this, rumours of a Ministerial crisis were at once circulated, but ultimately the Committee and the Ministry came to an agreement, based upon an offer made by M. Hérisson to concentrate his resources on the works of the railways actually commenced. He also undertook not to increase the estimated amount, but rather to effect a reduction as they progressed towards completion.

In the debate on the Extraordinary Budget, on December 11, M. Tirard made a vigorous defence of his policy, and M. Hérisson himself ultimately defended the Government proposals. M. Tirard declared that the deficiency of 700,000 fr. on the Ordinary Budget of 1883 was a trifling matter, considering that the total amount was 3,044,000,000 fr. He quite admitted the necessity of prudence in view of the diminution of actual returns consequent upon the financial crisis and the bad season. To such diminution had been due the 1882 deficit of 65,000,000 fr., a deficit more apparent than real, since 100,000,000 fr., had been devoted to *amortisation*. He insisted that, taking all the circumstances into account, it was impossible not to acknowledge that the finances of France are in a really prosperous condition. Prudence, however, dictated the necessity of awaiting the development of revenue before incurring fresh expenses, and Government therefore, except for absolute urgency, would not present further demands for supplementary credit. Coming to the Extraordinary Budget now to be discussed, destined for the reconstitution of war *matériel* and the accomplishment of the great works voted by the Chamber, M. Tirard said that the withdrawal from the Convention entered into by his predecessor with the Orleans Company had deprived them of 257,000,000 fr. Divers reimbursements and the transfer of credits not expended would, M. Tirard said, furnish 160,000,000 fr., so that there would be less than 100,000,000 fr. to charge to the floating debt. Provisionally to charge that sum

to the debt was, he held, the most expedient arrangement. In the future it would be easy to procure the necessary funds for continuing the works. It was merely a question of time. In conclusion, M. Tirard reiterated that French finances were by no means in an unfavourable condition.

After five days' debate the Extraordinary Budget for 1883 was passed by the Chamber. M. de Soubeyran's amendment to reduce by 95,000,000 fr. the credits voted for the execution of M. de Freycinet's schemes was withdrawn, and on a division being taken on the entire Budget, the result was a majority of 461 to a minority of 2. Nearly all the members of the Right had, however, abstained from voting, and in spite of contradictory statements, it became quite clear from this discussion, and that which followed upon the ordinary Budget in the Senate, that if French finances were not already in a disastrous condition, there was much that required instant reform. The defence put forth by M. Tirard, and the critical statement made by M. Léon Say, both pointed in the same direction. Intoxicated by the surplus revenues of 1880 and 1881, the Chamber had run up expenditure and remitted taxes as if it could count on the surplus of every future year exceeding that which had gone before it. The reform necessary for the future was, in M. Say's opinion, that, in the first place, all expenses properly belonging to the Ordinary Budget should be transferred to it. He did not consider that the mere fact that the excess revenue of 1882 did not reach the amount realised in the two preceding years, was in itself sufficient to neutralise the inferences which might be drawn from the good indications of previous years. He considered that the unsatisfactory state of the Budget for 1882 was due to special causes, and in brief to the series of mediocre wheat harvests, by which 500,000,000 fr. had been lost. The ravages of the phylloxera counted also for much; and there had been serious losses of capital through speculation. All these, however, were accidental, and not to be guarded against. But another cause which might be remedied was the slack way in which the taxes came in. This he attributed to the circumstance that in many cases those who were charged with the collection of the national finances were too much under the influence of certain political considerations. The present financial situation was disappointing, and much to be regretted; but he contended that it was temporary, and there was no need to resort to a new tax, as a few months might put an end to all difficulties. To restore an equilibrium it was necessary to control the growth of the expenses. The great cause of their growth was the circumstance of the Budgets being prepared so long in advance, which involved Supplementary Credits. On this point M. Léon Say could indeed speak from bitter experience, for when he became Minister of Finance in M. de Freycinet's Cabinet, he had been forced to present at an early date after his accession to office a Supplementary Estimate.

for the army of 9,430,000 fr. and added Supplementary Estimates for the year, which amounted to 127,000,000 fr., and which, as he pathetically remarked, he "could not help, as they were the result of laws previously sanctioned by the Chamber."

The ordinary Budget was passed by the Senate on December 27 by 238 to 120; but it had to be returned to the Chamber in consequence of the insertion amongst other amendments of an augmentation in the Foreign Office Estimates for assistance to the Sisterhood of St. Vincent de Paul, the Lazarists, and other Foreign Missions. This vote was instantly rejected by the Chamber, which had, in discussing the Budget of Public Worship and on other occasions, constantly showed a very strong anti-clerical temper. The only amendment sent down by the Senate, which the Chamber decided to accept, was that reducing the Educational Estimates by 1,000,000 fr., and that only on the assurance of M. Tirard that there would still be funds enough in the remaining 14,000,000 fr. The Extraordinary Budget is still before the Upper House, where also many other measures of importance are suspended. The Judicial Oaths Bill, the first clause of which permits a witness in a Court of Justice to substitute the words "On my honour, and faith, and conscience I swear" for the existing words, "I swear before God and man," was disposed of by the Chamber on June 24, but on December 4 the Committee of the Senate advised that body to reject it on the ground that an "oath deprived of religious character was not an oath at all." M. Naquet's Bill on Divorce, which was passed by the Chamber, has also stuck in the Senate. The chief clause of the Judicature Bill—that abolishing the immovability of judges—was adopted by the Chamber on June 10 by 300 to 204, in the teeth of the opposition of the Minister of Justice. The same body also voted on the same day, by 284 to 212, in favour of judges being elected; but as it would be impossible to induce the Senate to pass this Bill as it stands, it will probably be suspended by-and-by, through the introduction by Government of an entirely new measure. The Army Administration Bill which has been hanging for eight years, and which subordinates the Commissariat to the Command, and makes the medical staff independent of the Commissariat, except as to material, was also passed by the Chamber, as sent back from the Senate, on March 16. The Army Parliamentary Committee, presided over by M. Gambetta, has also made important progress with various Bills dealing with details of the service; giving special attention, amongst other points, to the lightening of the pressure of conscription, whilst securing for the country the largest possible number of men with military instruction.

There is, however, no doubt that matters of home administration did not greatly occupy the public mind in France during 1882. The vexed question of the Budget became a popular interest, because not only every little commune in the country had pet demands which it hoped to satisfy out of the public purse,

but because the reduction of the Land Tax—the unequal assessment of which has been a crying scandal for nearly three quarters of a century—was eagerly hoped for by the whole agricultural class, and was necessarily postponed in consequence of the unsatisfactory state of the revenue. Next in rank to the Budget—for the Egyptian question caused little excitement out of Paris—came as matter for general interest what may be called colonial questions. Except from the extreme Radicals, not a murmur was heard against the enormous expenses caused by the occupation of Tunis. The Supplementary Credit alone, which was voted in the Senate on December 28, amounted to 25,000,000 fr., and this sum seemed small if compared with the 80,000,000 fr. voted at an earlier date on account of the expedition—a vote which was both preceded and followed by others of smaller sums. In Madagascar, in China, and on the Congo the French have been equally active.

The grievances of the French in Madagascar, as stated by themselves, are that the Hova Government have promulgated a law prohibiting natives from selling land to foreigners, and that the Hova flag has been planted at Passandava Bay, over which, rightly or wrongly, the French claim rights. Their connection with the island is, they assert, of ancient date, for Madagascar was ceded by Richelieu to a company called the Eastern Company, and afterwards it was granted by Colbert to another company called the East Indian. The legitimate influence of France in the island is, it is said, seriously menaced by English influence, which is directly exercised upon the Hovas. This active people are gradually getting the better of the Sakalaves, a savage population on the North-West Coast who are friendly to the French, and from whom the garrison of eighteen men on the island of Nossibé obtain food. The Hovas have built upon this territory block-houses and forts, which the French hold to be a menace to their settlement; they therefore demand their demolition, and further claim to set up a protectorate over Passandava Bay, as having been ceded to them by the Sakalaves. A first conference between the Ambassadors sent to Paris by the Queen of the Hovas and the French negotiators took place on October 18; but, in the end, the Ambassadors refused to grant the French demands, and left Paris (Nov. 27) for London. The semi-official note inserted in all the evening journals stated that “The Cabinet was resolved to enforce the respect of the rights and interests of France in Madagascar—rights and interests which have been disregarded by the Queen of the Hovas. Orders in conformity with the situation have, therefore, been sent to the commander of the French naval station.” The claims of the French, as stated by the Malagasy Envoys, were threefold: first, a protectorate over the North-West Coast of Madagascar; secondly, 99 years’ leases of land; and thirdly, general rights over the whole island. The second of these claims is said to be based on a clause of the Treaty of August 8, 1868, by which they were to be permitted to acquire “every species of

property, both real and personal," in the island; but the effect of this permission was, it must be remembered, carefully limited by the words which preceded it, for it was expressly stated that such property could be acquired only in conformity with the laws and customs of Madagascar. The points in dispute are not yet settled, but on December 10 the following semi-official note appeared in all the journals:—"The English Foreign Office has proposed to the French Government a basis for an understanding with regard to Madagascar. There is no foundation for the report of a conflict between the French and English Governments on that matter. England protects her subjects as France protects hers, against the Hovas. The British Cabinet will leave the French Republic free to act as it may think best." It was added that the armament of the "Flore," to reinforce the naval division of the Indian Ocean, was being pushed forward. This division was to be placed under the orders of Rear-Admiral St. Pierre, who was to be entrusted with the task of enforcing the French claims over certain portions of Madagascar.

In China the French displayed the same activity. The treaty of 1874 gave France the protectorate of Annam. The failure of the Emperor of that country fully to perform his share of the contract, and the presence of Chinese troops in Tonquin, were considered to threaten the security of the French colony of Cochin China.

The Chinese Ambassador in Paris, the Marquess T'Seng, declared that the views of his Government with regard to Tonquin might be summed up in the following three desiderata:—First, the maintenance of the Annam territory as a neutral country between Cochin China and the Chinese southern frontier; secondly, a friendly understanding with the Government of Peking previous to the sending of any expedition; and thirdly, if France should desire the establishment of an effective protectorate over Tonquin, the Chinese Government would demand to share that protectorate with her, paying half the expenses and reaping half the advantages. China would claim this in virtue of the rights she has for centuries possessed over Tonquin and Annam. Alarmed apparently by the attitude of France, the Chinese troops precipitately retired from Tonquin, in accordance, it was said, with orders from Peking, but none the less did the French Government resolve to carry out this projected expedition. On December 24 it was decided to adjourn any application for funds until the new Parliamentary session in January 1883, but, at the same time, it was resolved to despatch 750 marines in the "Corrèze," under the command of Major Riviere, in order to reinforce the French troops already in the country. A few days later the measures finally decided on by the French Government were made known in a semi-official note communicated to the *Liberté* (December 27). The note stated that the French Cabinet, in view of the definitive settlement of the question, intends to present to the Emperor, at Huc, a new treaty which he is to be called upon to sign, as the treaty of 1874 does

not "specify with sufficient clearness" the rights conferred on France. It appears that a Government Commissary is to proceed to the court of Huc to present this treaty, which is to be elaborated by the united wisdom of the Ministry of the Marine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the Annamite monarch. The note continues by pointing out that the expeditionary corps of 3,000 men "will give the Government Commissary all the necessary influence to insure the acceptance of the treaty." The troops will occupy the fortified positions in the country. With the same energy which they had displayed in guarding and extending the old rights of France in China and Madagascar, the Government of M. Duclerc determined on acquiring new ones. The African traveller, M. de Brazza, who appears to have explored the Congo chiefly at the expense of the King of the Belgians, took possession of a large tract of country, and made a treaty with a chief named Makoleo in the interest of France. A Bill ratifying this treaty was at once voted both by Chamber and Senate (November), and on December 27 another Bill, asking for a grant of 1,275,000 fr. to defray the expenses of an expedition to the Congo was distributed to the deputies. Of this sum 65,000 fr. is to be spent in "diplomatic presents." The preamble of the measure states that eight stations and twelve posts will be established. These will, so to say, form a double route to Brazzaville. The stations and posts are to form three groups. The group established on the Ogowe and the Alima will comprise one station, Franceville, and four posts. In the second group, starting from the Congo, will figure one principal station, Brazzaville, and another of secondary importance, with two posts. The third group, comprising two stations and six posts, will place Brazzaville in communication with the Atlantic. On the coast itself two principal stations are to be established, at Mazombe and Punta Negra, which will be placed in communication with each other by a station of secondary importance. The Bill was at once referred to the Budget Committee, which adopted the credits demanded by Government without alteration, and on the following day it was readily voted by the Chamber. Public interest was indeed roused by these matters to such a point that the Society for the Study of Colonial and Maritime Questions appointed a committee "for the defence of French interests beyond sea now menaced in Egypt and combated at Madagascar, on the Congo, in Tonquin, and elsewhere, by England." The Committee, in their programme just issued, after asserting that French commerce is everywhere encountered by the open or secret hostility of England, demand certain measures "to lead the English Government to treat France with a consideration at least equal to that accorded to America and to the Powers whose attacks England fears." These measures are, first, the establishment of a subventioned, commercial, quick-going fleet, convertible in case of necessity into vessels of war, and in time of peace to provide an advantageous substitute for the present trans-

Atlantic steam vessels, which in point of tonnage and speed are inadequate to the requirements of navigation. Secondly, the establishment of port duties, similar to those paid by French ship-owners in English ports. Thirdly, the revision of the Maritime Convention of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, which provides that the flag covers the merchandise and otherwise affords protection in time of war. England, it is added, having ten times the number of commercial vessels possessed by France, is ten times more interested than France in the maintenance of those reciprocal obligations which have no longer their *raison d'être*, since the advantages have ceased to be equal. Fourthly, the maintenance of the *status quo ante bellum* in Egypt, as the English exacted a similar concession in Morocco under similar circumstances from France in 1844, after the battle of Isly. Fifthly, prompt and energetic action at Tonquin, Madagascar, on the Congo, and wherever French rights, honour, or interests may be at stake. The programme concludes by stating that the Committee belong to no party, their work being national and patriotic. The co-operation of all parties is solicited towards the attainment of the measures recommended. The method of agitation is to be by the press and by public meetings.

An extra-Parliamentary Committee was also formed by the Government for the examination of questions connected with the entire Colonial system of France, and its first sitting (December 11), at which it pronounced in favour of the creation of a Colonial Ministry detached from the Ministry of Marine, was held under the presidency of M. Duclerc himself.

Allusion has already been made several times to the financial crisis of 1882. The formation and apparently miraculous prosperity of the Union Générale had been a great feature of the financial year of 1881; the bursting of the bubble caused the most terrible disasters of 1882. All classes of society were involved in its failure, and the French Government, aided by the Bank of France and other powerful establishments, took special measures to mitigate its ill effects. The manager and the promoter, MM. Feder and Bontoux, were arrested on February 2, and after a prolonged trial were condemned in December to various terms of imprisonment. By cancelling the issue of 100,000 new shares which had been made early in January 1882, the Tribunal of Commerce relieved the unauthorised brokers of Paris and Lyons of enormous liabilities. The bankrupt Union Générale was thus deprived of resources on which it had reckoned, and the greater part of the terrible losses sustained fell on private persons not otherwise engaged in speculation, and the financial world proper thus suffered a far less measure of disorganisation than had at first been supposed possible.

Much alarm was aroused, in a large section of the French public, during the course of 1882 by the riots which took place in different districts, but which were all of a more or less revolutionary

character. The soldiery were called out to repress the disorders attendant on the strike at Bessèges in March, and the outbreak at Montceau-les-Mines at a later date was of an even more serious nature. These disturbances, which indicate in France, as everywhere else, the growing pressure of the social question, assume very grave political importance on account of the dangers to which the panics they occasion may at any moment expose the Republic. In no country is the public mind more subject to sudden and violent fits of terror, which incline all possessors of property to look for a saviour of society. The death of the Comte de Chambord, or the abdication of Prince Napoleon, may at any moment make the Orleanists or the Bonapartists a menace to the existing constitution, and for this reason alone the death of M. Gambetta—which took place at five minutes before midnight on the last day of 1882—must be deplored as a national calamity.

In spite of all failings in temper or discretion, in spite of certain obvious defects of character, M. Gambetta was the one strong man in his country specially capable of inspiring others with passionate enthusiasm for the cause of that Republican France of whom he had made himself the leader and the advocate. It may be said that he was not indifferent to the pleasures of power, but it cannot be denied that he sought it in the first place because he honestly believed that he might make his country once more a queen among nations. In him, his party has lost a great moral force, for she may have others whose powers of reason and of argument are more conspicuous, but with him dies her most inspiring voice. And, beyond the limits of party, all France has felt the blank which his death has made, for every Frenchman knows that in Léon Gambetta France has lost her most devoted son.

II. ITALY.

On January 6, 1882, the Committee of the Chamber on the Electoral Reform Bill decided to take the question of the extension of the Franchise previously to that of *scrutin de liste*, a decision which was arrived at in agreement with the wishes of the Senatorial Committee on the same Bill. For the Senatorial Committee had been greatly afraid of the two questions becoming mixed, and had, during the month of December 1881, almost extorted a pledge from Signor Depretis that the consideration of the one should be kept entirely separate from the other. By this means the support of the Young Right, who were unfriendly to *scrutin de liste*, was secured for the extension of the franchise; whilst the question of *scrutin de liste*, which had the goodwill of many amongst the Old Right, came before them unprejudiced by any connection with that extension of the franchise to which they were notoriously adverse.

Matters being thus simplified, rapid progress was made with the Electoral Reform Bill. On January 18 the Houses re-assembled, and on the 20th this, as modified by the Senate, was debated and

all its 107 articles passed. The vote on the whole Bill was taken on the following day (217 to 63), it received the King's signature on the morning of the 22nd, and appeared that evening in the *Official Gazette*.

This Bill, by its first clause, conferred the Franchise on (1) all Italians by origin, birth, or naturalisation, who were (2) over twenty-one years of age, who knew (3) how to read and write, and who had also fulfilled one of the following requisitions. That is to say, that those having the qualifications required by the first, second, and third divisions of Clause 1 were further obliged, under Clause 2, to show that they had passed through the obligatory elementary course as prescribed by law, but after this provision followed a long list of those who were excepted from its action, namely—members of Academies of Science, Letters, or Arts; members of Chambers of Commerce; members of Agricultural Associations; professors and masters or teachers in schools of every grade; everyone possessing a University degree; solicitors; chemists; veterinary surgeons, &c.; the whole of the army; every one connected with banking, or in the employ of Government, or forming part of a commercial or municipal administration, or engaged in the service of railway companies; as also everyone wearing certain specified medals. This, the second clause, is followed by a third, which again exempts (from proving the having passed through the obligatory elementary course) all those who pay yearly taxes to the amount of 19·80 lire, occupiers of shops, &c., and persons otherwise showing themselves to be possessed of certain specified amounts of property. The remainder of the Bill—to which is appended a table of the various electoral districts and their respective populations—deals with the machinery of the elections and other minor details connected with representation.

On January 31 began the discussion of *scrutin de liste*, on February 4 the debate was concluded. Signor Crispi spoke strongly in favour of the Bill, and Signor Depretis said that the Government decided to make the adoption of the measure a Cabinet question. If the Bill were rejected, he said that the Government would tender their resignations. Signor Dezebri then moved a resolution declaring that the Chamber approved of *scrutin de liste*, and passes to the discussion of the clauses of the Bill. Signor Tajani thereupon moved another resolution to the same effect, but beginning with the words: "The Chamber having heard the declaration of the Ministry." This phrase, which was regarded as a vote of confidence in the Government, and accepted by Ministers in that sense, was adopted by 285 to 125. The remainder of the resolution, as moved by Signor Dezebri, was voted by 286 to 133; but the measure was not definitively carried in the Senate until April 28, when it passed by 126 to 71. The vote was a foregone conclusion, but it strengthened the hands of the Ministry, who were thus free to prepare for the general elections under the new law.

On February 7 the Bill dividing the country into large elec-

toral constituencies, and containing a provision for securing the representation of minorities, came on for discussion, and on the 13th it was decided to apply this clause—which was vigorously opposed by Signor Crispi, and as vigorously supported by Signor Minghetti—under certain conditions, to such constituencies only as returned not less than five deputies. This Bill was regarded in some quarters as an invitation to Catholics to take part in the elections, and its adoption was immediately followed by a letter from the Pope to the Bishops, which appeared to be intended to encourage them to do so. It was not, however, expected that any large number would avail themselves of the implied permission.

The Government had certainly every reason to expect a favourable verdict from the country, a verdict such as could not be modified by the addition of a few thousands of clerical voters to the thin ranks of their opponents. In reply to all adverse criticisms they could point triumphantly to the brilliant success of their financial policy. The financial statement made by Signor Magliani on March 25 was the most favourable it has yet been the good fortune of an Italian Minister of Finance to lay before Parliament. It proved that the progress and development of the resources and wealth of the country which has been noticeable for some years past was continuing in an increasing ratio, which indicated an able administration. The Budget for 1881 announced an expected surplus, first estimated at nearly 8,000,000 fr., and later at 4,500,000 fr., because of the increased expenditure voted. The accounts for the year have closed instead with a surplus of no less than 49,000,000 fr., which would have amounted to 59,000,000 fr. but for a second additional increase to the amount of expenditure voted. The surplus was due to a saving of 6,000,000 fr. on the estimated outlay and 43,000,000 fr. of increased income. The receipts from ordinary sources during 1881 surpassed the ordinary expenditure by no less than 140,000,000 fr., a great part of which went to make up the deficiency of 80,000,000 fr. between the extraordinary expenditure and income. Of the 43,000,000 fr. of increased income, 32,000,000 fr. were due to augmented productiveness in various items of taxation. For instance, the income-tax gave 4,500,000 fr., register and stamp duties 3,360,000 fr., grist tax 2,600,000 fr., Custom-house duties 18,800,000 fr., and the building tax 4,500,000 fr., more than was calculated in the Estimates. The only falling off was in the tobacco duties and in the State participation in the Octrois. It amounted altogether to 4,600,000 fr. In 1880 taxes yielded 21,800,000 fr. more than was estimated, and in 1881, 32,000,000 fr. The increase in income had permitted of the circulation of Treasury bonds being diminished from 218,000,000 fr. to 185,000,000 fr., and the “anticipations” required from the Bank from 24,000,000 fr. to 6,000,000 fr. As regarded the fluctuating debt, the Minister described the condition of Italy as better than that of any other country. The arrears of income and expenditure still to be settled showed a balance of only

50,000,000 fr. against the State. The Treasury debt, which in 1878 stood at 223,000,000 fr., had been diminished to 133,000,000 fr. Passing on to the definitive Budget of 1882, the Minister announced an expected surplus of 21,500,000 fr., which would, however, be reduced to 7,000,000 fr. because of the increased items of expenditure voted, especially 12,000,000 fr. more for War Estimates. Referring to Italy's foreign commerce, he stated that the importations and exportations of 1881 taken together showed an increase in trade of more than 100,000,000 fr. above that of 1880. If Italy's importations had increased 53,000,000 fr., there had also been an augmentation of 63,000,000 fr. in her exportations. Considering the period of economic transition through which the world was now passing, he said no degree of prudence or foresight could be excessive. Above all, it was requisite that the financial equilibrium should be maintained, and with it also a power of elasticity and expansion which might resist any shock. That elasticity could be secured by not exceeding for some years the limit agreed upon with the Minister of War of 200,000,000 fr. for the ordinary expenditure of his department and those extraordinary army expenses brought before the Chamber which, between the years 1880 and 1885, would amount to 324,000,000 fr. The good financial condition of the country was a guarantee that the abolition of the forced paper currency would be duly accomplished in accordance with the decree, and the remainder of the grist-tax be finally removed at the date fixed—namely, 1884. Signor Magliani concluded by saying that it was clear that he had not been guilty of the optimism of which he had been accused, since the results had surpassed his estimates, nor had he shown any rashness, unless his ardent desire to contribute to the prosperity and greatness of his country could be scrutinised as such. The military expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, to which the Minister had referred as requiring a strict limit, is indeed, and will long continue to be, a heavy drain on the resources of the country. On April 22 General Ferrero, the Minister of War, stated that the sum of 324,000,000 lire spread over the Budgets of the years from 1880 to 1885 would be principally employed in the construction of forts on the frontiers and along the coast, and for the completion of the fortifications round the capital. On this, Signor Nicotera asked whether the above-named sums would be sufficient to ensure the complete defence of the country, to which General Ferrero replied in the affirmative, and Signor Magliani again made a speech, in which he pleaded that the financial condition of the country must not be lost sight of, and that the germs of prosperity, which had begun to show themselves, should not be stifled by excessive military expenditure.

In the course of this discussion, Admiral Acton, the Minister of Marine, was violently attacked by Signor Nicotera, who charged him with failure in his duty, and moved for an inquiry into the administration of his department. Later on, the accusation of parsimony in the military and naval expenditure was formulated

by Nicotera, di Rudini (Right), and other opponents of the Depretis Ministry in the election cry "Armatevi, Difendeteви!" to which the *Popolo Romano* replied by showing that the two services cost 306,000,000 lire per annum, *i.e.* 50 per cent. of the whole amount of State Expenses, including Public Works, and exclusive only of interest on Public Debt, railway subventions, and the like. Since present Ministers came into office, the expenses in the army have increased from 20,000,000 to 249,000,000, and in the navy from 46,000,000 to 57,000,000 per annum. Admiral Acton had also been accused of undue slackness in carrying on the building of vessels of large size, and in August this accusation was met by an announcement, which appeared in the *Piccolo*, to the effect that the Minister of Marine was hastening the construction of large vessels—the completion of the "Italie" was being urged on with alacrity, and the cannon and cuirass for the "Lepanto" would be ordered immediately. At Spezia, Castellamare, and Venice three other vessels of the dimensions of the "Duilio" were, it was said, in course of construction. By the side of these, no others can be placed in the dockyards, nor ordered from abroad. To hasten the completion of the fleet, it had therefore been decided to order from other countries, and place in the Italian dockyards where possible, powerful cruisers. The first trial of the machinery of the "Flavia Gioja" had not, it was added, given such favourable results as had been expected. According to the report of the preparations in the naval department made by Admiral Acton himself, and published on October 5, he attributed great importance to vessels of the second class, which should protect Italian commerce, and suggested for this purpose the building of ram torpedo-boats. He declared that, as to the Government arsenals, the "Dandolo" at Spezzia would be completed in the course of 1883; that the "Doria" was being urged on, and the "Italia" and "Lepanto" were being fitted out; at Castellamare the "Reggiero Doria" was being pushed forward, and the launching of the "Savria" was only postponed for the purpose of modifying the beds of the boilers, as had been found necessary in the "Flavia Gioja." Admiral Acton promised, also, that the construction of two fighting ships, for the second class, powerfully armed, of a large transport for cavalry, of a powerful tug, and two other war-ships of the second class should be undertaken in 1883, but he concluded by demanding an increase to his grant, which Signor Magliani was by no means disposed to concede.

The provisions of the new Commercial Code and of the Treaties of Commerce had also called for much consideration on the part of the Finance Minister. The Bill authorising Government to put the new Code in force was passed by the Chamber on January 31. On May 23, the Committee of the Chamber on the Bill authorising the Prolongation of the Treaties of Commerce with England, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Switzerland, drew up the two following orders of the day for submission to the Chamber:—

(1.) The Chamber invites the Government not to grant any fresh prolongation of existing treaties beyond June 20, 1883, and to negotiate in the interval for the conclusion of arrangements in conformity with the tariffs, and the duration of the treaties with Austria and France, in order to obtain the most favourable treatment for the national products.

(2.) The Chamber invites the Government to present along with the definitive conventions, or even sooner, if possible, a revision of the general tariff in harmony with the conventional tariffs already approved, including in such a revision a differential surtax to be imposed on the goods of States which employ differential duties against Italy.

These resolutions were adopted by the Chamber, and were carried in the Senate, without debate, together with the Bill to which they referred, on May 30. The treaty with France had been concluded on November 3, 1881, not, however, without some difficulty, for the negotiations on this subject could not but suffer somewhat from the general tension of the relations between the two countries.

The irritation in Italy, caused by the action of France in Tunis, was heightened by the determination of M. Gambetta's Cabinet to maintain M. Roustan at his post, and the verdict pronounced at Marseilles in January 1882 on the Italians implicated in the riots which had occurred there in June 1881, on the occasion of the return of the French troops from the Regency, increased the general dissatisfaction. Nor was it until the close of 1882 that the coolness between the two countries, which had been marked by the withdrawal of their respective Ambassadors from Paris and Rome, was formally ended by the appointment of M. Decrais as Ambassador to the Quirinal, and by the transference of General Menabrea from London (where he was replaced by Count di Nigra) to Paris.

As to the Egyptian question, the Italian Government seems to have decided from the first that the only safe course was to follow the lead of Russia. We learn from the Green Book issued on December 12 that, Signor Mancini having asked the Italian Ambassadors abroad to ascertain the opinion of the Governments to which they were accredited with regard to the Note of the Porte protesting against the despatch of a joint Anglo-French squadron to Egyptian waters, Count di Launay, the Italian Ambassador in Berlin, wrote under date May 19, 1882: "It has been decided that Germany will abstain from any interference in Egypt, as, since the Dulcigno affair, Prince Bismarck has manifested great repugnance to any similar measures. It appears to me, also, that from the moment that Germany and Austria adopt an attitude of reserve we may do the same, even although our interest may be more considerable in those regions."

Count di Robilant, the Italian Ambassador in Vienna, in a note dated May 31, used similar language, and also expressed the

opinion that Italy ought to maintain a strict accord with Germany and Austria regarding Egyptian affairs.

On June 4 Count di Launay wrote to Signor Mancini that it was useless to lay down *à priori* before the Conference that nothing should be undertaken singly by any Power. Count di Robilant reported on June 5 that Count Kalnoky had made a similar observation to him.

On June 12, Signor Mancini himself, in reply to the interpellations of Signors Voliario and Messari on the affairs of Egypt, thus summarised the policy of the Government:—To refuse assent to armed intervention on the part of certain Powers; to favour the meeting of the Conference with a definite object; to affirm the competence of the European Concert to share in the final settlement; to restore to the Khedive his authority, while maintaining the free institutions guaranteed to Egyptians; and if armed intervention became necessary, to give preference to that of Turkey, as the lesser evil. He added that the gunboat “Grilardo” had already been sent to Port Said, and that another ironclad was ready to sail for Egyptian waters at a moment’s notice. Some days later, when the estimates for foreign affairs were before the Senate, Signor Mancini was again interpellated by Signors Pantaleone and Caracciolo on the Egyptian question, and he again declared that, in compliance with her policy of peace, Italy desired that the independence of Egypt should be respected in accordance with European treaties and the firmans of the Sultan; that the legitimate authority of the Khedive should be exercised without unlawful interference; and that sufficient guarantees should be afforded for the protection of Europeans. “Italy,” continued Signor Mancini, “desires no interference in the internal politics of the country. It has been said that she has declared war against the National party in Egypt. I have already declared that the national aspirations of the Egyptians possess, in a measure, her sympathy; but it is necessary that rebellious spirits and turbulent individuals should revert to the path of legality. Our aim is clear—namely, to prevent the preponderance of another Power from lighting the torch of discord among the States of Europe. With regard to the Suez Canal, there is a difference between neutralisation and freedom of navigation. The latter is a matter of European, and especially of Italian, interest, Italy in this matter coming after England.”

At this moment the *Diritto*, *Riforma*, *Opinione*, and *Rassegna* were all writing in support of Arabi, whilst the *Popolo Romano* (the ministerial organ) was almost alone in advocating Italian intervention, alongside of England and France, in the event of Europe giving a “unanimous mandate to the most interested Powers” (*Popolo Romano*, July 7). On July 19 the same journal declared that the “English initiative, guaranteeing liberty of navigation in the Suez Canal, has dispelled the blackest shade resting on African politics, by giving the lie to the accusations

of those who believed that she was aiming ambitiously at the possession of the Suez Canal."

On July 25 the English ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget, called upon Signor Mancini, and officially communicated to him the proposal made by Her Majesty's Government that Italy should co-operate with England and France in carrying out what measures might become necessary for the protection of the Suez Canal. But the desired "unanimous mandate of the Powers" had not been obtained. Signor Mancini accordingly replied that Italy fully reciprocated the friendly feeling in which the offer had been made, but stated that inasmuch as the same proposal for the co-operation of one or more Powers, together with the two Western Powers, for the security of the Canal had been made to the Conference, it was impossible for the Italian Government to give any reply until after the Conference had pronounced upon the subject. A similar communication was shortly afterwards made to Signor Mancini by Count d'Harcourt, to whom he returned the same reply. Later on (August 6), at the instigation, it is said, of Prince Bismarck, Italy proposed a temporary joint European protection of the Canal, by which a check might be put on the exclusive action of England, and an opportunity afforded to France of retaining some part in the settlement of the Egyptian question without exposing herself to any danger. This proposal, on August 10, was assented to at Constantinople by the English ambassador, Lord Dufferin, under certain reserves for cases of *force majeure*; on the 14th it was also formally accepted by the French ambassador, M. de Noailles; and on August 25 Captain Manfredi, of the "Affondatore" (ironclad), placed himself in communication with Admiral Seymour in order to arrange for his share in carrying out the police of the Canal.

The interest taken by Italy in the Egyptian question had rendered her even keener than before in prosecuting her scheme for the colonisation of Assab Bay. A statement made by Sir Charles Dilke in the House of Commons, to the effect that the Italian establishment at Assab would be exclusively commercial, instantly produced (April 22) an interpellation from Signor Massari in the Italian Chamber; in reply Signor Mancini stated that the Italian Government and English Government were agreed, and that the occupation of Assab was only intended by Italy to serve her in the development of her commercial and maritime relations, and in her scientific expeditions. On April 26 Sir Augustus Paget met the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Count Corti, in order to sign a protocol defining the rights of Italy over that territory, and admitting also her right to construct necessary military works for the defence of Assab as an Italian colony. On June 12 Signor Mancini presented to the Chamber the Bill embodying these rights, and declaring Assab to be a free port; exempting all natives from taxation for thirty years, and declaring that their religion should be respected. The Bill also provided that

the Italian Government should have the right of making concessions of land in Assab to companies or individuals, and of concluding treaties of commerce and amity with neighbouring rulers. Signor Mancini demanded a grant of 60,000 lire—to be included in the Budget of 1882—which was to be expended on public works in the colony, and stated that the construction of the port itself would be provided for by another Bill. In the course of his introductory remarks it should be noted that Signor Mancini said, “England has given her *fixed concurrence* to the acquisition by Italy,” &c., a phrase to which exception was immediately taken by the English Foreign Office. Eventually (July 4) the Assab Bay Bill passed the Senate without debate. In the course of the following August negotiations were also begun, by the Italian Government, with the King of Johanna, through Signor Sucie, a traveller, with the object of obtaining from him trading facilities for Italian subjects in the Comoro Archipelago.

Meanwhile, the electoral campaign began. The results of the municipal elections, which took place at Rome on July 10, were watched with some interest and surprise, for no less than sixteen Liberals were returned, whilst the clerical party were nowhere. Some fears had been entertained of a coalition between the clericals and the extreme Radicals, such as we constantly see wrecking the hopes of the Liberals in France; and early in March Signor Minghetti made a speech, in which he advised the party of the Right in the Romagna—where republicans are numerous—to unite with the Left against them and their supposed allies, thus indicating to his supporters in the country the same line of conduct which he, and his section of the Right, had been pursuing in the Chamber. On September 5 at Treviso, and again at a later date at Legnago, he urged the necessity for this compromise, declaring that it was in no wise dishonourable to the Moderate Party, for “when you were brought face to face with a standing menace to existing institutions, every divergence of opinion on secondary questions should be silenced, and for ever laid to rest.” It was for this reason, he said, that in the coming elections the moderate party should “show its patriotism by frankly and loyally supporting progressist candidates whose monarchical faith was pure, so as to combat by such aid every description of Radical.”

The position taken up by Signor Minghetti, and his supporters of the young Right, was vigorously repudiated by the elder section. On September 12, Visconti Venosta, speaking at Milan, said, “Let us recognise the good intentions of those who propose to form a single party, against the Radicals and the Clericals, of all those who desire monarchy and liberty; but we must remember that we may all *love* them, and yet disagree as to the way of serving them. . . . A large body of the Left has always refused to join the Radicals openly, which yet has always sought not to render too evident the division between them and the majority. . . . With what hope of not being obliged to part company, at the first

occasion, could we unite with them or they with us? and yet we could not suspect their loyalty to our institutions. . . . Certainly we must all unite against republicans. . . . But it is too sad to picture an Italian Chamber divided between Monarchists and Republicans; yet only in such a state of things could we bring about this union of all Royalists. . . . From 1876 till the present time the basis of government has been an understanding with the Radical party. . . . Let us strive to send up, for once, to the Chamber a governing majority, which will not mean reaction, which will remain faithful to Liberal principles, but whose political distinction will be that it keeps clear of all solidarity with the Radical party. . . . The Radical party has two objects—the agitation for Italia irredenta—the agitation against the guarantees: the one renders any alliance in Conservative Europe impossible, the other would bring about open war with the Papacy. Now, in that part of Europe to which we must naturally look for alliance all tends to affirm the principle of authority and Conservative tendencies. You may take it for granted, a Radical policy in the present position of Europe can obtain no diplomatic success.” Under the head of reforms which he desired to see effective, Visconti Venosta proposed the cutting off of the small concessions of money made to meet parliamentary “benevolences” (a point, it will be remembered, of M. Léon Say’s programme in France), so as to be able to deal largely with remission of taxation. Secondly, he recommended the special consideration of the agricultural interest. Thirdly, that popular education be promoted, and that “the school be not placed in contradiction with the sentiments of the family, nor made to appear hostile to the religious conscience of the majority of Italians. Fourthly, he declared that he desired to see the principle of administrative decentralisation sincerely applied—that is, he wished for the introduction of a larger measure of local self-government.

The Prime Minister, Signor Depretis, in his turn addressed his constituents at Stradella, on October 8; and after a triumphant recapitulation of what had been achieved since 1875, he declared that he did “not consider any concessions could be safely made to the Clericals beyond the law of Papal Guarantees.” As to increased armaments, he said that “he could not consent to another immediate increase of expenditure, which would amount to tens of millions; . . . that the first reform should be a reduction in the price of salt.” Of the foreign relations of Italy he also spoke, declaring that she “must remain faithful to the concert of the Great Powers, but especially of those of Central Europe; . . . a family alliance with Bavaria was impending; . . . relations with England were excellent; . . . documents will show that the acceptance of the invitation to intervene in Egypt would not have been consistent with international duties.” Signor Depretis went on to promise measures providing for sanitary reform, for irriga-

tion, for forests, for the establishment of an agrarian *crédit foncier*, and a pension fund. He then stated that bills would be introduced by Government in favour of the working classes; for the improvement of the position of school teachers; for the remodelling of commercial and provincial laws; for the reform of the service of public safety, as also measures dealing with the merchant navy, and with the equalisation of the land tax.

The address of Signor Minghetti—the leader of the so-called Opposition—to his electors at Bologna a few days later (October 15) went over precisely the same ground. The grist tax, he said, ought to be abolished completely; a just proportion ought to be maintained between the military forces and the financial capacities of the kingdom; he should have liked to see the Italian flag floating by the side of the English in Egypt, but was willing before pronouncing an opinion to await the publication of the documents promised by Signor Depretis; and, in conclusion, he declared himself ready to support all the measures of internal reform indicated by the Prime Minister.

The electoral campaign was carried on in the midst of the terrible inundations which visited North Italy during the autumn and early winter months, and which devastated the plains of Lombardy, causing frightful losses of property, and some loss of life. The Government displayed the greatest activity in endeavouring to combat these disasters, and the King himself was to be seen wherever suffering was the greatest. On October 29 the elections were held; they gave an overwhelming majority to Government. Ministerialists, Left and Centre, were computed at about 320; the Right at 100; the Dissidents at 40; and the Republicans at 40. The number of Republicans in the Chamber was indeed increased by thirteen, but this, it was said, might have been expected under an enlarged suffrage. The great towns nearly all returned Progressist candidates; Brescia, all Progressists, including Signor Zanardelli, the Minister of Justice; Florence, 3 Progressists to 1 Moderate; Turin, all Progressists; Genoa, 3 Progressists, 1 Moderate; Milan, 4 Radicals, 1 Progressist; and Venice, 4 Progressists and 2 Moderates. The result of the elections at Rome, in spite of the return of Coccapieller, was anything but a triumph for the Radical party. Cavalotti, the ardent promoter of electoral reform, lost his seat; whilst Baulli, Piancini (Progressist), and Corazi (Moderate), came in easily, and Depretis and Bauarini were re-elected in two colleges.

The election of Coccapieller was looked upon as certain from the first, although his name did not appear upon a single placard, no committee supported him, and there was really no open canvass on his behalf. He owed his great favour with the populace to the scurrilous personal attacks on notabilities of all parties, for which his journal, *Ezio II.*, started in the month of July, had been made the vehicle. He had been many times convicted of libel, and at the time of the elections was actually in prison, having seriously

wounded a man named Sognetti, in a wine-shop brawl, during the month of August.

The King opened Parliament on November 22, with a speech of which we need say nothing, as it closely followed the lines of that made by the Prime Minister at Stradella, which we have already summarised. The sole event of the session arose out of the refusal of a Socialist deputy, Signor Falleroni, to take the oath of allegiance. On this, Depretis instantly prepared to introduce (December 12) a Bill which provided, firstly, that any deputy refusing to take the oath thereby forfeits his seat; and secondly, that any Deputy who does not take the oath within two months after his election forfeits his seat unless he can show a legitimate impediment properly certified. On the 14th "the Bureaux of the Chamber of Deputies all reported in favour of the Bill, and appointed a Committee, counting amongst its members Signors Minghetti, Peruzzi, La Porta, Ferracini, and Tajani, which was almost unanimous in approval of the measure.

The discussion of the Oaths Bill, which began on the 18th, presented some curious features. From first to last the balance of oratory was greatly on the Radical side, whilst in fierce argument the Conservatives decidedly had the best of it. The speech of Signor Ceneri, the eminent criminal advocate, and Professor of Roman Law at Bologna, against the Bill was most telling, although the points which he made—such, for instance, as that Signor Falleroni had shed his blood for Italy—were beneath notice as argument. To him replied Signor Brunialti, Professor of Law at Turin, in a discourse which elevated the discussion to questions of principle, but his delivery was so bad that he was listened to with marked indifference. On the second day another great criminal lawyer, Signor Bovio, displayed the most fascinating eloquence in speaking against the bill; after Signor Bertani, the Republican leader, who followed on the same side, came Signor Costa, the Socialist. He maintained that the oath offended the dignity of the representatives in whom resided the national dignity, and declared that he considered his own conduct was perfectly loyal in saying, outside the Chamber, that the oath was not binding. At this, President Farini, who had been re-elected (November 23) by an almost unanimous vote of 386, elicited immense applause from all but the Extreme Left, by addressing the speaker thus:—"Honourable Signor Costa," he said, "you did your duty in securing, as all here have done, loyalty to the Crown, and in faithfully keeping your promise." On the 20th Signor Depretis himself spoke in the Chamber in support of the Bill. He maintained that the measure involved no infringement of Liberal principles, and urged that it would be a great mistake to abolish the oath, which was a mutual engagement between the King and the representatives of the nation sanctioned by law. The object of the present Bill was to withdraw the question from the arbitrament of an ever-varying majority, and he hoped it would be passed. If Signor Bertani and

his Radical friends thought they had succeeded in making a rent in the statutes, he (the Premier) thought it his duty to endeavour to prevent them from passing through it. His own ideal form of government was a Constitutional Monarchy. The House of Savoy had always been faithful to its promises, and would, he was convinced, continue to observe them. He was followed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Justice on the 21st, and the House then proceeded to vote upon a motion declaring confidence in the Government, which was adopted by 324 to 32. Thirty-one deputies of the Left, including of course Signori Cairoli and Crispi, abstained from voting. When the Chamber came to the final approval of the Bill there were 377 members present, of whom 301 were favourable, only 73 were against, and 2 refused to vote. The Bill having been thus triumphantly carried in the Chamber, was at once (December 23) introduced to the Senate, and, on the motion of Signor Depretis, declared urgent; several other Bills, including one for the provisional exercise of the Budget, were then adopted, and the House adjourned till the 28th. The Central Bureau then unanimously reported in favour of the Bill as passed by the Chamber of Deputies; it was approved by the Senate on the following day by 105 to 12, and the Prime Minister then prorogued the sittings of both Houses until January 17, 1883.

The Ministerialist victory on the Parliamentary Oaths Bill was even greater than had been expected, and the first political debate of the new reformed Chamber resulted in a great Conservative victory. This victory was obtained through that curious fusion—the certainty of which became evident at the elections—of a large body of the Right with that portion of the Left which was represented in the Cabinet of Signor Depretis. Against this formidable coalition (although it may be occasionally troubled, as in the election of the Budget Committee, by the protests of the non-fusionists) the other groups in the Chamber, the Dissident Right, the followers of Crispi or of Miotera, and that small knot of Republicans which acknowledges Signor Bertani for its chief, will combine, probably, in vain; and from the decided line taken by the Prime Minister in respect of the Oaths Bill, from the summary way in which he put down the various demonstrations made against Austria in many Italian towns on the execution of Oberdank at Trieste, and from the attitude which he maintained towards the nation, it is clear that he is firmly resolved to take such a line, both in foreign and domestic affairs, as will ensure the continuance of that Conservative support which he has recently obtained; for the preservation of the Monarchy, the law of the Papal Guarantees, and the German alliance have always been cardinal points of the policy of the Right.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY.

A PROFOUND sensation was created in Germany at the beginning of the year by a Royal Rescript, dated January 4, and published by the *Official Gazette* of January 7. This strange document, which was countersigned by Prince Bismarck and addressed to the Prussian Ministry, declared that "the right of the King to direct the Government and policy of Prussia in accordance with his own judgment is restricted, but not abrogated, by the Constitution;" and that it "can only tend to obscure the constitutional rights of the King to represent their exercise as proceeding from the responsible Ministers, and not from the King himself." So far the Rescript might be considered unobjectionable, as it merely stated what was the fact; but its true significance appeared in its concluding paragraph, in which the Sovereign was made to state that, while having no wish to restrict the freedom of elections, he would expect all officials who "can, in virtue of the Discipline Law, be removed from their posts," to "hold aloof, even at elections, from all agitation against the Government;" and that "the duty which, in their oaths of office, they swore to perform, extends to supporting the policy of the Government even at elections." These words naturally gave rise to much speculation, and fears were expressed of a coming *coup d'état*. The Rescript certainly furnished a striking confirmation of the views which had been frequently expressed in recent debates by Prince Bismarck with regard to the personal responsibility of the Sovereign, and of Herr von Puttkammer's reply to the complaints made by the Radicals of official interference with the elections of the preceding year. But it seems rather to have been intended as a justification of past policy than as an indication of measures to be taken in future; and in any case its effect was greatly to increase the unpopularity of Prince Bismarck, who was universally pointed at by public opinion as its author. His irrepressible antagonist in the Parliamentary arena, Herr Richter, took an opportunity of giving expression in the German Parliament to this feeling on January 10, when the report of a committee on a proposal made by the Chancellor to prosecute a Socialist paper for libelling the House came on for discussion. The Committee recommended the rejection of the proposal, and Herr Richter, in supporting their recommendation, urged that Parliament should not be troubled by such frivolous motions, especially as no proposal had ever been made to prosecute Berlin journals closely connected with the Chancellor, which were constantly publishing libels on the House. He added, amid cheers, that public prosecutors could not be independent, as they are

among the officials who by the late Rescript were bound to assist in electoral agitations on behalf of the Government.

The Rescript was discussed in the German Parliament on January 24. Prince Bismarck said that he had risen from a sick bed in order to reply in person to the Opposition, and to declare that the Rescript claims no new rights for the kingdom, that its object is not to bring about a conflict, and that the King desires peace with his people. "The King's person," he added, "was always inviolable. I am responsible for all the acts of my King and master. . . . The Kings of Prussia have never viewed their position as a question of right, but only as one of duty. Frederick the Great called himself the first servant of the State: the real Prime Minister of Prussia is the King." Then, turning to the Left, he exclaimed, "If you think Ministers intend to shield themselves against parliamentary attacks by the King's person, you are mistaken. If you accuse me, who have served my King for twenty years, of cowardice, you must blush at making such an accusation." This produced a tumult in the House, the Left protesting that what they had said had been misinterpreted, while Prince Bismarck and the Right persisted in maintaining that the words he had referred to could bear no other construction than that which the Prince had given them. On the whole, however, the impression produced by the Chancellor's speech was favourable, as it seemed clearly to show that the publication of the Rescript did not portend any further restriction of the liberties of the people.

The next important measure discussed in the German Parliament was Dr. Windthorst's motion for the repeal of the law prohibiting the exercise of ecclesiastical functions without the authority of the Government. Dr. Windthorst pointed out that the motion was not intended to create any privileges for Roman Catholics, but only to obtain for the members of that religion in Prussia the rights possessed by all religious persuasions in other countries. The motion was opposed by the Conservatives and National Liberals, and supported by the Progressists, the Government remaining neutral, and after two days' debate it was passed by a majority of two-thirds of the House on January 18. This somewhat unexpected result of the debate was attributed to a wish on the part of the Government to secure the support of the Centre party, especially as on January 17 a new Ecclesiastical Bill had been introduced in the Prussian Diet (which was opened with a vague and insignificant speech from the throne on January 14), that seemed to tend in the same direction. By the second and third articles of this bill the Government is empowered to restore to their sees the deposed bishops, and to dispense with the decrees which prevent foreign priests from exercising ecclesiastical functions in Prussia. The first debate on the bill took place on February 7. Herr Gossler, the Minister of Public Worship, pleaded that it was necessary to define and settle the limits between the State and the Church, as had been done in other countries at the beginning of

the present century, with the result that they were spared a conflict like that which now existed in Prussia. The relations between the Government and the Roman Catholic population had much improved during the past eighteen months, and the Government felt that it ought to continue in the peaceful path on which it had entered. Dr. Windthorst, while agreeing in this view, and recognising in the Government an honest desire to find a *modus vivendi*, strongly opposed the bill as not providing any remedy for the evils caused by the May laws, and recommended that it should be referred to a committee with this object. The verdict of the whole German Fatherland, he said, was in favour of peace with the Church, and the Roman Catholics of Prussia would fight to their last breath if their rights were withheld. To this Professor Virchow, the Progressist leader, replied, amid much interruption, that his party would vigilantly guard all constitutional rights against clerical encroachments; and that the liberty of the Church was only another name for the supremacy of the Church in matters spiritual and temporal. Ultimately, after Dr. Windthorst had remarked that the Culturkampf was dead, and that all that now remained to be done was to bury it, his proposal to refer the bill to a committee was accepted by the House. Meanwhile active negotiations took place between Herr von Schlözer, the new German envoy at Rome, and the Vatican, for the purpose of establishing an amicable arrangement between Prussia and the Holy See, though without any definite result. Ultimately, however, a compromise was arrived at between the Conservatives and the Clericals, which brought about the adoption of the Ecclesiastical Law Amendment Bill by the Prussian Lower House on March 31, and the Upper on May 4, without the clauses originally introduced by the Government for compelling Roman Catholic bishops to notify each appointment of a clergyman in their respective dioceses to the secular authorities. Thus another important concession was made to the Clerical party.

A further illustration of the growing tendency of public opinion in Germany to adopt a policy of conciliation towards the Vatican was afforded by a debate which took place in the Prussian Chamber on March 8, on a proposal of the Government that a sum of 90,000 marks should be appropriated for the new Minister at the Vatican. Neither Prussia nor Germany had been represented there since 1874, when the Culturkampf attained its climax. The ground alleged by Dr. Busch, the Under Secretary of State, for the proposed revival of a Prussian Mission at the Vatican was that it was necessary for the transaction of business between the Holy See and the eight millions of Prussian subjects who are Roman Catholics. The abolition of the Embassy in 1874 was effected, not because there was no business to be done, but because the language of the Holy See was at that time inconsistent with the continuance of friendly relations: this, however, was no longer the case. The National Liberals opposed the grant on the ground that they con-

sidered that no concessions whatever should be made to the Pope ; and Herr Virchow, the Progressist leader, because, although he did not object to concessions to the Holy See, he thought Prussia should not be represented abroad except as a member of the German Empire. The grant was then voted by a substantial majority.

Some interesting debates took place in the German Parliament during the early part of the session on economical questions. On January 9, Herr von Hertling, a member of the Clerical party, asked whether the Government would introduce a bill for limiting Sunday and female labour in factories, and expressed the opinion, on behalf of his party, that it was the business of the State to promote the moral and social welfare of the working classes. To this Prince Bismarck replied that the matter referred to could only be dealt with in connection with the economical schemes of the Government generally, and that with regard to the Accident Insurance scheme, he had arrived at the conclusion that it could only be realised by corporate bodies without encroaching on State funds. On January 18 the United Liberals brought in a bill for amending the law as to the liability of employers, on the basis of compulsory insurance against accidents by means of joint-stock companies to be formed for that purpose. The majority of the House expressed a preference for Prince Bismarck's plan of entrusting the management of this kind of insurance to corporate bodies instead of to private companies, and ultimately the question was referred to a select committee, which also expressed itself in favour of the Chancellor's views. Nothing, however, was done in the matter, and the session (the first of the fourth legislative period of the German Parliament) was closed on January 30. Its principal achievements were the refusal of funds for Prince Bismarck's Economic Council and Count Moltke's proposed non-commissioned officers' school at Breisach, in Alsace, and the acceptance of the plan for erecting a new House of Parliament.

In the Prussian Diet, too, economical questions were a good deal canvassed during the session. A bill was brought in by the Government, on February 2, for providing 128,500,000 marks for the extension and construction of various branch railways, and the purchase of six private lines ; and the debate which followed showed that the principle of State railways met with the approval of all parties but the Progressists, who opposed it chiefly on the ground that its adoption would enormously increase the number of State officials, and consequently the power of the Government. On March 1 the economical proposals of the Government were laid before the Economic Council, 68 of the 75 members of the council being present. Although 30 of the members are directly appointed by the Government, and the remainder are selected by the Government from a list of 90 names sent up by the Chambers of Commerce and other bodies representing the agricultural and manufacturing industries of the country, the new body was far from

being an obedient tool in Prince Bismarck's hands, and it strongly opposed his Tobacco Monopoly Bill, the object of which is to augment the revenue by placing the whole of the manufacture of tobacco in the hands of the State, and imposing certain restrictions on its cultivation. This bill was laid before the council on March 2. In the statement accompanying it the annual revenue which would be produced under the proposed arrangement was estimated at 347,770,442 marks, and the expenditure at 172,324,775 marks, leaving a balance of 175,445,667 marks, which, after deducting 9,957,750 marks as interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the sum of 334,300,000 marks to be paid as compensation to private manufacturers, would yield a net income to the empire of 165,487,917 marks.

Prosecutions of newspapers for libelling Prince Bismarck were as numerous as usual this year, and an attempt was also made, though unsuccessfully, by the Prince's agents in such matters to fly at higher game. On March 28 Herr George von Bunsen, a Liberal member of the Imperial Parliament, was tried at Hirschberg, in Silesia, for having described, in a speech addressed to his constituents there, the Chancellor's proposal to double the beer tax without raising the tax on brandy, as "highly immoral," but was acquitted after an eloquent discourse by his counsel in defence of freedom of speech. Dr. Mommsen, too, against whom a similar action was brought for his speech at the imperial elections of the previous year, was also acquitted (June 16). It has been frequently remarked that though Prince Bismarck eagerly seizes upon every opportunity of punishing criticism of his public acts in the Opposition press, he does not hesitate to subsidise the semi-official press for the attacks which it makes upon his political opponents. The 'Reptile Fund,' out of which these subsidies are paid, and which is derived from the interest (about 1,300,000 marks a year) on the indemnity of 16,000,000 thalers originally awarded to the ex-King of Hanover for the loss of his sovereign rights, but afterwards impounded by the Prussian Government on the ground that the ex-King continued his agitation against Prussia, was the subject of a discussion in the Prussian Chamber on March 29. The Progressists urged that the "Reptile Fund" should be abolished, and that the interest on the indemnity should in future be added to the capital; but Herr von Benningsen, the Hanoverian leader of the National Liberals, opposed this motion on the ground that the day was probably not far distant when the recognition of the empire by the Duke of Cumberland would enable the Prussian Government to pay over to him the amount of his late father's impounded property. This view was adopted by a large majority of the House.

The German Parliament was opened April 27. The speech from the throne on this occasion referred principally to the Tobacco Monopoly Bill, which it described as a measure of indirect taxation for increasing the revenue of the empire. This bill had, however,

a much wider bearing, for if it had been passed its effect would have been vastly to increase the power of the Imperial Government at the expense of the local governments of the various states forming the empire. At present the imperial revenue depends in a considerable degree on the contributions made to it under the Constitution by the German states, each of which exercises a corresponding control over the Imperial expenditure; while the revenue derivable from the proposed tobacco monopoly would practically have made the Imperial Government independent, and have tended to extinguish the local legislatures and executives. Moreover, it would have created an army of Imperial officials, who as a rule would, according to the principles enunciated in the famous manifesto issued at the beginning of the year, vote with their chiefs. Notwithstanding the danger to the interests of the individual states involved in the scheme, Prince Bismarck had sufficient influence with the Federal Council to procure its adoption of the bill by a majority of 36 to 22 on April 25. In the German Parliament the bill came on for debate on May 10. The Clericals showed no gratitude on this occasion for the concessions made to them by the Government in the Ecclesiastical Bill, for they declared, through their leader, Herr Windthorst, that they were strongly opposed to the tobacco monopoly. A social democrat, Herr von Vollmar, observed that his party also would vote against the measure, as, though the Socialists were in favour of State monopolies, they considered that there were other and more important industries, such as the landed interest, which should be taxed first. After a debate which, owing to the absence of Prince Bismarck, excited but little public interest, the bill was referred to a committee, which rejected it on May 20 by a majority of 21 to 3. The debate on the second reading of the bill began on June 12, and on this occasion the Chancellor came forward to defend his scheme in person. The committee, in their report against the bill, had observed that it was not necessary, as the existing taxes sufficed for the requirements of the State. To this Prince Bismarck replied that the measure was introduced chiefly in order to enable the Government to take off other and more burdensome taxes. The existing taxes, both direct and indirect, pressed intolerably upon the people, and this was an attempt to relieve the pressure. In France and Austria the tobacco monopoly had been long in existence, and he thought it would also soon become popular in Germany. It had been alleged that the scheme would injure the interests of the workmen employed in the tobacco trade; but he was of opinion that the interests of the working classes had been sacrificed to "the Moloch of Free Trade" far more than they ever could be by the proposed monopoly. "You may ask me," he concluded, "why I do not resign if you do not adopt this bill. My reply is that I remain out of personal consideration for the Emperor. When I saw him lying in his blood after Nobiling's attempt, I made a vow that I would never resign with-

out his consent. The welfare of the country must mainly rest on the dynasty, which will preserve the military and political unity of the empire, and carry us through any difficulties which may fall on the country through the atrophy of faction." The debate was continued on the two following days, during which every speaker of any eminence in the House condemned the bill. Prince Bismarck then again spoke in defence of the measure, and attempted to answer the arguments of its opponents. It is not Protection, he maintained, that raises the price of bread, but Free Trade, which injures landed property and compels the agricultural population to emigrate. Herr Richter had proposed a diminution of the military expenditure; but this could not be permitted, "for Germany's central position in Europe always compels her to command the respect of her neighbours by the number of her bayonets." The insufficiently developed national spirit of the Germans, the Chancellor continued, encourages France in the hope of retrieving her losses, for in past times the people of Alsace-Lorraine preferred the livery of France to the coat of the free German peasant. Finally, referring to a remark made by Herr Richter, that parliamentary government was in Germany every day becoming more difficult, the Chancellor said that this was true of other countries as well as of Germany. So long as there were only two parties in England, who both had an interest in her being great and prosperous, it was easy for the Prime Minister to govern with a parliament; but since the admission of "the Catholic and Irish party" government had become more complicated. The defiant tone of this speech was not calculated to make the House more inclined to accept the Chancellor's policy, and the first article of the bill was rejected by a majority of 276 to 43. On the following day, after an eloquent speech from Herr von Benningsen, who declared that however members might differ from Prince Bismarck on minor questions, they would heartily unite with him in all measures necessary for the preservation of the empire, the portion of the report of the committee which expressed a want of confidence in the Chancellor's financial plans was rejected, while that which was directed specifically against the Tobacco Monopoly Bill was adopted by a majority of five only (155 to 150).

Considerable excitement was caused in Prussia by the elections for the Diet, which took place in the last fortnight of October. The result was a great triumph for the Conservative party and the Government. Of the two sections of this party, the Old Conservatives and the Free Conservatives, the former gained twelve seats and the latter five, while the National Liberals lost eighteen. The total numbers are—Old Conservatives, 128; Free Conservatives, 56; Ultramontanes and Guelphs, 100; National Liberals, 67; Progressists, 38; Secessionists, 21; Poles, 18; Danes, 2; of no party, 3. The Conservatives and Ultramontanes consequently have a considerable majority in the new Prussian Parliament. The most important of the measures to be laid before it is one for the

abolition of the four lowest grades of the income tax, by which upwards of four millions of the poorest taxpayers, who have to pay on incomes of from 21*l.* to 60*l.* a year, would be exempted from the tax. This would cause a loss of 750,000*l.* a year to the Treasury, which it is proposed to cover by excise duties on wine, beer, brandy, and tobacco—a proposal which has met with much opposition in the Diet, though the necessity for exempting the lower classes of income from the tax is universally admitted. In the German Parliament, which reassembled on November 29, the only question of general interest which was dealt with during the latter part of the year was a proposal by an Alsatian deputy, Herr Winterer, to permit the use of the French language in the debates of the Alsatian Legislative Council, on the ground that many of the members of that body cannot speak German. This proposal had passed the second reading some months before, but when the division on the third reading was taken it was rejected by 153 votes to 119.

The foreign policy of Germany during the year showed no decrease in the power which, under the direction of her great Chancellor, she had obtained in the councils of Europe. The mission to the Sultan in February strengthened the friendly relations with Turkey, who it was said would prove a valuable ally to Germany in the event of a Russo-German war; and the appointment of Herr von Schlötzer as Prussian Minister to the Vatican, if it did not absolutely put an end to the *Culturkampf*, at least did much to appease the hostility with which the policy of the Government at Berlin had previously been regarded by its numerous Roman Catholic subjects. In December Europe was startled by the revelation of the existence of a treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria. This alliance, which is dated October 15, 1879, was concluded for five years, and is of course subject to renewal. It stipulates that if either of the contracting parties should be attacked, the other should bring the whole of its military power to the assistance of its ally. A good deal of speculation took place as to the cause of the disclosure of this treaty, but the increasing influence of Pan Slavism in Russia, and of Slavism in Austria, afforded a sufficient explanation of it, and since the announcement was made a marked change of tone has been observable in the anti-German press of Moscow and Prague. The very fact, however, that the disclosure of the treaty was found necessary showed that it was not sufficient in itself to make Germany secure against the dangers which threaten her. Although the death of M. Gambetta, and the removal from the Austro-Hungarian embassy at Paris of Count Beust, Prince Bismarck's clever and restless rival, have greatly diminished, for the present at least, the probability of a French war of revenge, the German Chancellor showed by his policy on the Egyptian question that he was above all anxious to avoid European complications. It was for this reason that he opposed the idea of an Anglo-French occu-

pation of Egypt, which, as he said, might have led to a conflict similar to that which followed the Austro-Prussian occupation of Schleswig-Holstein ; and that, when England took the matter into her own hands, he threw all the weight of German power on her side. Like Lord Derby during the Russo-Turkish war, Prince Bismarck seems to have arrived at the conclusion that the greatest interest of his country is peace.

CHAPTER III.

EASTERN EUROPE.

I. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

THE chief subject which occupied public attention in Austria-Hungary during the earlier part of the year was the revolt in Herzegovina and the Crivoscie district of Dalmatia. General Jovanovics, a determined and able officer, well acquainted with the national peculiarities of the Southern Slavs, to which race he himself belonged, was appointed to the chief command of the troops in the district, with similar powers to those which were given to the military leaders engaged in the suppression of the insurrections which took place against the Austrian rule in Italy and Hungary ; and a special meeting of the delegations was summoned on January 28 to vote 8,000,000 florins for the extra expenditure which it was estimated would be caused by the military operations to be undertaken against the insurgents. After a warm debate, in which the Hungarian Opposition severely attacked the policy of the Government, and even Count Andrassy, the ex-Foreign Minister, sharply criticised the Austrian administration in Bosnia, six millions only of the amount asked for was voted. Considerable interest was attached abroad to the statements made on this occasion by Count Kalnoky, the new Foreign Minister, who asserted that no foreign power was in any way implicated in the insurrection, and that Austria had no idea of either extending or enlarging her occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—the latter declaration being evidently directed against the report that Austria contemplated an advance on Salonica. The Prince of Montenegro, although his subjects notoriously sympathised with the insurgents, acted in a very conciliatory spirit towards Austria on this occasion, and freely sanctioned the passage of Austrian troops through his territory. The campaign began on February 9, and after much fighting and extraordinary hardships, borne with great courage and stoicism by the Austrian troops, the insurrection was virtually suppressed by the capture of Fort Dragali, the insurgent headquarters, on March 10.

An important solution of the long-standing dispute between

the Germans and the Czechs with regard to the University of Prague was arrived at on February 11 by the acceptance in the Upper House of the Reichsrath, after a long debate, of the Government Bill dividing the University into two parts, in one of which all lectures are to be delivered in the Czech language, and in the other in German. This Bill produced a great deal of angry feeling among the Germans in Bohemia, who had hitherto almost monopolised the teaching in the Prague University; but the great majority in the House were decidedly in favour of the measure as a necessary step of conciliation towards an important section of the population of the Monarchy. A similar policy was adopted by the Reichsrath shortly afterwards (March 20) with regard to the working-men of the country. Most of these, under the old electoral law which limits the franchise to men who pay ten florins in direct taxes, were excluded from the right of voting at elections, and the Bill passed by the Lower House on the above date reduced the payment required to qualify for the franchise from ten florins to five. This, however, was not so radical a measure as at first sight it would appear to be, for the Austrian representative system is based on what is called the representation of interests. The interests thus represented are the landowners, the towns, the rural districts, and the Chambers of Commerce, so that in two only of these classes would the extension of the suffrage be felt. Curiously enough, the Bill, which was passed by a majority of 162 to 124, was supported by the Conservatives and strongly opposed by the Liberals. The explanation of this apparent anomaly is that the Conservatives in Austria chiefly represent the Slavonic part of the population, which forms the majority, while the Liberals are the representatives of the German minority. Another measure which was passed at the same time was more evidently directed to the object of increasing the number of Slavonic representatives in the Reichsrath. Under the system of "representation of interests," the landowners in Bohemia send 23 representatives to the Reichsrath, who under the old law were elected by all the landowners without distinction of nationality. They are now to be divided into six electoral bodies, two of which contain all the German landowners, so that the remaining four consist entirely of Czechs. These measures were officially put forward as steps in the conciliation policy which Count Taaffe had made the programme of his Ministry; but the Opposition declared that this policy was merely a scheme for converting Austria into a Catholic-Slavonic State as a rival to the Orthodox Greek Slavonic State which is the ideal of the statesmen of Russia; and the Hungarians, as has been already pointed out, showed their hostility to the plan by striking 2,000,000 florins off the budget for the extraordinary expenses of the military occupation of Bosnia. As for the Germans, they were divided among themselves, as usual; an attempt was made to break up "the United Left" by the formation of a people's party (*Volkspartei*) under Dr. Fischhof, and a "middle party" under Count

Coronini, but its only result was to produce increased dissension among the members of the Opposition, and consequently to strengthen the Ministry.

An important change in the Hungarian Ministry was effected at the end of May by the resignation of M. Szlavy as Minister of Finance, and the appointment in his place of M. Kallay, *chef de section* in the Vienna Foreign Office. M. Szlavy had always shared the dislike of his countrymen for the Austrian occupation of Bosnia; and the reduction of the vote for the expenses of the suppression of the rebellion, together with the increasing influence of the military party at the Hofburg, which advocates a more autocratic administration of the occupied provinces, doubtless contributed to precipitate his withdrawal from the Cabinet. The new Minister, M. Kallay—whose duties, like those of his predecessor, embrace the chief direction of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina—belongs to an ancient Hungarian family, and has a very high reputation for political ability and knowledge, especially of Eastern affairs. He was for six years Austro-Hungarian Consul at Belgrade, and was afterwards elected a member of the Hungarian Parliament, in which he voted with the Conservative party. It was in the height of the philo-Turkish agitation in Hungary during the Russo-Turkish war that he made his famous speech in the Chamber at Pesth, urging his countrymen to bear in mind that the disruption of Turkey is inevitable, and that the future belongs to the Christians of the East; and he showed the same independent spirit in making it a condition of his acceptance of the appointment of Minister of Finance that his scheme for the administrative reorganization of the occupied provinces should be adopted by the Government. He is the author of a history of Servia, an historical study on Russia's Eastern policy, and a translation of John Stuart Mill's work "On Liberty," with an introduction which was much admired in the literary and political circles of the Hungarian capital.

Towards the end of May a very hostile feeling was created against the Jews in Hungary by the report that a Christian girl had been killed by a Jew in the synagogue of the village of Tiszaeszlár, near Tokay, on the eve of the Passover. The matter gave rise to a warm debate in the Hungarian Parliament, in the course of which M. Istoczy, who had violently attacked the Jews, challenged a Jewish deputy, M. Wehrmann, to fight a duel with him, and the latter having declined, M. Istoczy boxed his ears in the lobby of the House. The majority then passed a vote of censure on M. Istoczy, who was also expelled from the Ministerial club. This, however, did not put an end to the anti-Jewish agitation, which continued throughout the year, and cases of ill-treatment of Jews and destruction of their property frequently occurred, especially at Presburg, where the riots lasted four days (September 27 to 30).

Some further changes in the Hungarian Ministry took place at

the beginning of October. Notwithstanding the violent attacks to which he had been subjected during the eight years that he had been Prime Minister, M. Tisza was at this time more strongly established in the favour of the Hungarian people than at any previous period of his career. One of his bitterest opponents in the Hungarian press, the *Pesti Naplo*, thus described his position : —“ Tisza has become the absolute ruler of the Hungarian nation ; the Opposition has no power seriously to shake his influence. The majority is numerous, obedient, and well-disciplined. Tisza has no rival that wishes to overthrow him and take his place ; the Crown is convinced that no better instrument exists for attaining its ends. And never have circumstances been so fortunate for Tisza as now, for the Austrian Government strives to be on friendly terms with Hungary, the insurrection in Bosnia has been subdued, the general peace is not menaced, the harvest has been good, and the money market is favourable for new credit operations.” But M. Tisza was not intoxicated by his success, and he strove to increase and consolidate the power he already possessed by making appointments in accordance with the wishes of the people. One of the vacant portfolios was that of Honved Minister, and a controversy had for some time been going on as to whether a military man or a politician should be appointed to this post. The popular view was that only a representative of the people can properly exercise the functions of a Parliamentary Minister, and that this is especially the case with regard to the Minister who is responsible to Parliament for the Honved army, as he has to check the centralising tendencies of the military element. M. Tisza accordingly appointed Count Gideon Raday, a member of the Hungarian Parliament, to the vacant portfolio ; the Count was formerly in the army, and was aide-de-camp to the Emperor, but was obliged to resign this post on account of his strong Hungarian feeling, which displeased certain Croatian generals at Court. An even more significant appointment was that of Count Paul Széchenyi as Minister of Commerce. The Count was one of the most eminent of the members of the so-called moderate Opposition, and his entrance into the Cabinet was generally regarded as portending the complete disruption of that party. The “moderate Opposition” was formed of the parties formerly known as the Extreme Left, the Conservatives, and the Secessionists from the Ministerial party nicknamed “the mish-mash party.” These parties were united only in their opposition to the arrangement with Austria (known as the “Ausgleich”) and to the occupation of Bosnia. Their action was therefore purely negative, and as they disagreed on most of the other great political questions, they were doomed from the first to the fate which befalls most coalitions of this kind. The discontent of the “moderate Opposition” manifested itself in a disgraceful scene which took place in the House at the beginning of December. M. Rohonczy having accused M. Hieronymi, the Minister of Public Works, of embezzlement, an official inquiry was

instituted, the result of which showed that the charge was totally groundless. Notwithstanding this, M. Rohonczy renewed his accusations, and described M. Hieronymi as "the ringleader of a band of scoundrels." The result was a duel, in which M. Rohonczy was wounded, and M. Hieronymi then resigned his post in the Ministry, while M. Rohonczy was severely censured by the House for his conduct.

The chief subject of discussion in the Austro-Hungarian delegations, which met in November, was the reorganization of the army according to the territorial system. The effect of this reorganisation was still further to extend the power of the non-German nationalities in the Monarchy, for while under the old system every brigade and division of the army was composed of a mixture of the various nationalities, the Germans as a rule being predominant, there will now be whole brigades and even divisions composed entirely, or almost so, of Slavs, and others of Hungarians. The Germans opposed the measure on the ground that it would destroy the unity of the army, but it was passed by a large majority. The scheme was especially pleasing to the Hungarians, as it practically separates the Hungarian troops from those of the other half of the Monarchy. It further added 28,000 men to the army, by introducing the principle of three years' service in the supplementary reserves of the line. Other incidents of home politics in Austria during the latter part of the year were some serious riots at Vienna, caused by Socialist and anti-Jewish agitators, in November, and the passing in the Reichsrath on December 11 of a Bill for re-establishing the old system of guilds, on which occasion Prince Alois Liechtenstein propounded the singular doctrine that "every artisan and workman ought to be regarded as an official in the service of the State just as much as civil servants or soldiers; the labour of the former ought not to be treated, any more than the services of the latter, as a mere commodity, subject to the law of supply and demand." On December 27, the six hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Hapsburg dynasty, enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty to the Emperor were made in all parts of the empire, especially in Galicia, which province thus showed that the Poles have forgiven Austria the part which she played in the partition of their country, and that, thanks to the concessions made by Francis Joseph I. to their nationality, they may now be reckoned among the most attached of his subjects.

In foreign affairs the outrage committed on August 1 at Trieste at the instigation of the Italia Irredenta party, though the Italian Government promptly took steps to prevent any anti-Austrian movements on its side of the frontier, produced a certain coolness between the two countries which was doubtless one of the causes of the postponement of the visit which the Emperor of Austria was to pay to the King of Italy, in return for the latter's visit to Vienna during the previous year, and this estrangement was increased by the insult inflicted upon Count Paar, the Austro-

Hungarian Ambassador at the Vatican, in the streets of Rome on December 29.

The Danubian question still remained unsettled, though an important step towards its solution was taken by the adoption, by all the members of the European Danube Commission except the delegate from Roumania, of the scheme of the French Commissioner, M. Barrère. This scheme, which will now have to be decided upon by the signatory powers of the Berlin Treaty, aims at effecting a compromise between the claims of Austria and those of Roumania to the control of the navigation of the Danube. Under the treaty above referred to, the supervision of the navigation of this river from the Iron Gate to Galatz was to be placed in the hands of a mixed Commission representing the four riparian States—Austria, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria; but nothing was said as to the presidency and the casting vote in the Commission, which were claimed by Austria, as the only great Power represented on it. Roumania, on the other hand, urged that the river below the Iron Gate not being within Austrian territory, the States through which that portion of the river flows should have at least as much control over its navigation as Austria, and that each of the members of the Commission should therefore have the presidency, with the casting vote, in turn. This proposal was, of course, inadmissible, for it could not be expected that the representative of the Austro-Hungarian Empire should sit in a Commission presided over by the representative of one of the small principalities on the Danube. M. Barrère then proposed that Austria should be the permanent president of the Commission, and that, in order to avoid the difficulty about the casting vote, each of the representatives of the great Powers on the European Commission should sit in turn, according to alphabetical order, on the mixed Commission for a period of six months. Under this arrangement Germany (Allemagne) will have the casting vote during the first six months, and Austria (Autriche) during the second, France coming next, and then England (Grande Bretagne), Italy, Roumania, Russia, and Turkey. Austria would thus secure a majority during the first twelve months (which, as Roumania alleged, would enable her to initiate all the permanent arrangements for regulating the navigation according to her own views), for Germany would in all cases vote on her side. The Austro-German alliance is perhaps not so firmly established as it was when Count Andrassy, and his successor, Baron Haymerle, were at the head of the Foreign Office at Vienna, for the political preponderance in the Monarchy, which after the war of 1866 was shifted from the hands of the Germans to those of the Hungarians, is now gradually passing into those of the Slavs. But though the Czechish and southern branches of the Slavonic race would prefer a Russian alliance to a German one, and the present Foreign Minister, Count Kalnoky, is a *persona grata* at the Russian Court, and gave some offence to Germany by the demonstrative receptions accorded to the Grand Duke Vladimir on his visit to Vienna in March

and to the new Russian Ambassador, Prince Lobanoff, in October, no reasonable Austrian politician would take the risk of alienating the Poles and the Hungarians, and of losing the support of Germany, for the sake of obtaining an ally with interests so directly opposed to those of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as are those of Russia—a Power, moreover, whose activity abroad may at any moment be paralysed by revolution. The military party at the Hofburg may chafe at the attitude of vassalage in which Austria is placed towards Germany, and may dream of a partition of Turkey between Austria and Russia, but, so long as Prince Bismarck lives, Germany must practically determine the foreign policy of the Hapsburg Monarchy.

II. RUSSIA.

The first important event of the year in Russia was the publication, on January 14, of an ukase providing for the reduction of the redemption payments for the land allotted to the peasants by the Act of Emancipation of 1861, by a sum of 12,000,000 roubles yearly, until their debts on this account should be extinguished. The redemption payments in Great Russia are, under this arrangement, to be reduced by one rouble per annum on each plot of land, and in Little Russia by 16 per cent.; and further alleviations are to be granted in special cases, attested by the local authorities. A further step in the policy of concession was shortly after announced to the Finnish Diet at its opening on January 29, when the Emperor solemnly renewed the promise made by his late father, that the power of legislation should be conferred on the Diet, subject to the sanction of the sovereign. Meanwhile, fresh efforts were made to crush the spirit of revolution. Most of the Liberal newspapers were suppressed or “warned”; numerous arrests were made and secret printing presses seized; and, on February 21, twenty-two persons were tried for complicity in the assassination of the Czar, for the murder of General Mezentzeff in 1878, and for the robbery of 2,500,000 roubles from the Cherson Bank in 1879. Several of them admitted their guilt; one, an ex-officer of the navy, named Suchanoff, declared that the social conditions of life in Russia are such as to drive any enlightened and sensitive man into the revolutionary ranks, and drew such a moving picture of the circumstances which led him to join the Nihilists that even the judges were deeply affected. After a series of brilliant addresses from the counsel for the defence, one of whom, M. Alexandroff, had defended Vera Sassulitch, judgment was delivered on February 27. Ten of the accused, including a woman, all of whom were found guilty of complicity in the assassination of Alexander II., were sentenced to be hanged, and the remainder to various terms of penal servitude. Another capture—that of Kobozeff, the chief of the Revolutionary Executive Committee—was made towards the end of March; but

this did not seem to daunt the revolutionists, for on the 30th of that month, General Strelnikoff, the Public Prosecutor at the military tribunal of Kieff, was assassinated while he was sitting on the boulevard at Odessa. The assassins were at once arrested, tried by court-martial, and hanged three days after their capture. One of them declared that the cause of the crime was that the late General had strongly opposed the propagation of Nihilist doctrines among the Odessa working-men.

At the beginning of February the famous General Skobelev, whose achievements in the Russo-Turkish war and the campaign against the Turcomans had made him a sort of national hero, raised as much turmoil in Europe by an indiscreet speech to some Servian students in Paris, as Napoleon III. sometimes did by his oracular utterances to an ambassador on New Year's Day. After giving much offence in Austria by his extravagant expressions of sympathy with the Dalmatian insurgents at a public banquet at St. Petersburg, the General proceeded to Paris, and, in addressing a deputation of Servian students there, said that the reason why Russia is not always equal to the discharge of her patriotic duties in general, and to the fulfilment of her mission as a Slavonic Power in particular, is that both at home and abroad she has to contend against German influence; that the German is everywhere and everything in Russia; and that the Russians are "dupes of his policy, victims to his intrigues, and slaves to his strength," and "can only be delivered by the sword from his baneful influence." He added that a struggle between the Teuton and the Slav is inevitable, and expressed the hope that he would meet his hearers on the battlefield, fighting against the common enemy. These words, which merely expressed what is felt by most patriotic Russians with regard to the Germans, had, of course, no official character; but the fact of their having been spoken by a Russian General of such eminence led many people to believe that they foreboded a European war, in which Russia and France would be ranged on one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. In the two latter countries especially, great agitation prevailed, and there was even some talk of strengthening the garrisons and fortifications on the Russian frontier; but these apprehensions were speedily appeased—at least, so far as official circles were concerned—by a communication from the Russian Foreign Minister, expressing the regret of his Government at General Skobelev's speech, and their condemnation of it. The General was, at the same time, recalled to St. Petersburg; and the semi-official *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*, referring to his speech, reminded its readers that the Emperor Alexander III. had declared, on his accession to the throne, that it was his intention to pursue "a policy faithful to the historical traditions and friendships of Russia—a policy essentially pacific in character, and devoted to the economical, civil, and social development of the country." But General Skobelev, though he left Paris immediately after the

order to return home had been conveyed to him, was still not cured of playing the part of the *enfant terrible* of Russian politics. On arriving at Warsaw he went to a restaurant, and, addressing the Poles who were present, expressed a wish that they should "form one body" with the Russians, adding that if there had not been a Russian garrison at Warsaw, a German one would have been there in its place. These words were regarded as especially significant, because they were uttered almost at the same time as the Russian Government was making a great concession to the Poles by creating a lectureship of Polish literature at the University of Warsaw. It was soon perceived, however, that Skobelev, with all his popularity, had no support from his Government. He was enthusiastically cheered by the people at St. Petersburg, but immediately after his arrival he was summoned to the Emperor at Gatchina, and, though there is no authentic record of what passed at the interview between them, it was generally understood that Skobelev received a sharp reprimand. From that time until his sudden death in a restaurant at Moscow (July 7), he ceased to figure in European politics.

Another remarkable personage who disappeared this year from the political scene in Russia was the venerable Prince Gortchakoff, who resigned the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs on April 2, and was succeeded by M. de Giers, who had for some time performed the active duties of the appointment. This change produced great satisfaction in Germany and Austria, as Prince Gortchakoff had of late shown a decided leaning towards General Ignatieff and the Pan Slavists, while M. de Giers, who is of German descent, sympathises rather with the "Western," or peace and reform, party at the Russian Court. In M. Klaczko's celebrated pamphlet, entitled "The Two Chancellors," Prince Gortchakoff is represented as having been the dupe of Prince Bismarck, and it is alleged that the sarcasms of the brilliant Polish publicist produced such an effect on the Russian Chancellor that he thenceforward obstinately maintained an attitude of ill-concealed hostility to his German colleague. The Prince's withdrawal from the Russian Foreign Office put an end to this personal feud, and a further guarantee for a more conciliatory policy towards Germany was afforded by the dismissal of General Ignatieff from the post of Home Minister on June 12. His successor, Count Tolstoi, formerly Minister of Public Instruction, is a strong Conservative, and had made himself very unpopular by his rigid adherence to the system of classical education in the middle schools of the empire. He was more tolerant towards the Jews, however, than General Ignatieff, for he rescinded the order issued in March by his predecessor, forbidding Jews to hold or manage chemists' shops at St. Petersburg (December 20), though, by an Imperial decree issued on May 24, they are still forbidden to settle outside towns and villages, and to enter into any transactions regarding landed property outside their places of settlement. In other respects, the

policy of Count Tolstoi has been to leave things alone. The Reports of the numerous Commissions appointed by his predecessor for the inauguration of reforms have been relegated to the waste-paper basket, and the only sign of activity shown by the new Home Minister was the publication of a series of vexatious regulations for gagging the press. Since his appointment the Nihilists have been but little heard of; but whether this was due to his reputation for severity, or to the efforts of the "Holy League," a society formed by the young Russian nobles to counteract the machinations of the revolutionary party, is doubtful. In the Baltic provinces, however, a Socialist agitation broke out among the Lettish peasants, which produced effects as disastrous as those which accompanied the agrarian agitation in Ireland. Since the month of May many thousands of acres of forest, and numerous farms, with barns full of agricultural produce, have been destroyed by incendiary fires, and several landowners have been killed or wounded by assassins.

The foreign policy of Russia during the year may be described as pacific in Europe and aggressive in Asia. Two notorious Pan-slavist agitators in the south-east of Europe—M. Jonin, Russian Consul in Montenegro, and M. Hitrovo, Russian Consul-General at Sofia—were compelled in April to cease their agitation, the former by his recall to Russia, and the latter by a declaration which he was instructed by his Government to make to the Russian officers in the Bulgarian service, to the effect that the Czar forbids all interference on the part of his subjects either in the Bosnian insurrection or in Bulgarian politics. M. de Giers's interview with Prince Bismarck in December is also believed to have had a pacific tendency, and the disclosure of the treaty of alliance between Austria and Germany which followed was probably to some extent a demonstration in favour of the policy of the Russian Foreign Office, and against that of the Pan-slavist party. In the Egyptian question Russia has repeatedly urged the reassembling of the Conference, doubtless in the hope that she might obtain some advantage for herself in return for her sanction to the new state of affairs in Egypt which was being established by England; but her proposal met with no favour from the other Powers. The greatest success achieved by Russian diplomacy during the year was the establishment of a *modus vivendi* with the Vatican on the following bases:—(1) the reappointment of a Russian ambassador to the Vatican; (2) an amnesty to the Polish bishops and the reinstatement of the Archbishop of Warsaw; (3) appointment of the inferior clergy by the bishops without reference to the Government; (4) religious seminaries to be under the control of the bishops, subject to a certain degree of supervision by the State; (5) the Russian language to be used at the Church services where the population speaks Russian; and (6) those members of the United Greek Church who wish to return to the Roman Catholic Church to be permitted by the Government to do so.

In Central Asia the chief incidents were the Russian advance in the direction of Merv in the beginning of the year; the death, at the end of May, of General Kaufmann, and his succession as Governor of Turkestan by General Tchernayeff, the conqueror of Tashkend; and the disclosure of a secret treaty between Russia and Persia. The Russian force at Askabad was increased to 8,000 men, and commercial relations with Merv were established on an extensive scale. Under the Russo-Persian Treaty part of the northern territory of Persia was ceded to the Czar, and, with a view to promoting Russian trade with that country, it was stipulated that Persia should within three years build a railway from Teheran to the harbour of Resht, on the Caspian, Russia pledging herself on her side to complete a railway from Tiflis to Teheran by way of Erivan and Tabreez.

III. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The first four months of the year passed in Turkey without any noteworthy incident in home affairs, if we except the murder of Captain Selby, commander of H.M.S. "Falcon," by Albanian shepherds when out shooting on February 13 near Artalis, on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmora. The Turkish Government sent troops with a view to the capture and punishment of the perpetrators of this outrage, and the murderer was condemned to fifteen years' hard labour. On May 3 an important change took place in the Turkish Ministry; Saïd Pasha, known as "little Saïd," was removed from the position of Prime Minister, and succeeded by Abdurrahman Pasha. Several reasons were alleged for Saïd's dismissal; it was said that he was opposed to the German alliance, that he managed the negotiations regarding the repayment of the war indemnity to Russia with so little skill as almost to produce a rupture with that Power, and that he was assuming a tone of independence which gave much displeasure to the Sultan, who, unlike his predecessors, labours hard at affairs of State, and likes to have their management in his own hands. That Saïd had fallen into special disfavour was shown by the unusual terms in which his dismissal was notified in the hatti-scheriff announcing the appointment of his successor, which simply stated that his "removal from his post had become necessary," without the ordinary complimentary reference to his services. Abdurrahman, the new Prime Minister and late Governor of Bagdad, was an illiterate man of no experience in State affairs, and his appointment was regarded as showing that the Sultan intended in future to direct the policy of the empire himself. Under his predecessors the Ministers used to be called "the Grand Vizier's clerks"; both they and the Prime Minister were henceforward to be "the Sultan's clerks." The first act of the new Minister was to settle the question of the Russian war indemnity. It was agreed be-

tween the two Governments that the annual payment on this account should be £T.350,000, and that officials of the Bank of St. Petersburg should be sent to the Ottoman Bank to control the management by the latter of the revenue ceded for the payment of the indemnity (May 15).

The remainder of the summer was chiefly occupied by the Egyptian question, in which the Porte acted with its usual dilatoriness and vacillation. On May 18 it protested against the despatch of the English and French fleets to Alexandria, declaring that the state of affairs in Egypt did not render intervention necessary, but that in any case the right of intervention in Egypt belongs to the Sultan alone. When the Powers decided shortly after to hold a Conference of the Ambassadors at Constantinople as to Egyptian affairs, the Porte absolutely refused to take part in it, on the ground that by so doing she would acknowledge that Europe had a right to interfere. On June 1 Dervish Pasha was sent by the Sultan to Egypt to use his influence in restoring peace and supporting the Khedive's authority; and this, the Porte held, would be sufficient for the purpose without any action on the part of Europe. This view was expressed in a circular addressed to the representatives of Turkey in London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome on June 3 by Saïd Pasha (known as "the fat Saïd"), who had succeeded Assym Pasha as Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the circular at the same time expressed a hope that the project of a Conference would be abandoned. The same suggestion was made in another circular sent by Saïd Pasha on June 27, after the second sitting of the Conference; but finding that the remonstrances of the Porte on this subject produced no effect, Abdurrahman Pasha, the Prime Minister, resigned on July 7. He was succeeded on July 12 by Saïd Pasha ("little Saïd"), who had been removed from the post of Prime Minister only two months before.

The effect of this appointment was soon seen in a complete change of policy. On July 21 the Porte agreed "in principle" to send troops to Egypt and to take part in the Conference, appointing Assym Pasha, the ex-Foreign Minister, as its delegate. But it was then too late. The Sultan, by sending Arabi Pasha the Grand Cordon of the Medjidie after the Alexandria massacres, had aroused the suspicions of Europe as to his good faith, and the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet on July 11, notwithstanding the repeated protests of the Porte, virtually placed the further treatment of the Egyptian crisis in the hands of England. On learning that a British military expedition was to be sent to Egypt, the Porte declared its readiness at once to send troops to that country for the purpose of helping the Khedive to re-establish order; but Lord Dufferin replied that England could only accept the co-operation of Turkey if the Sultan would proclaim Arabi Pasha a rebel. This led to more negotiation, and it was not until September 6 that the proclamation was issued.

Further *pourparlers* took place as to the proposed Anglo-Turkish Military Convention, but they were ultimately allowed to drop, it being felt on both sides that while the English troops were pursuing their victorious course in Egypt, Turkey would only make herself ridiculous by sending her troops there. The turn which was thus taken by affairs in Egypt naturally caused a good deal of ill-feeling towards England at the Porte. On October 2 a number of men who had been engaged as muleteers, &c., for service with the British army in Egypt were threatened with arrest on their return to Constantinople, but Lord Dufferin addressed such strong remonstrances to the Porte on the subject that the men were liberated two days after.

A further attempt at reforming the Turkish administration was made on October 26 by the Sultan at the instigation of the new Grand Vizier. A Commission was formed to examine the budget of revenue and expenditure; another to consider the best means of developing public works and promoting commerce, industry, and agriculture; and a third to reform the administration of justice. But the Sultan again became absorbed with his old fears of assassination, and on November 28 Fuad Pasha, his aide-de-camp, and several other officers of the Court, were arrested on account of an alleged conspiracy against the Sultan's life, and Saïd, the Foreign Minister, was dismissed, to be again succeeded by Assym Pasha. Another change of Ministers took place on December 1, when Ahmed Vefyk Pasha, ex-Governor of Broussa, was appointed Prime Minister, Savfet Pasha Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Hussein Pasha Minister for War, in place of Ghazi Osman. This Ministry, however, did not last more than forty-eight hours. Ahmed Vefyk laid before the Sultan certain measures for increasing the independence of Ministers, which the latter considered inadmissible, and Saïd was appointed Prime Minister a third time within the year, with the additional title of Grand Vizier, which had for some time been in abeyance. Ghazi Osman was at the same time reappointed Minister of War, with the title of Seraskier and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs was given to Aarifi Pasha.

In Greece the year was marked by few incidents of any general interest. The Coumoundouros Ministry fell at the beginning of March, owing to the adverse votes of thirty of the new Thessalian deputies, whom it had alienated by its policy with regard to the administration of Thessaly, and was succeeded by a reform Ministry under M. Tricoupis, which promised a thorough reconstruction of the government of that province. Towards the end of August a dispute broke out between Turkey and Greece as to the possession of four places on the new Greek frontier, one of which, Karalik Dervend, commands the road to Salonica; and some sharp fighting took place between the Turkish and Greek troops stationed in the vicinity, though without any important result. An armistice was concluded on September 6, and the difficulty was settled on November 10 by the Greek and Turkish Commissioners in

Thessaly signing a protocol which adopted the line fixed by the International Frontier Commission.

Another frontier difficulty occurred in November between Turkey and Montenegro. The Porte, observing that Montenegro was increasing its armaments and was being again drawn under the influence of Russian agitators, invited the Powers to appoint delegates to a Delimitation Commission in order to finally settle the line of frontier between the two States; but the matter was arranged on December 28 by the acceptance by the Prince of Montenegro of the line proposed by Turkey. Considerable anxiety, however, prevailed at the close of the year in consequence of supposed designs of Montenegro on Albania. Prince Nicholas paid a visit during the summer to the Russian Court; and his attitude had been so aggressive since his return that it was alleged that he aspired to make Montenegro a "Servian Piedmont," and hoped for the assistance of Russia to raise him to the throne of a new State composed of Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria.

Similar plans were, it is said, entertained by the King of Servia, whom Austria-Hungary played off against Prince Nicholas, the *protégé* of Russia. Servia, thanks mainly to the support of Austria-Hungary, was proclaimed a kingdom with the consent of the Powers in the beginning of March, but this did nothing to diminish the rancour of party strife in the country. On May 27 the Radicals called upon the Government to explain their relations with the *Union Générale*, which had become bankrupt, and the Government having refused to do so, fifty Radicals and six reactionists under M. Ristics left the Skouptchina. As this body consists of 160 members only, three-fourths of whom must be present to make a quorum, the above step condemned the Skouptchina to inaction. The Government then ordered new members to be elected for the vacated seats, but forty-five of the Radicals were re-elected, so that the remaining members were still not sufficiently numerous legally to perform their Parliamentary duties. The Ministry then resigned; but they were persuaded to remain in office and to order new elections for the forty-five seats which had again been vacated by the Radicals who had been elected to them. This produced the desired effect, though the number of vacated seats was still so great that the absence of two or three of the sitting members was sufficient to compel the Skouptchina to adjourn because there were not enough to form a House. During the months of July, August, and September, King Milan was in Austria, and on October 13 he left Vienna for Rustchuk to have an interview with Prince Alexander of Bulgaria. The interview took place amid great rejoicings, and all the towns on the Danube sent guards of honour to greet the Servian King. On his return to Belgrade on October 23, an attempt to assassinate him was made in the Cathedral by Madame Helene Markovic, the widow of a colonel in the Servian army whose alleged ill-treatment by the Government she had endeavoured in this way to avenge. She fired

a pistol at the King, but fortunately missed her mark, and was at once arrested and imprisoned pending her trial. This incident seems to have specially impressed the King with the bitter hostility felt by the Radicals towards the Ministry, and he made several attempts to form a Coalition Cabinet, but without success.

In Bulgaria the Liberals continued to agitate for the re-establishment of the Constitution, and, strange to say, they were warmly supported in this agitation by the Russian Consul-General, although it was Russia that had instigated the Prince to the *coup d'état* of the previous year, owing to the Nihilist tendencies manifested by the Liberals and their chiefs, the Panslavist Ministry of MM. Karaveloff and Zankoff. M. Natchievitch, the friend of Austria, was succeeded as Prime Minister in April by M. Remlingen, who is rather inclined to maintain Russian influence in the country; but this only made matters worse, for the new Minister at once fraternised with the Liberals, and, knowing that the Prince would rather give up his throne than revive the Constitution, M. Remlingen even consulted with them as to the election of a successor, General Ignatieff and M. Aksakoff being named as the most likely candidates for the throne. The Russian officers in the Bulgarian army were at the same time urged by the Consul-General to threaten to resign in a body if the Constitution were not revived, and altogether the state of affairs became so menacing that the Prince left at the beginning of May for St. Petersburg, to represent to the Czar the rebellious conduct of his officials in Bulgaria. He returned in August, after visiting Berlin and Vienna, and during his absence the effect of his representations at St. Petersburg was shown in a complete change of policy on the part of the Russian Consul-General, who was now as eager to employ his influence with the Russian officers in the Prince's favour as he had formerly been to use it against him. The result, however, showed only the more strikingly the dependence of Bulgaria upon Russia. Writing in December, a Russian officer on the general staff at Sofia boasted in the *Moscow Gazette* that the Bulgarian army will soon become the vanguard of the Russian army; that all Russians discharged from the East Roumelian Militia are being received in the Bulgarian ranks; and that the Prince had issued an order to the effect that the Bulgarian officers should, by degrees, be sent to Russia, in order to be trained according to the Russian system, and to become acquainted with those whom they will have to join on the battlefield.

While the Bulgarians to the north of the Balkans were thus becoming Russianised, a serious difference broke out between their Government in Eastern Roumelia and that of the Czar. M. de Krebel, the Russian Consul-General, addressed three demands to Aleko Pasha, on behalf of his Government, towards the end of the year. The first was that Russia should be permitted to erect a monastery on the Shipka Pass; the second, that 80,000 Berdan rifles should be ordered for the East Roumelian Militia, of the

same pattern as those used in the Russian army; and the third, that a Russian officer should be appointed chief of the staff of the Governor-General. Aleko Pasha refused to accede to these demands, upon which M. de Krebel observed that the heavy sacrifices which Russia had made for Eastern Roumelia gave her a claim to her gratitude. Aleko rejoined that this was not a question of gratitude, but of his duty as the Governor-General of the province, appointed by the Porte with the concurrence of all the Powers. A sharp controversy ensued, the result of which was that Aleko Pasha broke off all diplomatic relations with M. de Krebel, and at the end of the year the difficulty was still unsettled.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM.

THE principal event of the year was the renewal of half the members of the two Houses of the Legislature. These elections, just as all which have taken place since the promulgation of the Education Act in 1879, ran on the question of the public instruction; Clericals and Liberals being still strongly divided on that subject. In spite of the desperate efforts of the former, who openly made use of electoral pressure and corruption to a degree hitherto unknown in Belgium, the Liberal party everywhere maintained its positions, and in several districts gained fresh seats. The result was that the Liberal majority, which had been only of 14 in the Chamber of Representatives, was raised to 18, and in the Senate from 4 to 5, a stronger majority than either party has commanded in Belgium since 1847.

These elections were regarded as a fresh and formal condemnation, by public opinion, of the conduct of the Belgian hierarchy since 1879. The struggle, begun by the Bishops in that year against the Education Act, was never for a moment relaxed, in spite of the reiterated orders of the Pope, who several times recommended, if not complete abstention, at least far greater moderation; a policy which was also urged by the secular leaders of the Clerical party, who could measure the injury inflicted by such proceedings to their cause. On their side the Liberals throughout the year continued the inquiry commenced in 1881, and which, as previously, brought home some serious charges against the clergy. In May a member of the Chamber of Representatives, M. Cuvreur, president of the Commission of Inquiry, reported before the Chamber the mode of action of the Commission. At the

close of his discourse, another member of the Left, Count Goblet d'Aviella, presented an order of the day in the following terms:—"The Chamber, considering that no single voice has risen to disculpate the Belgian clergy and Bishops of the odious acts they have either committed or inspired with a view to hindering the execution of the law of the land, approves the use made by the Commission of Inquiry of the constitutional powers conferred on it by the Chamber, and invites the Commission to pursue its investigations and to present its report." This order of the day, which was subsequently published in every town and village, was voted by the entire Left. The Opposition, or Clerical party, after having demanded this inquiry, refused to take part in it on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and used the same argument to avoid the debate created by M. Cuvreur's motion. Amongst the instances of Clerical intervention, sworn to before the Commission, was that of a country curé, who, in his sermon from the pulpit, cried out:—"Let us arm ourselves with pitchforks, go to Brussels and kill the seven Freemason Ministers, after which we will see what will have to be done with the King." Others were scarcely less explicit, and publicly recommended the murder of the King for having signed the Education Act, whilst the Clerical organ of one diocese described the Belgian constitution in terms more crude but not less severe than those used by Dante when speaking of the Roman Curia.

It was in the midst of the agitation thus created that M. Malou, the leader of the Opposition, brought forward a motion for a reform of the electoral laws. His proposal was to increase very considerably the number of electors by a complete change of the property (tax-paying) qualification. This motion was rejected by the Chamber. Many Liberals opposed it on the ground that it reduced the electoral qualification without requiring any guarantee as to the elector's instruction or morality; others, belonging to the advanced fraction of the Left, because it was a new recognition of a property franchise (*régime censitaire*), and would give no privileges to intelligence or capacity. Moreover, the whole of the Left were united in opposing M. Malou's proposition, seeing in it a secret project to submit the towns to the influence of the rural districts, and consequently of the clergy. What also contributed in a large measure to the rejection of the project was the opinion, openly stated in the Chamber by a member of the Left, that M. Malou had hoped, by raising a discussion on the electoral question, to revive amongst the Liberal party the dissensions which had in the previous year proved so nearly the cause of its overthrow.

Amongst the important questions discussed by the Chambers must be noted the renewal of the Treaty of Commerce between Belgium and France, which was ratified by a large majority. In reply to the complaints of certain representatives that the treaty did not take sufficient account of local industries, M. Frère-Orban,

Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that he had sought to promote the general good rather than private interests; and that, under the circumstances, the new treaty was the most favourable one Belgium could hope for. The Chamber also discussed a *projet de loi*, having for its object to make trial by jury obligatory in all civil actions brought against newspapers. The proposal was rejected, the Chamber considering it unnecessary to relieve the press from penalties imposed by the common law. In spite of political and religious influences the Belgian judicature had hitherto displayed the strictest impartiality and freedom from party influences, whereas their weight upon the decisions of juries had been too often conspicuous. As an instance of this, whilst the debate was still going on in Parliament, a jury acquitted men accused of electoral corruption, although they had pleaded guilty to the charge.

The military manœuvres carried on in the Condroz, in which two divisions took part, were the source of a number of useful reforms. They showed that whereas the cavalry, and especially the artillery, were thoroughly effective, it was not so with the infantry. The line regiments, owing to an unsatisfactory mode of recruitment, were for the most part composed of men whose physical constitution was, of the whole army, the least able to bear prolonged fatigue, whilst the weight of their heavy and cumbersome equipment could with advantage be diminished by twenty-four pounds at least.

Another military question, that concerning the fortification of the frontiers, has greatly interested public opinion. One of the most distinguished officers of the Belgian army, General Brialmont, in a book which created a great sensation, recommended the fortification of the whole line of the Meuse, which, he considers, should constitute a first and very strong line of defence. The Government, on the contrary, persisted in considering the small fortresses of the Meuse as simple *forts d'arrêt*, and desired to concentrate the whole strength of the defence in Antwerp alone. As might naturally have been anticipated, political capital was at once made out of this decision by the Clerical party. Taking advantage of the feeling that military expenses, already very heavy, are not willingly accepted in Belgium, the Opposition tried to render the Government responsible for General Brialmont's book, and accused them of wishing to render yet more heavy the expenses necessitated by the defence of the country. The Minister of War immediately put a stop to these reports by declining any responsibility for the General's book, which did not at all represent the views of the Government. He subsequently announced that, in spite of the assertions of the Clerical press, no increase of the army was going to be demanded, the effective of which remained fixed at 100,000 men.

When the year closed there was pending before the Belgian courts of law a curious affair which public opinion followed with

the keenest interest. In May the police were informed that a considerable sum—said to be 1,700,000 fr.—had been taken from the treasury of the Bishop of Tournai; it was afterwards discovered that the missing sum amounted to no less than four million francs. Mgr. Dumont, the Bishop who in 1879 had been deprived of his see of Tournai by the Pope, and replaced by Mgr. Durosseau—*an act against which he has never ceased energetically to protest*—maintained that the money deposited in the episcopal treasury was his private property, a point still undecided by the Court. In any case, however, Mgr. Durosseau, on taking possession of his new see, had become depositary of all the property (*valeurs*) on which the seals had been placed, and was therefore civilly responsible for them. Upon examination the magistrates found that the seals had been broken, and that the chests and safes were absolutely empty. Mgr. Durosseau unhesitatingly accused of this theft, as he termed it, one of his canons, for whom a writ was issued and who was subsequently captured in America some months later. When arrested, the canon declared he had not acted on his own account, but in conformity with definite orders he had received from his Bishop. Mgr. Durosseau, however, in accusing the canon of theft, had indirectly admitted the existence, in the episcopal treasury, of considerable sums, whereas he always had till then energetically denied having found a farthing on taking possession of his see. After the canon's arrest, and the recovery of the greater part of the stolen money, an inventory having been made, Mgr. Durosseau refused to take the legal oath running thus, "I swear I have diverted (*distrain*) nothing, nor seen nor known that anything has been withdrawn." A further complication arose, moreover, from the discovery of a letter addressed by the Nuncio at Brussels to the Vicar-General of Tournai, relative to the steps taken in 1879 to induce Dumont to give up his see. In the course of the letter the Nuncio remarked that he was "uneasy on account of the great danger incurred with the episcopal *caisse*, of which the Cardinal-Secretary of State to the Pope authorised the Vicar-General to take possession prudently, and to concert as to the most efficacious measures to put it in safety."

In the course of the year a slight change took place in the composition of the Cabinet. The Minister of Public Works, M. Sainclette, having been obliged, from motives of ill health, to resign his post, he was replaced by M. Olin, a member of the advanced fraction of the Left, but the nomination was received with great satisfaction by the whole Liberal party.

The commercial transactions of Belgium amounted during the year to above five milliards of francs, showing an increase of 300 millions on the preceding year, wholly arising from an increase of exportation and transit.

The Budget of 1883 presented by the Minister of Finance was not altogether satisfactory, disclosing as it did a probable deficit

of 25 million francs, the larger part of which sum was consecrated to the completion of the Antwerp docks, and the balance to the unproductive working of some of the State railroads.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The debates on the renewal of the French Treaty of Commerce gave rise to a protracted Ministerial crisis extending over many months. Throughout the discussion, however, the representatives on all sides of the House seemed to have had a very vague notion of the importance of the interests they so verbosely defended. Their deliberation, moreover, placed them at one time in a somewhat undignified plight, for, before taking any final decision, they waited to see the result of similar negotiations between Belgium and France; and, when this result was known, the Chamber, having amended one of the chief clauses of the proposed treaty, vigorously opposed its passage as a whole. By another article of the treaty, Customs duties on French products entering the Dutch colonies obtained the benefits of the most favoured European nation. But the Chamber, mistaking the word *European* for that of *foreign*, immediately protested that the Government was placing the metropolis on the level of a foreign nation with regard to the colonies, regardless of national feeling and dignity. At the bottom of all this seemingly patriotic agitation was in reality, for a great number of representatives, the desire to overthrow the Coalition Ministry of Baron van Lynden; and the result was that, in spite of the great talent and experience of the Prime Minister, and regardless of the probably injurious effects on trade, the Franco-Dutch treaty was rejected by a large majority. The Ministry, however, did not consider itself beaten, and a few weeks later, after fresh negotiations with Paris, proposed the same treaty with some modifications. The Chamber, however, refused to reverse its previously expressed views, and the treaty was again rejected. Upon this M. van Lynden and his colleagues tendered their resignations, which the King refused to accept. Meanwhile, the country soon began to realise the extent of the mistake its representatives had made. A few trials were made to pass Dutch products into France under cover of the Belgian flag, in order to profit by the Franco-Belgian tariff; but these were immediately and energetically put a stop to by the French Government. Thereupon the absence of a regular treaty between Holland and France daily became more and more prejudicial to Dutch industry, so that several of the deputies who had most ardently opposed the treaty in the Chamber were forced to sign a petition begging the King to renew, if possible, negotiations with France. The Industrial Society of Amsterdam, which had always violently opposed the treaties of November and March, found itself compelled to admit that any arrangement

whatsoever with France would be preferable to the existing state of things.

The King, meanwhile, had persistently refused to accept the resignations of his Ministers, who were none the less determined to abide by their former decision, although temporarily transacting the routine business of their respective offices; and when in June the Chambers met again, M. van Lynden had only to communicate the fruitless results of the task he had undertaken, on the King's wish, to form a new Ministry, either with his former colleagues or by the introduction of new members. The King then turned to M. Tak van Poortvliet, but the latter was no more able than M. van Lynden to form a Ministry. In his case, however, the principal difficulty arose from a different cause. He considered the revision of the Dutch constitution as a necessary measure, and to this the majority in both Chambers were strongly opposed. Three months passed in a prolonged interregnum, and not until September had M. van Lynden succeeded in reconstituting his Ministry, which comprised all its former members with the exception of the Minister of Colonies, M. van Golstein, whose resignation the King had accepted, and to whom succeeded M. de Braun.

Immediately after the opening of the winter session, the Ministry renewed the abandoned negotiations with France, and very speedily both Governments came to an agreement upon the basis of the most favoured nation clause, and limited to one year in the form of a temporary convention. This time the Chamber, by a large majority, endorsed the Ministerial proposal; and then with but little hesitation consented to discuss a project of electoral reform based on a revision of the fiscal laws. The principal feature of the proposed measure was a more equitable imposition of taxes, by which the electoral qualification would be considerably lowered, and at least 22,000 fresh electors added to the lists.

The Special Parliamentary and Military Commission, charged with examining and reporting on the means of natural defence, agreed after long deliberation to recommend the adoption of an internal line of defence. In case of an invasion, the Dutch troops, instead of defending the frontiers or disputing the territory, would retire at once behind the strong lines of Amsterdam and Utrecht, and there only begin a serious defensive action. The result of this combination is that the garrisons of Middleberg and Bergen op Zoom, which are very distant from the principal basis of operations, will be suppressed, and the forts of Hensen and Ellewontsdijk, commanding the entry of the Scheldt, will no longer be maintained. The question whether, in consequence of this decision, these forts would be demolished gave rise to considerable discussion, the majority on this point not supporting the Government and the military authorities. M. van Lynden, and with him his colleagues of the War and Marine Department, insisted upon dismantling these forts, not only because their necessary repair would be ex-

tremely costly, but especially because their maintenance was in contradiction with the defensive system which it was agreed to adopt. The Opposition, on the other hand, maintained that in case of attack the Dutch should not be content with protesting against the violation of their neutrality, but should be in a position to defend themselves energetically.

In the Dutch colonies there was recurrence of troubles at Atchin during the latter months of the year. Numerous bands of armed men infested the country, keeping the Dutch troops constantly on the alert. In answer to an interpellation on this question, the Minister of War announced that the colonial government was taking active measures to stop the rebellion, and that he was fully confident he would be able, in a short time, to announce the complete pacification of the country.

Some important modifications as to the mode of recruitment and organisation of the army were proposed during the course of the year. Actually the army in case of war would number in all 175,000 men, 59,000 belonging to the regular army, and 116,000 to the landwehr. But about one-half of these men have never had the slightest military training. According to the new project, the total strength of the army would be raised to 203,000 men, 61,000 belonging to the regular army and 142,000 to the landwehr, all of whom would have to pass a specified time with the colours on enrolment, and would be further called upon to complete their training by annual exercises.

The question of the succession to the throne is one which had long occupied public opinion, and throughout the year gave rise to grave discussion. The eldest son of William III. died childless; his second son, who after his brother's death inherited the title of Prince of Orange, is in such delicate health that his tenure of life is regarded as most precarious. William III. by his second marriage has an only daughter, the Princess Wilhelmina. By the Dutch constitution, females, in the absence of male descendants, may succeed to the throne. This would seem to establish the rights of Princess Wilhelmina; but the same Salic law gives a certain strength to the rival claims of both Prince Albert of Prussia and the Prince of Wiede, who trace a direct descent from King William I. of Holland through their respective mothers.

In the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, an inquiry made in order to find out the causes of the failure of the National Bank in 1881 proved that the Government was wholly irresponsible for that financial disaster, which was traceable to the bad management of the Board of Directors.

The new Education Act passed last year, rendering primary instruction obligatory, has already begun to bear its fruits, and throughout the duchy public schools have been very regularly attended. Some foreign papers having spread about rumours relative to a proposed annexation of the Grand Duchy to Germany, the Minister of State, in answer to an interpellation, formally

denied the existence of any project of the kind. His declaration was received with undisguised satisfaction by the inhabitants, whose preference for Dutch rule has been on more than one occasion strongly expressed.

III. SWITZERLAND.

According to a law introduced into the Federal constitution in 1874, obligatory instruction was proclaimed throughout the Swiss Confederation, whilst at the same time the duty of organising teaching (*enseignement*) and of taking all necessary measures to enforce compulsion was left to each canton. No penalties, however, were declared, and no means prescribed to force the cantonal government to carry the law into effect. Certain cantons not having fulfilled their duties in this respect, the Federal Assembly this year instructed the Federal Council, or executive power, to open an inquiry, and to take the necessary measures to insure general compliance with the constitutional law. In reply the Federal Council proposed the creation of a Federal Department of Public Instruction, having under its orders a certain number of inspectors, whose duty it would be to see that the law was everywhere carried into effect. Agitation against this proposal at once began throughout the country, and in a short time a petition bearing upwards of 200,000 signatures was forwarded to the central Government. According to the Swiss constitution, if 30,000 citizens only demand a plébiscitum, any project voted by the Assembly must be submitted to the popular vote. In consequence, therefore, of so imposing a number of signatures, the Federal Council was obliged, much against its will, to submit the proposal to the popular vote, when it was rejected by 316,929 against 170,959 votes in its favour. To understand the real significance of this vote, it must be borne in mind that up to the present the Swiss cantons have enjoyed an almost absolute self-government, but that during the last few years the Federal Council has tried by every means to centralise power in its own hands. The cantons considered the proposed inspection to be a new attempt to deprive them of their autonomy, and therefore rejected it rather with a view to maintaining their rights than because they considered the project bad. In like manner the proposal to make vaccination compulsory under State inspection was rejected by a majority of 170,000 on a plébiscitum.

The renewal of the Commercial Treaty with France for ten years created a good deal of discontent amongst those industries which still relied on protection and countervailing duties, but, after a long debate extending over four days, the Federal Parliament ratified the arrangement as the best obtainable under the circumstances.

A clearer definition of the political rights of Swiss citizens

was brought forward by the Federal Council, who proposed that the franchise should of right belong to every citizen who had completed his twentieth year, the only exceptions being such as had been penally condemned or were the objects of a *conseil judiciaire*, or who had become a burden to the State.

In the canton of Neuchâtel, the occasion of a partial revision of its constitution showed that the Radicals were less powerful than had been supposed in that canton. The points under vote were—the popular right of initiative in the choice of magistrates &c., the removal of the electoral disabilities of citizens in arrear with their taxes, and, lastly, reduction from seven to five of the members of the cantonal government. The Radical party upheld the two first propositions, and energetically repelled the third; nevertheless they were all three voted.

The constitutional law forbidding the establishment of religious congregations on Swiss territory had to be put in force in the case of certain French Dominicans who established themselves in the canton of Valais. The Federal Council insisted upon the execution of the law, in spite of the plea urged that the canton had only offered an asylum to religious exiles expelled from France; but the Federal Council held that nobody having been expelled from France for religious opinions, no question of the right of asylum arose.

IV. SPAIN.

In spite of the constantly recurring rumours of a Ministerial crisis, Señor Sagasta was found in December, as in January, at the head of affairs. The activity of the Opposition first showed itself during the visit of the King and Queen to Portugal (January 9) in a coalition of the Constitutionalists and the Republicans, with the view of constructing a new Liberal party. The first suggestion of this union was a declaration of principles published by the Madrid organs of the Republican party, calling for united action on the basis of a Republican form of government, leaving each separate fraction free to advocate its own doctrines provided these were compatible with the common object. Many provincial papers adhered to this programme; the unrestricted publication of which drew down upon the Government the censure of the Conservative press. But a more reasonable charge brought by others against the Cabinet was that it had not been true to its programme, and had failed to fulfil the promises made by its members before their advent to power.

At almost the same time attention was directed to a pilgrimage to Rome, under the auspices of the Carlists and the leadership of Nocedal, who was considered as acting under papal authorisation. Most of the Bishops and the *Union cattolica* party denounced it as a *political* move, although Nocedal proclaimed it to be purely

religious. After a good deal of altercation, in which Government took a share, exchanging telegrams with Rome, the lay leadership was disapproved by the Vatican, the organisation was left to the Bishops, and the lay committee was dissolved (February 18). The pilgrims finally left for Rome, in a large body, on August 24, under the guidance of the Bishop of Teruel, who, together with the pilgrims and the Catholic Union party, were bitterly upbraided by the Bishop of Daulia, a partisan of Nocedal and of his group of Carlist Ultramontanes.

Pending this politico-religious conflict, another had arisen between the tradesmen and Government, the former refusing to pay the new industrial tax and trade-licence. A syndicate elected by the Madrid shopkeepers to act on their behalf obtained an audience of the King, and laid their grievances before him, and, in spite of the advice of their leaders to adopt a policy of passive resistance, the majority of the tradesmen paid the tax. Some few, however, closed their shops, and considerable excitement ensued. The members of the syndicate were cited (February 25) on the charge of inciting the people to resist the law, and were bound to give bail to the amount of 1,000*l.* each. Failing to furnish this they were sent to prison, and three days afterwards the Madrid syndicate was dissolved by Royal decree.

Meanwhile, from various other towns throughout the country marks of sympathy and offers of service were being received; and subscriptions were set on foot to collect the sum requisite for the payment of the bail. Foremost among these sympathisers was the "Commercial Circle," representing the Madrid trading class, which speedily placed matters in a way for arrangement with the Government. At the close of a series of conciliatory interviews with a member of the Cabinet, a manifesto was issued (March 11) advising all shopkeepers to pay the tax, accompanied by a statement of their grievance, which the Government on its part promised to take into consideration. The bail money having been subscribed largely in excess of the sums required, the imprisoned men were liberated, and the taxes quietly collected in most parts of the country. At Burgos, however, and one or two other places, the excitement continued, until at length the difficulty was settled by the appointment of a committee (May 2) of ten functionaries to examine into the claims and protests of the tradesmen.

On the re-opening of the Cortes (March 20), the Commercial Treaty with France was laid upon the table. The Free Trade principles which it very mildly advanced were ill received in the manufacturing districts of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia. At Barcelona, as well as in other towns, shops and manufactories were closed, and the riotings became so serious that martial law was proclaimed (March 31); and during an entire fortnight the state of siege was maintained, when the Catalans decided to urge their views in a more peaceable fashion. A deputation was despatched to Madrid

to watch over local interests during the discussion of the treaty in Congress (April 10). The debates showed the existence of the most divergent opinions. Nevertheless the treaty was ultimately ratified by Congress in its original form (April 23), by 237 votes against 59; and in like manner in the Senate (May 8) the opponents only mustered 24, whilst the Government was supported by 111. This division, however, not showing the requisite quorum of 157, the final vote was taken on the following day, when the opponents of the treaty, chiefly Conservatives led by Señor Canovas, were defeated by 143 votes against 78.

The Government succeeded also in passing a Bill for reforming the municipal judicial system, to which a dangerous amendment, in favour of the immediate institution of the jury, to which Government was opposed, was rejected by 181 votes to 55.

The Bill authorising Government to gradually reduce Spanish Customs tariff passed the vote of Congress on June 10, and that of the Senate on the 28th. The first reductions under this Act will begin July 1, 1883, the second on the same day 1887, and the third in 1891.

A few days later (July 10) the Cortes were prorogued. In the meantime negotiations for a Commercial Treaty with England were going on, but made little progress; the difficulty being the alcoholic scale for duties on wine, which England refused to reduce sufficiently to induce Spain to relax her Customs tariff as demanded by the former Power. Spain, on her side, insisted that the alcoholic test for cheap wines should be fixed at 36° (Sykes), whilst, in order to keep faith with France, the English Government refused to go beyond 28°, and ultimately on this point, the negotiations, having dragged on throughout the year, were broken off.

The external policy of Spain during the year was unmarked by any important incident. A possible source of misunderstanding with the Republic of Uruguay was satisfactorily settled by the end of July. Morocco, which by the Treaty of Védras in 1860 had ceded Santa Cruz de Marpequena, on the Atlantic coast, to Spain in return for certain fisheries, desired to resume possession of the port on the ground of its never having been occupied by Spain. In July a special mission was sent by the Emperor requesting Spain to cancel that former cession in exchange for a territory on the Mediterranean, in the neighbourhood of Centa. The proposal, however, was generally unfavourably received in the press, and, having been rejected, formal possession was taken of Santa Cruz with the sanction of the Emperor of Morocco.

The relation of Egypt with the Western Powers attracted a large share of public attention in Spain, and the despatch of English troops called forth in the press hostile and often violent criticism. The Government merely expressed a wish (which at first was conveyed informally through the medium of Italy) to have a voice in the settlement of the question when submitted to the deliberation of the Great Powers in congress. At a later period an army of

occupation was offered by the Spanish Government to guard the Canal, but Lord Granville's reply was more courteous than encouraging. Several newspapers, however, took up the matter quite seriously, and, looking at it as a settled thing, suggested that 40,000 men might be spared for Egypt, and in return for this co-operation they entertained little doubt that England would be prepared to restore Gibraltar.

The chief political event of the year, however, was a resettlement of the lines by which Spanish political parties had been hitherto subdivided. The necessity of some coalition between the various sections of the Opposition had been long acknowledged; and, without it, all hopes of either a strong Government or a strong Opposition were groundless. The Fusionists, the new party of 1880, had brought Señor Sagasta into power, from which the new party of 1881, the Dynastic Democrats, had failed to eject him. Sagasta's Fusionists had, it was alleged, failed to fulfil their promises, and it was hoped that by detaching some of his followers a new coalition might be formed which would command popular support. With this object the Duke de la Torre (General Serrano) was summoned back to the political stage, from which he had retired, in order to take at least the nominal leadership of the new party of 1882. The chief elements of the coalition were to be sought among the Dynastic Democrats (the party of 1881), led by Moret, Beranger, and Sardoal, the Democratic Progressists under Martos, and the Dissenting Constitutionalists, whose leaders were General Lopez, Domingos, Liñares, Rivas, and Balaguer. The first signs of the approaching storm were apparent early in the spring; but it was not until the month of June that Moret in Congress, and Serrano in the Senate, rose in opposition to the Cabinet, which they had hitherto supported. Little, however, beyond occasional skirmishes in the Cortes indicated the approach of a serious struggle.

During the recess matters assumed a more threatening aspect, for the new party not only invented a name for itself—the Dynastic Left—but publicly formulated their profession of faith, which was the adoption of Señor Sagasta's abandoned programme. A little later, in September, the Conservative press, which acknowledged Señor Canovas as their leader in the Cortes, began to give their support to the formation of the new party under General Serrano (not, of course, as adherents, but merely in opposition to the party in power). Later on Señor Salmeron gave a conditional promise of support, which caused a breach between him and Señor Zorilla, who refused his co-operation except on the basis of the constitution of 1869 *without modifications*, a condition which was in nobody's mind. At length, after much debate, a formula was hit upon, and the programme of the *Dynastic Left* was signed on October 2 by Rioz de Olarno, Beranger, Sardoal, Balaguer, Liñares, Rivas, and many other political men. Figuerola, Merelo, and Canalejas merely promised their support, whilst Castelar held

himself aloof to the extent of supporting the Government, discountenancing anything like coalition even among the Republican groups who acted under his leadership. The only Republicans who at first signed the programme of the Dynastic Left were Señors Montero, Rios, and Becerra. That document, which had been published on October 26, proposed substantially the adoption (by a Bill to be submitted to the Cortes) of the constitution of 1869 with the following modifications:—"When the Cortes are not sitting, Government may suspend the constitutional guarantees on their own responsibility, but must immediately lay the matter before the Cortes on their meeting." The Senate was to be composed of Senators by right and elective members (the latter to be fewer in number); the King might not close the Cortes more than once in each legislative period; the Cortes were to sit every year long enough for the Budget to be discussed. Six months were to be allowed for the debate on this reform of constitution, and when the concluded the Cortes were to be dissolved.

The new party gained a very important accession to its numbers in November, when the Democratic Progressist party under Señor Martos was dissolved, and, by a vote of 100 against 4, decided to join the *Dynastic Left* under General Serrano.

It was under these conditions that the Cortes met (December 4). Señor Posada Herrera, the Ministerial candidate, was elected President of the Congress by 223 votes against 82 given to General Lopez Domingos, the Opposition candidate—a result which showed that Señor Sagasta was still the leader of a compact majority. A more crucial trial of strength was, however, speedily made when, in the Senate, the Duke de la Torre, in detailing the programme of the new party, advocated among other things civil marriage, a reduction of taxation, liberty of the press and of worship. Señor Petayo Cuesta, a Ministerialist, at once took up the challenge thus thrown down, and moved a resolution protesting against any change in the constitution. After a lengthy debate, the Ministerial amendment was adopted (December 12) by a majority of 118. On the following day, in the Lower House, Señor Becerra raised the question of a change of constitution on the basis of that of 1869, but this was rejected on the 16th by 226 votes against 68. On the 20th the Under Secretary Rute declared that Señor Sagasta was willing to carry out the reforms proposed by General Serrano, but he would not touch the existing constitution (that of 1876), and he appealed to the Liberals of all sections to support the throne against Republican conspiracies. On the 24th a motion for the revision of the constitution was rejected in the Congress by 221 against 18, and the Cortes were adjourned till January 8.

The closing debates of the year did not pass without strong expressions on all sides. The chief objection of the Ministerialists to the constitution of 1869 was that it left a door open for attacks on the throne. On this the Republican deputy Carvajal

rose and exclaimed, "I am going to oppose monarchy," and thereupon, despite the uproar, proceeded to show that the constitution of 1876 was no safeguard against such attacks.

Another diversion was due to the intervention of the Conservatives, who, to the annoyance of the Ministerialists, carried by a majority of 286 to 12 a vote of congratulation to the King on the birth of his daughter. Whilst the vote was being taken Señor Martos declared himself monarchical, amid the applause of the majority and of the Dynastic Left, the significant silence of Republicans, and shouts and protests in the galleries.

The election of provincial deputies (municipal bodies), which took place at this time, gave an enormous majority to the party in power, being 740 against 103 Conservatives, 101 Republicans, 29 Left, 21 Carlists, and 62 Independents.

V. PORTUGAL.

In his speech on the opening of the Cortes, January 2, the King alluded to his late visit to Spain for the inauguration of the Caceres railway, and to the invitation to Portugal accepted by the Spanish sovereigns, and acknowledged the warm reception which had been given him in the northern provinces. In announcing several Bills which would be presented by the Cabinet, he hinted that some new taxes would be asked for, as necessary to establish an equilibrium in the finances.

Alfonso XII. and the Queen of Spain reached Lisbon on January 10, remaining a week at the capital, and spending two days on their homeward journey at the Portuguese hunting-lodge at Villa Vigosa. Their reception by the Lisbon public was courteous, but cold. This was resented by a portion of the Madrid press, which called for the immediate return of the King and Queen; and the Ministers were generally blamed for having advised a visit which, in reality, had originated with the Canovas Cabinet.

In the verification of the powers of the newly-elected Chamber, the elections at Angoche (one of the three electoral districts of Mozambique) were contested on the ground of fraud. The returns were alleged to have been lost, whereas by other parties they were said to have been purloined. The circumstances connected with this scandal as revealed by the debates and in the press gave colour to the latter version; and there arose a prevalent conviction that Senhor Ferreira de Mesquita, a nephew of the Prime Minister, Senhor Fontes, owed his election only to the absence of these documents. The election was nevertheless confirmed by the Chamber, but suspicions were so strong that the Chamber was nicknamed by the Opposition a *Camera de Angoche*, implying its servility to those in power.

With respect to the Lourenço Marques Treaty, the Cortes were informed that, in view of the autonomy granted to the Transvaal

Republic, England had desisted from insisting upon the ratification of that document, and would acquiesce in the ratification of the Treaty of 1875 between Portugal and the Transvaal, with certain modifications which were made public in the correspondence between the Government and the British Minister. On this occasion some discussion arose over an alleged letter from King Dom Luiz to Queen Victoria, on the subject of the treaty, and which was not forthcoming in the White-book. The late Premier Senhor Sampayo acknowledged the truth, adding that he had advised His Majesty to write it. To the request that the letter should be published, a refusal was given on the ground that it was a private letter—a somewhat illogical view to obtain currency in a constitutional country.

The new Franco-Portuguese Commercial Treaty, concluded at the close of the previous year, had caused a great stir among manufacturers and some branches of the trade, as it stipulated the reduction of certain duties on imported goods. As in Spain, so in Portugal, an outcry was raised by those who felt themselves injured. The complainants in the latter country, however, were more successful in their demand for some modification, owing to the fact undoubtedly that in small communities, individualism being stronger, public pressure is also more effective. On the promise of the Ministers to obtain certain concessions from the French Government, the Deputies ratified the treaty by 89 votes against 9. An additional convention was subsequently signed at Paris (May 7), and the treaty passed through its final stage in the House of Peers without delay.

The ascendancy of the Ministry was manifested throughout the session in various ways. An attempt made by the deputy Dias Ferreira to reform the constitution in a democratic sense was, at the instance of the Government, not admitted for discussion, the vote (February 3) being 87 against 24; and a few days later a Bill of Indemnity was presented and subsequently carried. Its object was to sanction the dictatorship assumed by the late Cabinet (which was of the same party as the present) in respect of the Ways and Means and other measures (see "Annual Register," 1881, pp. 298 and 299).

On the 23rd, the financial statement of Senhor Fontes, who, like Mr. Gladstone, was both Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, though not favourably received by the public, was gradually forced through the Chambers. Its principal features were the abolition of the Income-tax, excepting on public salaries, Consols, and papers of credit; the imposition of a 6 per cent. additional tax on all taxes, saving on Income-tax and with a few other exceptions; an increase of the duty on tea, sugar, spirits, and other articles; and a proposed tax of 10 reis per litre on salt, of which the cost price did not equal the tax imposed upon it. Senhor Fontes, in introducing the various separate Bills which together made up his Budget, excused his scheme for "killing the deficit" on the grounds

of expediency ; and in the end persuaded the Cortes to pass them into law in spite of the opposition out of doors.

The assurances given by Señor Fontes that the result of his measures would be to extinguish the deficit *within the year* were not destined to be fulfilled, for the aggregate deficit (ordinary and extraordinary) at the close of the year showed a decided increase, whilst the floating debt swelled month by month, until it exceeded the enormous sum of *two million pounds sterling*.

It was not, however, Señor Fontes' Budget, but the measure termed by the public derisively the *Salamanca* which was to attract the greatest share of attention. This measure was due to the Minister of Public Works, Señor Hintze Ribeiro, who agreed with a syndicate of Oporto bankers and merchants to bring in a Bill for guaranteeing the minimum of 5 per cent. up to 30,000*l.* per annum on a line of railway between Barca d'Alva (Portuguese frontier) and Salamanca, consequently running over Spanish territory. As soon as the project became known, an all but universal outcry and protest was raised against subsidising a railroad on foreign territory. It was shown besides that an unduly large profit would accrue to the syndicate. The Bill, nevertheless, was taken up by the Deputies (June 3), and after some discussion voted by that House. On the 15th the Cortes were prorogued to the 23rd, and again to July 7, so as to get that and other minor Bills through the Upper House. Meanwhile the agitation out of doors increased. Meetings were held all over the country. At Lisbon a permanent Committee of Vigilance was elected ; petitions were sent to the Peers, and deputations came from the provinces, a general body of whom, numbering 300 persons, were received by the King (July 14). But, despite of all, the Salamanca Bill had, on the previous day, finally passed the Peers, for the large batch created in the previous December had secured a majority for the Government. A week later the Cortes were closed. At Oporto, however, the passage of the measure was received with delight, and a deputation of thanks was sent to the King, inviting His Majesty, who was to attend the opening of the Beira railroad, to extend his journey as far as Oporto.

At Oporto, where the royal party remained a week (August 8-14) as the guests of the municipality, their reception was most cordial ; but in some other places, such as Coimbra, local jealousies deadened the warmth of welcome.

The supplementary elections to fill vacancies which had occurred during the session (these in Portugal are held simultaneously) were marked by a singular episode. In every case the Government candidate had been returned ; but at Funchal (Madeira), Señor Braamcamp, the leader of the Progressistas, having presented himself, the Government resolved not to oppose his election, although Señor Braamcamp had refused to accept their support. But some influential men of the party in power, disregarding the wishes of their leaders, canvassed in favour of Señor Manuel Arrionga, the

Republican candidate, who polled 1,579 votes against 1,664 given for *Señhor Braamcamp*, and 458 for the Clerical candidate. As an absolute majority (1,723) had not been obtained, a fresh election was necessary. Thereupon *Señhor Braamcamp* withdrew from the contest, and the Government, fearing that the victory would fall to the Republicans, despatched a man-of-war with a new Governor to the island in time for the elections. On this occasion, *Señhor Conde de Carvalhal*, an Independent, and *Señhor Arrionga* offered themselves, and, in spite of the efforts of the Government, the latter was returned by 2,500 votes, his opponent only obtaining about 1,000. By this means the Republican element in the Cortes was increased from one to two representatives.

In the middle of November, two questions arose causing much excitement in the press and some agitation among the public. One was the sanction given by the French Government and Parliament to the *Brazza-Macoco* convention for the occupation by France of a territory on the *Zaire* (Africa) which Portugal considers as included in her possessions. The other was the Nuncio's interference in the nomination of the Bishops, occasioned by a readjustment of the dioceses of the kingdom recently sanctioned by the Papal Curia. *Mgr. Masella*, the Nuncio, was accused by the newspapers of Jesuit propagandism, and the Government was urged to expel him, as *Pombal* and other Ministers had done in past time. A Republican meeting was convoked to protest against French and Romish encroachments, and met, despite a prohibition (on the ground that international affairs were not subjects for popular discussion), and was largely attended, though at once dissolved by the police. The agitation, however, closed almost as speedily as it had begun in view of the amicable explanations and assurances given by the French Government on the one side; and, on the other, by the conciliatory spirit evinced on the part of the Vatican, giving to understand that the nominations would be approved and the Bishops preconised in consistory, the Pope accepting moreover the resignation of the Archbishop of *Brazza*, already accepted by Government. That prelate had taken this step from conscientious motives referring to the new division of the dioceses, which he did not approve, despite of the papal ratification.

VI. DENMARK.

The present year has produced no evidence of a probable settlement in home politics. The present Conservative Ministry have been in office for seven years, during which the Radical party has been steadily increasing its majority in the "*Folkething*" (the Lower House).

That politicians and the general public view the situation with considerable anxiety and misgiving is manifested by the unusually large number of political pamphlets which have appeared during

the year, all offering advice and means for a solution of the political deadlock.

When the session of 1881-82 opened in November 1881 no *Finants-lovforslag* (Annual Financial Budget) was laid before the Rigsdag, and as no Budget had been voted for the preceding financial year the Ministry was attacked for neglecting or postponing a clear constitutional duty; but when the Budget ultimately was laid before the Folkething, it passed to and fro between the Upper and Lower House for a considerable time without any prospect of agreement. In May, however, a compromise was effected, with the result that the three great points of contention were settled as follows:—(1) The Government proposal for an increase in the salaries of the officials of the Crown was lost; (2) the vote for a new ironclad was agreed to; and (3) a grant for the University was settled on the understanding that the deficit should be covered by a Government loan, instead of being defrayed out of the University funds. This compromise was not very satisfactory to the Ministerialists, but the situation had become critical and demanded a speedy settlement.

Eight days afterwards (May 20) the Rigsdag was prorogued, having sat for nearly six months, during which the passing of the Budget had been the sole outcome of its work. The compromise arrived at gave hopes of a more friendly co-operation between parties in the coming session, which opened on October 2, and opinions were expressed that the Radicals were especially in honour bound to treat the University in a more liberal spirit when this question came on again for final settlement. This hope was, however, disappointed, for at the close of the year the University Bill had been relegated to a Committee, where it has since remained in a state of suspended animation. The Budget for the year 1882-83 met with better luck in the Folkething than had been the lot of its predecessor; for, after six days' debate, it passed through its first stage, and was referred to the Budget Committee before the close of the year, with a favourable expectation that its proposals would be adopted.

The Government Bill for providing and improving the defences of Copenhagen was not reported on in the course of the year by the Committee to which it had been referred. In some quarters there were hopes that it would be dealt with during the session; but it was soon evident that no important legislative work could be accomplished so long as the Radicals and their determined leader, Mr. Berg, commanding a majority in the Folkething, were bent upon obstructing all measures emanating from the Estrup Ministry, and it became more generally admitted that a change of the Ministry or a revision of the electoral system would be necessary before quiet and harmony could be restored to Danish politics.

The result of the new elections for the Landsting (the Upper House) during the recess made no alteration in the relative strength of the different parties; but in the Lower House the

Radicals secured a few additional recruits. Among these must be mentioned Bishop D. G. Mourad, who, at the age of 71, and after a retirement of eighteen years, returned to political life. He had been one of the founders of the Danish *Grundlov* (Fundamental Law) of 1848, and throughout his career he had shown himself a consistent Liberal and a supporter of the Parliamentary form of government. On returning to political life he made no secret of his sympathies with the Radical majority in the Folkething, though he hopes to be a medium of reconciliation between the contending parties in the State.

The influence of the Conservative Working Men's Associations founded in Copenhagen made itself very sensibly felt at the elections for the Landsting, and the Ministerialists naturally urged the formation of such associations throughout the country as the only available means left to the Conservative party to rally their supporters, and to ensure a combined action against the Radical propaganda, which had hitherto been left in undisputed possession of the electorate. On the other hand, the extension of the Radical movement from the working to the middle class was shown in the formation at the Copenhagen University of an advanced Liberal party called the "Literary Left." In the course of the year they separated themselves from the "Students' Union," in which politics have always played an unimportant part, and formed a new association, or "Students' Society," sympathising with and supporting the Radicals in the Rigsdag, and eager to take an active part in political meetings and movements outside the limits of the University.

Two small lines of railway, the Thy and the Odense-Bogense lines, were opened in the course of the summer, opening up some rich agricultural districts. The harvest was, on the whole, good, and trade prosperous; but a portion of the Danish dependency, Iceland, was threatened by a serious famine, of which even the existence was at one time denied. Public subscriptions were nevertheless organised in Denmark, Norway, and England, and greatly alleviated the local distress.

VII. SWEDEN.

Of the three Scandinavian countries, Sweden alone can congratulate herself upon a peaceful state of home politics during the present year.

None of the important measures which Count Posse's Ministry had promised on coming into office in 1880, came before the Riksdag, the Parliamentary Committees to which they had been referred having failed to report on them before the prorogation (May 22). But if the session was barren of practical legislation, it helped to consolidate and extend in the Riksdag the Landtmanna party,

with the assistance of which the Count Posse Ministry hoped to carry out his policy. Meanwhile the attitude of that party towards the Coalition Ministry in which Count Posse continued to hold office was not marked by cordiality. The "Landtmanna" party (see the "Annual Register," 1880, p. 241), of which Count Posse is regarded as the leader, showed throughout the session by its determined attitude that unless Count Posse will adopt the programme of the majority in the Second Chamber, the position of his Cabinet will be a critical one. One of the principal questions which occupied public interest was the reorganisation of the army. The Committee to which the Government Bill had been referred presented their report, showing great unanimity with regard to most of its proposals. The majority of the Committee wished that the old system of the "indelta" army¹ should gradually be abandoned and replaced by a "stammtrupp" (main army) of 25,000 paid men; but all the members of the "Landtmanna" party who held seats on the Committee strongly opposed this suggestion. The Government therefore finds itself in the position of having to incorporate the views of the majority into a Bill which is sure to be rejected in the Second Chamber by the Landtmanna party, or else to remodel the Bill in accordance with the wishes of that party, and to ensure their defeat in the First Chamber.

A Government Bill for the sale of smaller estates belonging to the Crown the rental of which does not exceed 500 crowns (28*l.*), met with the approbation of the "Landtmanna" party in the Second Chamber, but was lost in the First Chamber; whilst a Bill for the increase in salaries of teachers in public schools was thrown out in the Second Chamber.

The much-vexed question of the deficit in the two State theatres did not come before the Riksdag this year; but, owing to the refusal of the Second Chamber in 1881 to grant anything towards clearing off the debts of the theatres, the King, who annually had contributed to their support, and in whose hands the affairs of the theatres had been left, transferred the responsibility to the State, and the new Riksdag will have to take the matter into consideration.

A Committee was appointed to consider a Bill for a new maritime law, and the Governments of Norway and Denmark were invited to co-operate in obtaining a maritime law common to all Scandinavia.

¹ The regular army numbers only between five and six thousand men; but the chief dependence of the country is upon the "indelta" army, which is maintained in a somewhat peculiar manner. The whole cultivated land of Sweden was anciently divided into "hemman," an arbitrary measure varying according to the then value of the ground. The "hemman" can only be sold in whole or in certain specified shares, and public burdens are imposed with reference to this division—among others that of the support of a soldier, who must be furnished with a cottage and a piece of ground sufficient for his maintenance. In process of time the inequalities of such a mode of taxation have much increased through the unequal manner in which the value of property has risen, and it is quite time that this system was altered.

A new Commercial Treaty with France was entered into, after the old treaty had been renewed several times for shorter periods. The new treaty was ratified by the Riksdag before it separated. The new Customs tariff then agreed to differed but little from its predecessor.

In June, Mr. Taube, the Minister of War, resigned his portfolio, and was succeeded by General Ryding, who has been the principal supporter of the Army Bill in the Committee.

An important line of railway connecting the two sister countries, the Thronhjelm-Sundsvall line, was opened by the King during the summer, and another shorter line between Carlberg and Varta.

VIII. NORWAY.

For several years a constitutional struggle of vital importance to the liberty of the Norwegian people has been going on between the King and his Government, on the one hand, and the representatives of the people on the other. The earlier incidents of this dispute have already been detailed ("Annual Register," 1880-81), and although 1882 did not actually witness any final settlement of the great questions at issue, it has, however, contributed materially towards a definite solution by the plain verdict given at the general elections held in the fall of the year.

The chief points on which the Government and the Storting are at variance are the admittance of the members of Ministry to seats in the Storting, and the limit of the King's veto. The King, notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of, the silence of the Grundlov to confirm his right, claims an absolute veto in all matters relating to changes in the fundamental law of the country, and, as shown this year, in questions of Supply. The popular view, as expressed by the elections, showed an absolutely contrary opinion in the minds of the electors.

On January 17, the Storting was summoned for an extraordinary session to ratify a Commercial Treaty with France; but, after a fortnight's discussion, the Diet separated without having agreed to its terms, although it was subsequently ratified. On the following day (February 1) the ordinary session was opened on behalf of the King by Mr. Selmer, the Prime Minister, who read the Speech from the Throne, which contained nothing of importance beyond calling the attention of the Diet to a proposed increase of the Stamp Duty as a means of balancing the Budget.

The estimated revenue for the financial year, as submitted to the Storting, was placed at 41,446,000 kroner (about 2,300,000*l.*), and the expenditure at 41,440,000 kroner; but the latter, having been subsequently reduced by the Storting to 39,384,000 kroner, chiefly on the Army Estimates, a surplus of 800,000 kroner was shown.

In reply to the demand for a State loan of 19,000,000 kroner,

the Storthing agreed to confer upon the Government borrowing powers up to 4,000,000 kroner, if the requirements of the State Treasury were shown to be real. The Ministry was not more successful in its attempt to induce the Storthing to reconsider its refusal to increase the appanage of the Crown Prince from 30,000 to 80,000 kroner on the occasion of his marriage. The proposal, distasteful in itself to the majority, suggested to others an attempt on the part of the Ministry to obtain indirectly a vote of confidence, and, after a very curt debate, was again rejected by an increased majority of 70 against 38.

Two Bills dealing with local taxation, one by the Government and another by Mr. Sverdrup, the President of the Storthing, furnished the basis of a compromise; the main features of which were due to Mr. Sverdrup's Bill, which had been already adopted as far back as 1877. A Bill for the sale of so much of Crown land allotted to parsonages (glebe-land) as was found to be more than requisite for the pasturage of three to five horses and ten to twenty cows, which had been twice refused the King's sanction, was passed for the third time this year, and thus became law—the third instance in which, since 1814, the Storthing has successfully passed a law without the King's sanction. The extension of the Parliamentary franchise, although discountenanced by the Government, was a more important question, and gave rise to prolonged and acrimonious debates. The chief point at issue was the method of dealing with the large increase of faggot votes and fictitious voters. These rights to the franchise were based upon a resolution of the Storthing passed in 1878, which allowed a vote to every possessor of a patch of land, irrespective of its value. Under this law, a number of persons had purchased small pieces of moorland, the assessment of which was of course of an infinitesimal value. In many cases the authorities had refused to acknowledge the rights of these moormen ("Myrmænd"), as they were ironically called, and the Storthing was called upon to decide how far this was in accordance with the intentions of the Legislature. The Storthing, however, upheld the widest interpretation of the Act, and threw upon the Ministry the blame of any misuse arising from its operation.

The increasing hostility of the majority of the Storthing to the Government made itself felt in a variety of ways; and party spirit ran higher as the session advanced. If the Cabinet advised the King to refuse his sanction to several measures and grants passed by the Storthing, the majority in the Diet did not in return neglect, as in the case of the appanage to the Crown Prince, to show their power by throwing out Government Bills and refusing grants which they considered unnecessary. For example, the Storthing refused a grant of 80,000 kroner which the Government asked for Royal Commissions; whilst the Government advised the King to refuse his sanction to a grant voted by the Storthing for a new National Volunteer Society, started under the special patronage of the Radical party. A private subscription in aid of the

funds of the association was forthwith set on foot, and a sum larger than the rejected grant was obtained. The Storthing then passed a Bill enacting that two additional members, elected by the Diet, should be placed upon the Central Committee of Directors of the Government Railways; but this was also refused sanction. A Parliamentary Committee appointed by the Storthing to consider the introduction of jury system into Norway also met with the opposition of Government, which refused to acknowledge and sanction the meeting of the Committee. The Storthing, however, declared that the Government had no voice in the matter, and directed the Committee to meet at the appointed time. In return for their systematic hostility to private legislation, a Government Bill appointing two new Assessors, or members of the High Court of Justice, was thrown out by the Storthing. The Radical majority foresaw that these appointments, even if necessary, which was contested, would strengthen the Government in the Rigsret, or High Court of the Realm, before which any impeachment of the Ministry for having refused to accede to the wishes of the people, expressed through their representatives by the celebrated resolution of June 9, 1880 ("Annual Register," 1880, p. 238), would necessarily be brought. By the constitution the Rigsret is composed of the Lagthing (Upper Chamber) and of all the members of the High Court of Justice. The Odelsting, or Lower Chamber, which, it will be remembered, has the right of instituting State prosecutions, decided, at the close of the previous session, to postpone action in the matter to the session of 1883, when the results of the new elections this year would further determine and very possibly strengthen the policy of the Storthing in this important question.

A more trivial matter, but indicative of the spirit of the times, was a resolution, carried by 60 votes against 40, substituting, in all petitions and applications to the King, for the old formula of "Most gracious Majesty," the plain and simple address of "To the King"; and since March 15 this address has been used. A further source of misunderstanding between the Government and the Storthing was found in the appointment of Mr. Hertzberg. In 1881 the latter body had decided to bring in a Bill to abolish the Ministry of State Audit as soon as the place became vacant; and, on the death of Mr. Nissen at the beginning of the year, this opportunity arose, but the Government at once filled up the post, which, since 1845, had been only regarded as a temporary one. A Bill for admitting females to the University was brought in by a Radical deputy, H. E. Berner, and passed with only one dissentient, a minister of the State Church; and on September 8 the first female student (Miss Thoresen) matriculated.

The Storthing, having reached the limit of its three years' existence, was dissolved (June 21) by the King, who had come to Christiania for that ceremony. On this occasion the King delivered his celebrated Speech from the Throne, which marked a new phase

in modern constitutional monarchy. He upbraided the Storthing for allowing legislation to drift steadily in a direction which did not meet with his approbation, and which had resulted in measures which, in his interpretation of the Grundlov, he could not sanction. On several occasions the Storthing had departed from the work of legislation from a desire to limit the authority with which the Grundlov had invested the King; and although he had in several ways endeavoured to meet the wishes of the Storthing, he found no spirit of concession or conciliation evinced by the Diet. He had with great concern learnt that the Storthing would assert its right to amend the Fundamental Law of the country without his sanction, but he was personally firmly convinced of the unjustifiable nature of such a right, and appealed, finally, to Providence and all patriotic men to assist him in carrying out what he thought was his royal duty towards preserving the Grundlov and the peace of the country.

The Speech created considerable surprise throughout the whole country, the Conservative press thanking the King for the "serious words" addressed to the stubborn majority of the representatives of the people, while the Radical organs in strong terms denounced the Speech and the Government for advising an "irresponsible" King to lecture the elect of the country. On the peasantry, who play an important part in Norwegian Parliamentarism, the Speech made a very unfavourable impression, and the feeling of irritation against a constitutional King demanding an absolute veto extended rapidly. Before separating, the Storthing agreed by 60 votes against 40 to withhold the homage to the King which it was customary to offer at the close of the session.

During the recess a great number of public meetings were held by both parties all over the country. At Lillestrømmen, Mr. Sverdrup, the President of the Storthing and the leader of the Left, clearly laid down the programme of his party, calling upon the electors to support the Storthing in upholding the resolution of June 9. He refuted point by point the King's Speech, which he declared to be unjustifiable in a constitutional country, where the labours and political convictions of the members of the National Assembly had a right to be respected. The extension of the Parliamentary suffrage, the reorganisation of the army, the introduction of the jury system, and the further development of national education, were the chief reforms demanded by the Left. On the same day, the popular Norwegian poet, Mr. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, addressed a large meeting at the historical spot of Stiklestad in the Thronhjelm district, where King Olaf the Holy, who had been introducing Christianity at the point of his sword through Norway, was killed in 1030 in the war against the peasantry. Mr. Bjørnson appealed to the old independent spirit of the Norwegian people, and hoped that they would elect men worthy to represent them and uphold the independence of their country. "If Thormod Kolbrunarskald (one of the heroes at Stiklestad)

stood here before you to-day, he would speak thus to the Norwegian people: 'Wake up to the sense of honour in a nation's independence! If your chosen men are spoken to as if they were boys, then strike down that Government which bears the responsibility of such words.'" Mr. Sverdrup's and Mr. Björnson's speeches were scattered over the country, and their influence in consolidating the party was very apparent.

The elections began in September and were concluded by the end of November, with the result that the Radicals—there is now no party called "Liberal" or "Moderate" in Norway—returned still stronger than in the old Storting. Eleven seats were wrested from the Conservatives, who only numbered 31 in the new Diet, whilst the Radicals were increased to 83. Christiania and Thronhjelm, amongst the larger towns, preserved their allegiance to the Conservative cause; but Bergen, next to the capital the most important town in Norway, returned all Radicals.

The King's advisers, however disappointed they may have been at the result, showed no signs of yielding. The Conservative press applied its powers to shake the confidence of the Radical party in their leaders and their policy, gravely asserting that the tactics of the majority in the Storting would finally result in a separation from Sweden and most probably in a war with that country. No evidence, however, was forthcoming on the part of the people of Sweden of any desire to intervene in the constitutional questions which distract Norway, and the Swedish Riksdag would pause a long time before granting money to the King for a war against the sister country, if he should think of imposing his views by force of arms upon the majority of the Norwegian people.

The only basis for such a suggestion was an article which appeared in the leading Ministerial organ, the *Morgenbladet* of Christiania, on the eve of the elections. In it the King was openly recommended to try a *coup d'état* in case the Storting should persist in upholding the resolution of June 9. This article caused considerable irritation among both parties, and several Conservative organs disclaimed all sympathy with any such attempt on the part of the King or his advisers. The writer of the article, who afterwards was acknowledged to be Professor Monrad (the Theological Professor of the Christiania University), an ardent supporter of the King and the present Government, tried in a later article to modify his views and the purport of the article, which, in fact, had rather damaged than benefited his party. A *coup d'état* could only have meant the dissolution of the Storting at the point of the bayonet, leading at no distant date to the end of all monarchical rule in Norway.

CHAPTER V.

AMERICA.

I. UNITED STATES.

THE state of parties in the United States Legislature at the beginning of the first session of the forty-second Congress which came to an end August 8, 1882, was as follows. The Senate:—Republicans, 37; Democrats, 37; Independent, 1; Readjuster, 1; David Davis, of Illinois, being President *pro tem.* and Acting Vice-President. In the House of Representatives:—Republicans, 150; Democrats, 131; Nationals, 10; Readjusters, 2; J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio, being Speaker. The November elections, which took place simultaneously in thirty-three of the States, resulted in a large majority for the Democrats, who, it was thought probable, would have a majority of forty in the next House. The Republicans could still count upon a small majority in the Senate. The Cabinet of President Arthur, which was not finally completed till April 1882, comprised the following:—Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, Secretary of State; Charles L. Folger, of New York, Secretary of Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, Secretary of War; W. T. Chandler, of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy; Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, Secretary of Interior; T. O. Howe, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General; Benjamin H. Breaster, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. The two most important measures of domestic legislation submitted to Congress in the early part of the session of 1882 were a Bill (reported by Senator Edmunds from the Committee on the Judiciary) directed against the evils of polygamy, and a Bill (from the Committee on Foreign Relations) relating to Chinese immigration. For many years the Executive in his annual message has urged the necessity of stringent legislation for the suppression of polygamy in the Territories, and especially in the Territory of Utah. The statute previously existing for the punishment of that crime had been, ever since its enactment, persistently and contemptuously violated. "Indeed," remarked President Arthur, in his first annual message to Congress, "in spite of commendable efforts on the part of the authorities who represent the United States in that Territory, the law has in very rare instances been enforced, and is practically a dead letter." The fact that adherents of the Mormon Church, which rests upon polygamy as its corner-stone, had recently been peopling in large numbers Idaho, Arizona, and other of the Western Territories was, in the President's opinion, well calculated to excite the liveliest interest and apprehension. He therefore considered that the duty was imposed upon Congress and the

Executive “of arraying against this barbarous system all the power which under the constitution and the law they can wield for its destruction.”

Prominent among the obstacles hitherto encountered by the United States officials in their efforts to punish violations of the law, has been the great difficulty of procuring legal evidence sufficient to convict even notorious offenders, owing to the secrecy observed in celebrating Mormon marriages. This matter, in a case upon which it had to adjudicate, attracted the attention of the Supreme Court of the United States, the judges of which suggested the propriety of modifying the existing law of evidence which made a wife incompetent to testify against her husband. The President approving of this suggestion, in connection with the more pressing legislation, further recommended the passage of an Act providing that, in the territories of the United States, the fact that a woman had been married to a person charged with bigamy should not disqualify her as a witness upon his trial for that offence. Further measures were also recommended, by which any person solemnising a marriage in any of the Territories should be required, under stringent penalties for neglect or refusal, to file a certificate of such marriage in the Supreme Court of the Territory.

On February 16, 1882, a Bill to prevent polygamy was brought in and debated in the Senate; on March 13 and following day it was considered in the House of Representatives; and on March 22 it was approved by the President, and became law. By its principal provisions, “every person who has a husband or wife living who, in a Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter marries another, whether married or single; and any man who hereafter simultaneously or on the same day marries more than one woman in a Territory or other place, &c., is guilty of polygamy, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500, and by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years.” Cohabitation by a man with more than one woman is made a misdemeanour under the Act, and, on conviction, is punishable by a fine of not more than \$300, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both punishments at the discretion of the Court. Amnesty may be granted to such classes of offenders guilty of polygamy, bigamy, or unlawful cohabitation before the passing of the Act on such conditions and under such limitations as the President shall think proper; but no such amnesty shall have effect unless the conditions thereof shall be complied with. The issue of bigamous or polygamous marriages born before January 1, 1883, are legitimated. And no polygamist, bigamist, or person cohabiting with more than one woman “shall be entitled to vote at any election” held in any Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, “or be eligible for election or appointment to, or be entitled to hold any office or place of public trust, honour, or emolument in, under, or for any such Territory or place, or under

the United States." All the registration and elective offices of every description in the territory of Utah are declared vacant under this Act, their duties to be performed for the time being by a Board of five persons to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate. This stringent but needful piece of legislation did not become law without some show of opposition in the House of Representatives, chiefly owing to several dilatory motions made by Democratic members, but in the Senate it was more speedily disposed of. It was at once taken in hand and its provisions rigidly enforced by the Government. The Mormons tried to evade the law by temporarily separating from all but one wife.

The "Chinese question," which had yearly become one of pressing national importance, owing in part to the persistent opposition of the State of California to Chinese immigration to its shores, and in part also to the continuous increasing influx of Chinese labourers into various other parts of the country, gave rise to prolonged debates in both branches of the Legislature. It was finally disposed of by the passage of a Bill suspending Chinese immigration into the United States for a period of ten years. For a long time the Californians had kept up an agitation on this subject, alleging that Chinese immigration had, with particular reference to the city of San Francisco, a prejudicial influence upon the public morals, and also rendered it difficult for white labourers to support life when Chinese were in competition, so low was the rate of wages at which the latter were willing to work. The matter was referred to the consideration of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which, through Mr. Miller, Senator from California, reported a Bill to the Senate (January 26, 1882) which enacted that from and after the expiration of sixty days from its passing the coming of Chinese labourers to the United States be suspended for a period of twenty years. This Bill was vigorously debated in both Houses and passed; but on April 4, 1882, President Arthur, in a message to the Senate, stated his objections to the measure as being in violation of the United States treaty obligations with the Chinese, and practically refused his assent. Thereupon a new Bill was prepared, limiting the period of suspension of immigration to a period of ten years, and making other minor amendments in regard to passports, registration, &c., and this measure passed, and received the approval of the President May 1, 1882. There was considerable difference of opinion in many parts of the country as to the policy of restricting Chinese immigration in any way. The city of New York sent the largest petition ever presented to the President from the business classes there against prohibition. It was signed by the representatives of all the banks in the Clearing House Association, all the members of the sugar, tea, coffee, iron, and "dry goods" trades, most of the prominent members of the cotton trade, and three-fourths of the insurance houses. President Arthur, no

doubt, fairly estimated the popular sentiment on the subject when, in his reasons against the original Bill, he remarked as follows: "Good faith requires us to suspend the immigration of Chinese labourers for a less period than twenty years; good policy points in the same direction. Our intercourse with China is of recent date. Our first treaty with that Power is not yet forty years old. It is only since we acquired California and established a great seat of commerce on the Pacific that we may be said to have broken down the barriers which fenced in that ancient monarchy. The Burlingame treaty naturally followed. Under the spirit which inspired it, many thousand Chinese labourers came to the United States. No man can say that the country has not profited by their work. They were largely instrumental in constructing the railways which connect the Atlantic with the Pacific. The States of the Pacific slope are full of evidences of their industry. Enterprises, profitable alike to the capitalist and to the labourer of Caucasian origin, would have lain dormant but for them. A time has now come when it is supposed they are not needed, and when it is thought by Congress, and by those most acquainted with the subject, that it is best to try to get along without them. There may, however, be other sections of the country where this species of labour may be advantageously employed without interfering with the labourers of our own race." In making the proposed restriction of Chinese immigration, it was, in President Arthur's view, the part of wisdom, as well as of good faith, to fix the limit of the experimental period with reference to this fact. In ultimately adopting this suggestion, Congress carried with it the general support of the country.

On May 23 the Senate passed a measure, re-establishing the Court and Commissioners of Alabama Claims, and for the distribution of the unappropriated moneys of the Geneva Award, as it came from the Lower House by a vote of 38 to 12. The Bill provided for the distribution of the balance of the Award among those claimants who suffered by the depredation of the cruisers that were exculpated by the Geneva tribunal. If any money were left after those were paid, it was to be distributed *pro rata* among the insurance claimants. Practically, the Bill refused to pay one of the classes of claims allowed by the tribunal, and provided for the payment of two classes disallowed by the same tribunal. This extraordinary distribution was originated by General Benjamin F. Butler in 1876, and has been repeatedly denounced in the public press as a breach of trust on the part of the Government. At the end of the session this measure still lacked the President's consent.

More earnest consideration of the rival principles of Free Trade and Protection was pressed upon the attention of the business community by appointment of a Commission "to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the

same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff and the existing system of internal revenue laws upon a scale of justice to all interests." The following gentlemen were appointed upon the Commission—namely, John L. Hayes, of Massachusetts, chairman; Henry W. Oliver, jun., of Pennsylvania; A. M. Garland, of Illinois; Jacob A. Ambler, of Ohio; Robert P. Porter, of D. of Columbia; J. W. H. Underwood, of Georgia; D. E. Kennor, of Louisiana; A. R. Boteler, of West Virginia; William H. McMahon, of New York; with directions to report the results of their investigation and the testimony taken in the cause of the same not later than the first Monday in December. The report was duly presented, and caused general surprise by its recommendations of liberal and systematic reductions. It had been universally believed that the Commission would make an inconsequential report, leaving the tariff about as it previously existed. Instead of this it recommended reductions of from 20 to 25 per cent. In the duties on chemicals, for example, the average reduction recommended was from 25 to 30 per cent., and the removal of the duty on raw materials; and a reduction of 10 per cent. on products advanced one stage in manufacture. On pottery a general increase of about 15 per cent. was recommended; but the pottery manufacturers complained that certain rebates and deductions were also recommended, which reduced the net increase to 5 per cent. On metals the changes most important were the duty on Bessemer rails, reduced from 28 dollars per ton to 17 dollars 92 cents; on the tax on iron the reduction was from 10 to 20 per cent., on wire 20 to 30, and on miscellaneous articles 15 to 25. On sugar the general reduction was about 15 per cent.; cotton goods, except some finer qualities, 25 to 30; wool 20; and woollen goods 18 to 40 higher, the reduction being on the cheaper qualities; silk goods, 23. One excellent recommendation was made which found favour with all classes of importers, namely, the establishment of a Customs Court, where appeals from decisions of the collectors might be decided within ninety days.

On April 18, President Arthur sent a special message to Congress, submitting for its consideration a copy of the circular invitation (signed James G. Blaine, and dated November 29, 1881), extended to all the independent countries of North and South America, to participate in a general Peace Congress to be held in Washington, November 22, 1882. "In giving this invitation," wrote the President, "I was not unaware that there existed differences between several of the Republics of South America which would militate against the happy results which might otherwise be expected from such an assemblage. The differences indicated are such as exist between Chili and Peru, between Mexico and Guatemala, and between the States of Central America." It was hoped that these differences would disappear before the time fixed for the meeting of the Congress. This hope had not been realised.

Having observed that the authority of the President to convene such a meeting had been questioned, the President, referring to the power conferred upon him by the constitution, "by, and with, the advice of the Senate to make treaties," remarked that this provision conferred the power also to take all requisite measures to initiate them, and to this end he may freely confer with one or several commissioners or delegates. "The Congress contemplated by the invitation," the message continued, "could only effect any valuable result by its conclusions eventually taking the form of a treaty of peace between the States represented; and, besides, the invitation to the States of North and South America is merely a preliminary act, of which the constitutionality or the want of it can hardly be affirmed. It has been suggested that while the international Congress could have no power to affect the rights of nationalities there represented, still Congress might be unwilling to subject the existing treaty rights of the United States on the Isthmus and elsewhere on the continent to be clouded, and rendered uncertain, by the expression of the opinions of a Congress composed largely of interested parties." The propriety of convening the suggested international Congress was therefore referred to the Legislature of the United States to determine. No action was taken by Congress, and the proposed convocation of representatives was indefinitely postponed.

"Mississippi River Improvements," the "Boundary between the United States and Mexico," and "Disorders in Arizona," formed the subjects of other presidential messages to the Legislature during the session of 1882. An Act making large appropriations of public money (\$18,743,875) for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain works on rivers and harbours and for other purposes, commonly known as the "River and Harbour Bill," was vetoed by the President August 1, but passed on the following day, "notwithstanding the objections of the President," by both Houses of Congress.

Irish affairs not unnaturally engaged an unusual share of public attention in America during the year 1882, and there were not wanting partisans of the extreme Irish section eager to entangle the Government with England by advocating interference in measures deemed necessary by the latter country for securing tranquillity in Ireland. The passing of the Irish Coercion Act, which gave power to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to arrest any person reasonably suspected of having been guilty, as principal or accessory, of high treason, treason-felony, or of crimes punishable by law and tending to interfere with or disturb the maintenance of law and order in Ireland, resulted in the arrest, among others, of certain American citizens staying in that country suspected of offences under the Act. This gave rise to some diplomatic correspondence between the United States and British Governments. A resolution was also adopted in the House of Representatives requesting President Arthur to demand the reason for the im-

prisonment of Americans, and should it appear that they were imprisoned in violation of their rights, authorising him to demand their release. In case their release was delayed or refused he was to resort to such means as he might think proper to effect it. There was much angry feeling displayed by Irish agitators in "mass meetings" in New York and other cities, and a clamour was at one time raised for the recall of Mr. Lowell, United States Minister to England; but the Government itself was in no way influenced by these proceedings, the negotiations being carried on in a perfectly friendly spirit throughout, with results alike satisfactory and honourable to both Governments. The arrest of Mr. Henry George, an American citizen and newspaper correspondent (author of a work called "Progress and Poverty," which had been widely discussed in the English and American press), while travelling in Ireland in the autumn of 1882, was admitted to have been a too zealous act on the part of the Irish police, for which Earl Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, subsequently expressed the regret of his Government.

The claim of the United States in regard to the supervision and control of any interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama was the subject of conference between the American and British Governments during the past year. President Arthur expressed the opinion that time will be more powerful than discussion in removing the divergence between the two nations whose friendship is so closely cemented by the intimacy of their relations and the community of their interests.

The war between Peru and Bolivia on the one hand, and Chili on the other, which had occupied the attention of the United States Government in the previous year, and whose position as a friendly neutral had been somewhat compromised by Mr. Secretary Blaine's action in favour of Peru, was thus referred to in the President's second annual message to Congress (1882-83):—

"On the occupation by Chili in 1880 of all the littoral territory of Bolivia, negotiations for peace were conducted under the direction of the United States. The allies refused to concede any territory, but Chili has since become master of the whole coast of both countries and of the capital of Peru. A year since, as you have already been advised by correspondence transmitted to you in January last, this Government sent a special mission to the belligerent Powers to express the hope that Chili would be disposed to accept a money indemnity for the expenses of the war and to relinquish her demand for a portion of the territory of her antagonist. This recommendation, which Chili declined to follow, this Government did not assume to enforce, nor can it be enforced without resort to measures which would be in keeping neither with the temper of our people nor with the spirit of our institutions. The power of Peru no longer extends over its whole territory, and in the event of our interference to dictate peace would need to be supplemented by the armies and navies of the

United States. Such interference would almost inevitably lead to the establishment of a protectorate, a result utterly at variance with our past policy, injurious to our present interests, and full of embarrassments for the future. For effecting the termination of hostilities upon terms at once just to the victorious nation and generous to its adversaries this Government has spared no efforts save such as might involve the complications which I have indicated.

“It is greatly to be deplored that Chili seems resolved to exact such rigorous conditions of peace and indisposed to submit to arbitration the terms of an amicable settlement. No peace is likely to be lasting that is not sufficiently equitable and just to command the approval of other nations.”

The reconstruction of the United States navy, which was begun by Congress authorizing, under a recent Act, the building of two large unarmoured steel vessels, was energetically followed by the Naval Admiralty Board recommending that authority be given to construct two more cruisers of smaller dimensions, and one fleet despatch-vessel, and that appropriations of public money be made for high-power rifled cannon, for the torpedo service and for other harbour defences. It appears by the Secretary of the Navy's report that the available naval force of the United States in 1882 consisted of 37 cruisers, 14 single-turreted monitors (built during the rebellion), a large number of smoothbore guns and Parrott rifles, and 87 rifled cannon. According to the annual report of the Secretary of War for 1882, the existing fortifications for sea-coast defences and armaments for them “are notoriously inadequate to the defence of the great harbours and cities for whose protection they were built.” The question of providing an armament suited to the present necessities of the United States has been the subject of consideration by a Board, whose report was transmitted to Congress at the last session, and upon which no action had been taken at the date when it came to an end.

In regard to the general prosperity of the country during the year last past, the following facts will be of interest.

The revised report of the Census Bureau presented in May 1882 shows the total population of the country to be 50,155,783—composed of males, 25,518,820; females, 24,636,563. At the date of the Census (1880) there were living in the United States—natives, 43,475,840; foreigners, 6,679,943; whites, 43,402,970; coloured, 6,580,793; Chinese, 105,465; Japanese, 148; and Indians, 66,407. The State of New York heads the list with an aggregate population of 5,082,871 souls; Pennsylvania standing second with a population of 4,282,891; and Ohio third with a population of 3,198,062. The States whose aggregate population exceeds two millions are Illinois and Missouri; and whose population exceeds a million, Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin. The largest number of coloured persons are found in the State of Georgia (725,133),

Chinese in California (75,132); Indians in California (16,277); and foreigners generally, in New York (1,211,370).

The last summary statement of imports and exports of the United States for the last fiscal year, ended June 30, 1882, was as follows:—

Exports—		
Merchandise	\$750,542,257	
Specie	49,417,479	
Total	\$799,959,736	
Imports—		
Merchandise	\$724,639,574	
Specie	42,472,390	
Total	\$767,111,964	
Excess of exports over imports of merchandise	\$25,902,683	

This excess is less than it has been before for any of the previous six years, as appears by the following table:—

1876	\$79,643,481	1880	\$167,683,912
1877	151,152,094	1881	259,712,718
1878	257,814,234	1882	25,902,683
1879	264,661,666		

The ordinary receipts from all sources for the period above stated amounted to \$403,525,250, and expenditure to \$257,981,439, leaving a surplus revenue of \$145,543,810. On January 1, 1883, the Public Debt of the United States showed a net total of \$1,607,543,676, of which \$1,392,245,450 was interest-bearing debt. The half-year that ended with December 31, 1882, showed a surplus of 81 millions devoted to reduction of these figures.

The American harvests of 1882 afforded an almost unprecedented yield of breadstuffs and cotton; and there was also an enlarged distribution of merchandise throughout the country which produced a general increase in the returns of American railroads, and enabled most of the trunk lines to recover the disasters of the railroad rate war of 1881.

Politically the year 1882 closed auspiciously, and especially for that measure of Civil Service Reform which has been declared by many leading American statesmen to lie at the very root of the future wellbeing of their country. The communication which the President made to Congress at its first session in December 1881 contained a somewhat full statement of his sentiments in relation to the principles and rules which ought, in his opinion, to govern appointments to the public service. Referring to the various plans which had theretofore been the subject of discussion in the national Legislature—plans which in the main were modelled upon the system of Great Britain, but which lacked certain of the prominent features whereby that system is distinguished—President Arthur intimated his doubts whether they, or any of them, would afford adequate remedy for the evils which were to be corrected. He declared, nevertheless, that if the proposed measures should prove acceptable to Congress they would receive the unhesitating

support of the Executive. Since these suggestions were submitted to the Legislature, there has been an increase in the public interest in the subject, and the people of the country, apparently without distinction of party, have in various ways and upon frequent occasions given expression to their earnest wish for prompt and definite action. President Arthur in his last annual message advised that such action should no longer be postponed, and expressed the hope that before the close of the session 1882-83, decisive measures may be taken for the correction of the evils inherent in the existing methods of appointment to the Civil Service. In regard to the scandal of political assessments among employés of the Government, the President recommended legislation, while upholding the view which he had always maintained—namely, “that a public officer should be as absolutely free as any other citizen to give or to withhold a contribution for the aid of the political party of his choice.” It had, however, been urged upon his attention, “and doubtless not without foundation in fact, that by solicitation of superiors and by other modes such contributions have at times been obtained from persons whose only motive for giving has been the fear of what might befall them if they refused. It goes without saying that such contributions are not voluntary, and in my judgment their collection should be prohibited by law. A Bill which will effectually suppress them will receive my cordial approval.” Thus the Republic is in a fair way of being purged of that political corruption which has often been charged against its fair fame, and which was the natural outgrowth of a Civil Service the most subordinate officials of which were liable to removal with every change of administration. Such a system was in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests of the State, and calculated to become more injurious with the growth of years and prosperity.

II. CANADA.

The record of the year last past for the Canadian Dominion is one of social rather than of political interest, and presents no matter calling for special observation within the range of actual politics. The history of Canada year by year continues to be one of progressive development and prosperity, unbroken by any internal dissension with which the world at large has any concern. The energies of her Government are at present principally directed towards opening up her vast natural resources for agriculture and manufacture, and attracting emigrants to her shores. Since 1878 the value of her imports from Great Britain has largely increased, and are now equal to about 2*l.* sterling per head, as compared with 14*s.* 8*d.* per head in the United States. The proportion in favour of Canada would be still greater if manufactures only were taken into consideration, showing the relative importance of the development of Canada to Great Britain, both as providing homes

for her surplus population and an extended market for her manufactures. The increase in the numbers of immigrants of British birth from year to year is noteworthy. In 1880 they reached 29,202; in 1881, 34,239; in 1882 (up to September 30), 46,739. The Canadian Pacific Railway—an undertaking described in previous volumes—is being rapidly constructed. It is already in operation from Thunder Bay on Lake Superior to Winnipeg and 500 miles west of that city, and from Winnipeg south to the international boundary, where it connects with the United States railways. It is confidently expected that in 1886 there will be a railway from the maritime provinces to the Pacific coast entirely through Canadian territory. The importance of this line to the country and to the British Empire it is impossible to exaggerate. The Canadian Pacific Railway deserves special mention. It is one of the greatest national undertakings of the age. Prior to 1880 the work of making a connection between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts was being carried out by the Government. But in that year it was transferred to a syndicate, which is now engaged in rapidly constructing the line. There are 1,000 miles of it in operation at the present time, and the track has been laid during the past season at the rate of between two and three miles per day. It is now open to within 300 miles of the Rocky Mountains, and the difficult work in British Columbia, and on the northern shore of Lake Superior, is also being accelerated as much as possible. The line, when complete, will be 2,600 miles long. This does not include the branches which may in time become helps to the national progress. The public importance of the railway will be understood when it is stated that a subsidy in already completed works and in cash, equal to nearly eleven millions sterling, and twenty-five millions of acres of land, was voted by the Canadian Parliament to enable the contract to be carried out.

III. CENTRAL AMERICA.—MEXICO, &c.

Mexico.—Although rumours were frequently rife during the year of some recognition of the Foreign Debt, they came to nothing, and the financial position at the end of the year was such that no arrangement may be looked for at present. The Government did not improve the situation by abolishing the export duty of 5 per cent. hitherto levied on silver bullion and coin. The step was taken with a view to reduce the rate of exchange on foreign countries, but it did not have that effect. The rate of exchange was scarcely altered, and an enormous quantity of silver was exported from all the ports of the Republic, thereby producing a great fall in Mexican dollars on the European bullion markets. Currency became scarce, the National Bank had to raise its rate of discount in a fortnight from 6 to 9 per cent., and

the Mercantile Bank was forced to make a call on its shareholders. The Exchequer is hampered by subsidies to railway companies, and will have to pay on their account during the present financial year upwards of \$8,000,000, to meet which further loans will be necessary. In this state of things people are not likely to hear much more of the Foreign Debt being met. Early in the year an extra session of Congress was called to consider the Guatemala boundary question; and, at the opening, President Gonzalez congratulated the country on the progress made with railways (1,000 miles already constructed) and telegraphs, the increase in the revenue, and the immigration of Europeans to Mexico. The dispute in question was referred to the President of the United States for arbitration, it being arranged that Guatemala should abandon her claim to Soconusco, and that boundary commissioners should be designated to fix the line of demarcation. When the President opened the Mexican Congress again in September, he stated that the revenue had risen to \$30,000,000, and expressed satisfaction at the treaty signed with Guatemala, and the friendly disposition of the United States Government. There is a great field in Mexico for mining and agricultural implements, but English manufacturers are said to be so apathetic that trade in those things, as well as in hardware and cutlery, is passing into the hands of Americans and Germans, and the early connection of Mexico and America by railway will certainly hasten this. The population of Mexico is now about 12,000,000, and her imports and exports amount to 6,000,000*l.* each.

Panama.—Early in September the Isthmus was visited by a succession of earthquakes which caused immense damage. The cathedral suffered severely, and so did most of the houses. The volcano of Chiriqui, which had long been dormant, began to be active again, and as this is the safety-valve which regulates the pressure of the volcanic boiler over which Panama is situated, it is believed the chances of further explosive disturbances are now diminished. The work of the canal goes steadily forward, notwithstanding that the proposed Nicaragua scheme is gaining numerous supporters. It is worth noting here that the real originator of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama was neither M. de Lesseps nor Mr. Joly de Sabla, but Captain George Peacock, of Starcross, Devonshire. This fact has been publicly acknowledged by M. de Lesseps and the Colombian Government, and it seems that so long ago as 1831 Captain Peacock surveyed and explored the Isthmus, as he did again in 1832 and 1842.

Guatemala.—The French Government in February demanded satisfaction of this Republic for the assault and detention in December 1881 of the Chancellor of the French Consulate, but it was not obtained until June. Livingstone was to be declared a free port on and after January 1, 1883, and all merchandise, whether for local consumption or in transit, was to be for ten years free from import duty.

In *Nicaragua* the railway between Corinto and Chinandega was completed in October amidst public festivities, and a Customs-house is being erected in Leon which will enable merchants to receive their goods and clear them in the capital.

In *Ecuador* the commercial prospects are not encouraging, three out of four of the principal articles of export having declined—*i.e.* cocoa, ivory nuts, and Peruvian bark, whilst only the fourth, india-rubber, has increased. Great things are, however, expected from the development of the mining industry.

IV. WEST INDIES.

Jamaica.—Signs of improvement in the condition of the colony were apparent, and its financial position looked more hopeful at the close of the year. The report of the Postmaster-General for 1881 was most satisfactory, the cash receipts being 16,984*l.*, as compared with 14,222*l.* in the previous year. This was chiefly due to the extension of telegraphs, wires having been laid down all round the island. The population is increasing at the rate of about 7,000 per annum. The chief political incident has been the despatch of the Secretary of State on the "Florence" case, which created no little dissatisfaction throughout the island. In it Lord Kimberley declared that the Governor could not be held personally liable for acts done under the advice of his legally-appointed adviser, and that the colony was bound to undertake its share of the international obligations of the empire. Meetings were held in all the principal towns to oppose the payment of the "Florence" charges, and the feeling against the action of the Home Government became intense. When the question eventually came before Council, it was decided, by 9 votes to 6, that the half-costs should be paid, the Governor stating that he had offered to pay the amount from his own purse, but that his offer had not been accepted. The session of the Legislative Council opened on November 7, and the Governor announced in his Speech that the finances of the island were in an improved position. He stated that the revenue for the last fiscal year was 84,383*l.* less than the estimate, but that diminished expenditure had reduced the anticipated deficit to only 20,226*l.* A Royal Commission was appointed, and started for the West Indies on December 15, to inquire into the financial condition, taxation, and public expenditure of Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and the Islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago.

British Guiana.—The coolie immigration question continued to occupy public attention; and representations were made to the Colonial Office and the Indian Government, urging a maintenance of the existing system. Great benefits, it was asserted, had accrued to the population of India by the system of indentured service, under which the coolies engage to labour in this colony.

Between 1857 and the beginning of this year, 13,999 emigrants had returned, after the completion of their term, to their native country, and brought with them, in money and jewellery, 3,380,586 rupees—a sum, it was believed, far below the actual amount of savings.

Barbados.—The Governor, in opening the legislative session on May 30, put forth a scheme for extending the franchise, which has been well received. It embraced 5*l.* freeholders, 10*l.* occupiers, 20*l.* householders, and 2*l.* ratepayers. The receipts and payments of the colony in 1882 were estimated at 133,705*l.* and 133,164*l.*, as compared with 132,941*l.* and 133,367*l.* in 1881. A Bill for the purchase of premises for a new Reformatory passed the Legislative Council, 10,000*l.* being the amount required. It was said that no legislative session had ever received for consideration so many useful and practical measures as the present one. The Governor submitted to the House of Assembly a letter from Lord Kimberley, commenting on the urgent appeal of the colonists not to abolish the Assistant Court of Appeal, and impressing upon him the desirability of an early revision of the law relating to it, and finally assenting to the proposed Bill submitted to him by the Governor.

Hayti.—A revolution broke out in March at Cape Haytien against General Salomon, President of Hayti, the movement being joined by the towns of Gonaives and Port-au-Prince. Martial law was proclaimed, and the President marched on Cape Haytien with 3,000 men. By the end of April the insurrection was over, and 28 insurgents were shot.

V. SOUTH AMERICA.—BRAZIL, ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, &c.

Brazil.—Production throughout this vast empire has been on a large scale, but has suffered from the European and United States markets being overstocked, the net result regarding coffee and sugar, the principal products, being worse than at any former period. The Chambers were opened on January 17 by the Emperor in person. He stated that the revenue for the year ending June 30, 1881, was in excess of the expenditure. He announced the introduction of Bills for reorganising the magistracy and police, and for the establishment of Correctional Courts, and suggested further educational and sanitary measures. A few days later a new Ministry was formed, under the leadership of Senhor Campos. Brazil, like many countries in Europe, was visited by terrible rain, and during February it fell in such torrents that the railways were greatly damaged, some towns almost destroyed, and many persons drowned. In June the Minister of Finance made his Budget statement, announcing that the year's revenue would probably be greatly in excess of the estimates, owing to the large increase in the imports. The total deficit he put at 6,711,000 milreis. He

recommended 2 per cent. reduction in the tax on coffee, and the gradual withdrawal of the currency. In July matters began to wear a threatening aspect, touching a dispute with the Argentine Republic on the *Misiones* boundary. Speeches of an angry character were delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, and the Government announced that it would not permit the Argentine Republic to take possession of the disputed district pending the settlement of the question. Congress, sitting in secret session, next appointed a Committee to inspect the arsenal and ironclads and make a report. Although feeling ran high, there was a general disposition to settle the dispute in a peaceable and equitable way. Unable, however, to see how matters might end, both Governments, whilst cordial in their diplomatic intercourse, took care to send large orders for armaments to Europe, so as to be ready in case of emergency. Matters progressed amicably; Avellaneda, ex-President of the Argentine Republic, paid the Emperor a visit, and was well received; and towards the end of the year the Consul-General in London for the Argentine Republic received an assurance from President Roca that there was nothing in the existing relations between the two countries to indicate any fear of war, or even interruption of the friendly footing on which they then stood. In October the Senate adopted a 10 per cent. augmentation of the surtax on the import duties, and a reduction of 2 per cent. in the duties upon exported coffee, sugar, and cotton. The preliminary estimates of the Budget stated the ordinary deficit at 3,000,000 milreis, and the Government obtained from the Chambers plenary powers to fund the floating debt, which amounted to 60,000,000 milreis. The expenditure authorised for 1882-83, and extended by the Law of Estimates to 1883-84, was—Ordinary, 129,823 : 825 \$ 044, and Extraordinary, 27,942 : 240 \$. The legislative session, which had lasted for ten months and cost the country 250,000*l.* (the Legislature being a paid body), was closed by the Emperor on October 28. On December 2 his fifty-seventh birthday was celebrated throughout the empire with the usual honours and marks of loyalty; and on the same day the new town hall at Rio was inaugurated, in the presence of the Emperor and Empress. The emancipation of the slaves under the law of 1875 was making steady progress. On June 30 the slaves in the province of Rio Grande do Sul were 68,703, being 38,645 fewer than in 1873. Of these, 23,250 had left the province, 6,895 died, and 8,500 had been freed; and similar reductions, accompanied by a lower death-rate, were observable in other parts of the empire. Early in the year the Emperor examined systematically the factories and workshops of Rio and its vicinity, so as to judge by personal investigation of the claims put forward by the manufacturers for a higher protective taxation on similar foreign products, and for a reduction of the import taxes on substances employed in Brazilian manufactures. The Germans have obtained so firm a footing in the Brazilian market that it was proposed to hold a Brazilian Exhibition in

Berlin at the end of the year with a view to encourage commercial relations between the two countries.

Argentine Republic.—The prosperity of this State, at the commencement of the year, had never been higher; and judging from the news that came from the provinces about the wheat, flax, vine, and sugar crops, there was every appearance of its continuing. The event of most general interest in the year was probably the laying of the foundation-stone of La Plata, the new capital of the province of Buenos Ayres. It is no great distance from Ensenada (originally selected for the capital), is well chosen, and possesses important advantages. The ceremony was performed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the President being absent in the interior and the Vice-President ill; and he used a diamond-handled spade and trowel on the occasion, whilst the Archbishop blessed the stone. Railway progress is most satisfactory. The Transandine has already reached Chacabuco, the Andine to Mendoza is nearly completed, the Tucuman has its first tunnel, a mile in length, and the great Southern and Western lines are pushing ahead rapidly. The capital of the National Bank is to be raised, and the new shares are to be offered in Europe as well as in the country itself. This will, it is expected, change the face of the interior and bring about a development that will extend from the Rio Negro to Bolivia, and from the Andes to Brazil and Buenos Ayres. Harvest operations had begun as the year closed, and the cereal prospects of the Republic were most encouraging, particularly in the colonies of Santa Fé. Other indications of progress lay in the increased value of land in the Mendoza district, and in the flow of immigration to the Republic, foreigners being attracted, it was thought, by the prosperity of the Argentines.

Uruguay.—In this Republic, English enterprise just now is in the ascendant. With the exception of a French mining company at Cunapira, all the important industrial enterprises are in English hands. Railways, tramways, docks, gas and water supplies have been established by English capital, and are managed by Englishmen. The unfortunate political condition of the country exposes the farmers to such constant losses by pillage that the wealthiest proprietors are deterred from investing in valuable stock. A new decree of the Government declares that all leased public lands shall be kept exclusively for colonies, and that therefore no renewals of leases will be granted. A Bill has also been presented by the Government to authorise an issue of 5 per cent. Treasury bills, with 7 per cent. accumulative amortisation for \$3,000,000, to cover the deficits of 1881 and 1882, and to enable 1883 to make a fair start, interest to commence from January 1, 1883. The Government seems to have been in hot water regarding the ill-treatment of foreign subjects. In March two Italians were ill-treated by the Uruguayan police, and as no notice was taken of the Italian Consul's complaint, he quitted Monte Video, thereby suspending diplomatic relations, and these were not resumed for

some months. A little later, Spain called upon the Government to give up the murderers of Sanchez Caballero, a Spanish subject. A rupture seemed imminent, but the Government recognised in time the justice of the Spanish demands, and agreed to deliver up the murderers and suspend some of the judicial functionaries. This was followed, in August, by a treaty of amity and peace between the two countries, which was to last twelve years. In June an insurrection broke out, and Perez, with 200 men, invaded Western Uruguay; but this outbreak only lasted a few days; it was promptly suppressed and the leaders killed. It nevertheless had a serious effect upon the cattle operations for the season, since it alarmed the graziers, and they sold off their cattle in immense numbers. Dr. Vidal, the President of the Republic, resigned in February, and General Santos, the Minister of Marine, was elected as his successor by a Congress of both Chambers.

VI. CHILI, PERU, AND BOLIVIA.

The prospect of peace between Chili and Peru at the commencement of 1882 seemed as if it might soon be realised, through the mediation or intervention of the United States. Whether the latter would ever have taken steps to make Chili abate some of her demands will remain a matter of conjecture, but the crisis was averted by political changes at Washington, and Mr. Blaine's high-handed policy was succeeded by one that disapproved of the United States Government forcing other States to accept its award. A special envoy was forthwith directed to formally rescind the offer that had been made by the United States to help in restoring peace between the belligerents. The terms insisted on by Chili had been the cession of Tarapaca in perpetuity, the occupation of Peruvian territory as far as Moquegua until an indemnity of twenty millions had been paid, and the possession of half the guano in Peru. It was clear no State could accept such terms and exist; and as Chili would yield nothing, preparations were made at once for renewing hostilities. During the lull that preceded this, Peruvian affairs looked gloomy and hopeless. Pierola had announced that he would have nothing more to do with politics, and should leave the country for Europe. He said: "My duty to the nation, which caused me to assume the government of the country at a time of supreme national affliction, has been fulfilled most unremittingly during two years, in spite of all obstacles and at the cost of many a sacrifice. I fulfil a similar duty in separating myself from power and the country in the midst of the terrible situation which has been created for it by the evil elements it contains in its midst. Duty also imposes silence on me. Oh that Providence may save the nation from the abyss opened before it by its own sons!" He seemed, however, to be generally deserted, and the feeling of the Civilists against

him and the National party was such that a force was sent to drive his followers out of Ayacucho. Meanwhile the troops had acknowledged Caceres and Montero, but these leaders were themselves wrangling for supremacy, the former declaring that he was the supreme chief of Peru through popular election and had under his command the only regular Peruvian troops, whilst Montero contended that in the absence of the President he had assumed the Presidency. The municipalities of Lima and Callao being in the hands of the Chilians, and there being no central Government to which the people might appeal, the country drifted along helplessly. The troops took to fighting among themselves, and plundering the towns that came in their way. This was generally the state of things when the peace negotiations with the United States Government were broken off, and the attention of Peruvian subjects became more directed to their common enemy.

In January the Chilians occupied Tambo de Mora and Ica without resistance, and then, after a skirmish at Concepcion, they took Huancayo, after a severe fight with the Peruvians under Caceres, and the neighbouring country fell into the hands of the Chilians. Caceres next defeated the united forces of Mas and Panizo at Ayacucho, and captured both leaders. Pierola and the members of the National party at this juncture published a manifesto explaining their abstention and throwing all responsibility on the Calderon party; and in April Pierola left the country with his family for Europe. About this time an important court-martial was brought to a close at Lima, after lasting nine months. It seems that Colonel Letelier was given the command of 700 men in April 1881, to raid through the Junin Valley. He and others exceeded their instructions, and appropriated a large amount of the war contributions they had collected. They were found guilty. He was condemned to six years' imprisonment with hard labour, was forbidden to re-enter the army, and his property was confiscated to the State; whilst Colonels Roa and Lagos were also cashiered and imprisoned. Montero refused to accept the terms of a truce offered him by the Chilians, and got himself thereby into bad odour, several towns in the north refusing to obey him and appointing their own authorities. He then attempted to collect a poll-tax from the Indians, but met with little success.

In the summer the fighting became more severe. The Peruvians operated in small bodies between Lima and the garrisons in the hill country, and sent larger bodies against those garrisons, so as to destroy them in detail before Cantó could bring up Chilean reinforcements from Huancayo. They first attacked the little town of Marcabaya, and with such determination that they would have succeeded but for the timely arrival of reinforcements. They then retired, but soon after attacked the garrison of the town of Concepcion, where seventy-seven Chilean soldiers were waiting to join the main army. Assisted by Indians and the inhabitants of the place, the Peruvians overpowered the Chilean detachment after a stubborn defence of

twenty hours. The latter had taken refuge in the barracks, but these were set on fire, and the Chilians rushed out with their bayonets. No quarter was given on either side, and all but two of the Chilian garrison were killed, the leader being a son of ex-President Pinto. The Peruvians then retired to the hills. Colonel Cantó arrived at Concepcion in due course, and, to punish the inhabitants for taking part in the attack on the garrison, reduced the town to a heap of ashes. A body of cavalry went in pursuit of the Peruvians, and contrived to capture forty-eight of them, but Peruvian reinforcements coming up, the Chilian troops shot their prisoners in cold blood, as they found them in the way. So the war grew to be one of extermination; the Chilians refused to recognise the enemy as regularly organised troops, and received orders to treat any that fell into their hands as bandits and murderers. The struggle clearly was not over, and Peru was doing all she could to avoid utter extinction, and at the same time wear out the patience of her foe; whilst in Chili, after a long debate, the war policy of the Government was approved. The knowledge of Chili's embarrassment and suffering prompted Peru to fresh efforts, and the latter got together an army of 25,000 men to threaten the Chilian lines outside Lima. She was also materially assisted by Bolivia, this Republic knowing very well that if the Chilians succeeded in taking Arequipa, her own position would be undefended and her capital at their mercy. Chili, on the other hand, seemed determined to put an end to the struggle by a supreme effort to crush her enemy. She concentrated her troops at Lima and Callao, and drew them in from scattered outposts to strategical positions. The leading men of Lima were arrested and sent to Chili, the Archbishop himself being imprisoned, and repressive measures were adopted in the occupied provinces. It could not be denied that her position was serious; the incessant drain upon her resources was telling, and it appears a suicidal policy for her to go on striving to exact the uttermost farthing from an enemy already bankrupt. She can gain nothing by thus exhausting herself, and reconciliation is made more difficult. The hatred and bitterness that have accumulated during three years' constant warfare between these two neighbouring States will have laid the seeds of a terrible reaction, and she will have only herself to thank for much of it.

In October another attempt was made to renew the negotiations for peace. On this occasion the attempt was made in Arequipa by Calderon, the nominal President of Peru, and Mr. Logan, the United States Minister to Chili, but it failed, like the others, because the Chilian Government would not abate any of its former terms, and Calderon refused to cede more than the province of Tarapaca. The year closed with conflicting rumours of peace, of extermination, and of Pierola's expected arrival as the new Dictator of Peru. The end, however, must come soon for one if not both of the two Republics. Apart from the war, Chili

is said to be prospering; but the guano question is at a standstill, and it is difficult to understand how she can be making progress with this struggle of three years' duration still unsettled.

It is rather difficult to follow the movements of Bolivia through the events of the Chili and Peru war. She does not appear to have taken any very active part in the struggle during this year. More than once she was on the point of making peace with Chili and abandoning Peru, but the close of the year finds her assisting her old ally with arms. On one occasion the negotiations failed because Chili's demands on Peru were so exorbitant that they could not be considered, and on another, in December, because Chili would not allow the presence of two Peruvian Commissioners at the Conference.

CHAPTER VI.

ASIA.

I. AFGHANISTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA.

THE year 1882 differs widely from that which preceded it as regards the occurrences most intimately connected with our Empire in the East. It will be recollected that in 1881 the main interest in the foreign relations of India was centred in the settlement of Afghanistan on the lines of the former policy of non-intervention. The withdrawal of the British forces, the support to be given to the new Amir, and the financial aspect of the operations in our North-Western neighbourhood between 1878 and 1880, were the topics with which a large portion of our pages had to be occupied. In the chronicle of the year 1882, on the contrary, it is with the internal affairs of the Empire that we have chiefly to deal; and what events of political importance have taken place in the foreign territory adjacent to our borders are to be looked for towards the Eastern rather than the Western frontier.

Afghanistan.—The course of affairs in Afghanistan has been not only uneventful in itself, but more than usually veiled from public notice in India, owing to the absence of any direct means of official communication between the Viceroy and the Amir for a large portion of the year. It was only towards the end of the summer that an officer was accredited to Kabul by the Indian Government, and then at the request of the Amir himself. It is but natural, accordingly, that the rumours circulated in the market-places of Indian towns, especially those in more or less commercial connection with Kabul, should be of an extraordinarily sensational character, and more than usually open to subsequent contradiction. No doubt the supreme Government has been kept *au courant* with what has actually taken place during the past twelve months in Afghanistan, though the presence of the British envoy has not

increased the stock of news communicated to the public, and in December he was reported by a Punjab paper to be kept at Kabul in a state of luxurious captivity. The true state of affairs, too, is rendered still more difficult of appreciation by the number of reports spread about the North of India, and eagerly swallowed by the Muhammadan and mercantile public, on behalf, and at the instigation of, the large number of refugees from Kabul who have betaken themselves and their families out of their native land to within reach of British protection, and who, from a point of vantage on the frontier, do their best to further their own ends by magnifying into serious riots and symptoms of general disaffection the numerous frays and armed gatherings with which almost every attempt on the part of an Amir to collect his arrears of revenue is sure to be accompanied. It must be recollected that the majority of these refugees are connected with the faction that stood and fell with Yákub Khán's branch of the Baraksais, and that they have still very intimate relations with one or two of the tribes, such as the Mohmands, for instance, near the Indian frontier of Kabul.

From ascertained isolated facts, and from the general body of rumours, we may be sure that there have been cases of undoubted disaffection and one or two of open violence. These, it is to be assumed, arose from the want of cash on the part of the Amir. Not only did he send in a claim for a subsidy of 1,000,000*l.* which he said had been promised him by Sir L. Griffin, but most of the discontent of which we hear was caused by his attempts to collect revenue in advance. Apart from this, there are without doubt several more or less permanent causes of disaffection in the country. In the first place, there is the strong adherence of certain tribes, notoriously the powerful Mohmands, to the family of Yákub Khán, a feeling which has been utilised by intriguers from India on several occasions. There is then the rather uncertain allegiance of the Kandahar tribes, such as the Durránis, whilst even the Ghilzais are not a sure prop to the present *régime*. The personal pretensions, again, of some of the leading Sirdars is a cause of disquiet. Mia Batcha has been during the year forcibly expelled from the strongholds of Bejaur and Tirah, and at the end of the year was reported to be in hiding with another tribe, the Shinwaris, but still within the Kabul dominions. The unfortunate Muhammad Jan, whose arrest at the capital we chronicled last year, was executed by order of the Amir. Recent accounts make it clear that this popular Sirdar was betrayed by a rival chief with whom he had been some time at feud. Some of his relations and followers were also executed. Another sentence passed by the Amir was that against Asamatullah Khán Ghilzai, who had taken a leading part against the British in the Kandahar operations. In consequence of his execution the Amir deemed it advisable to disband a regiment of the Andari-Ghilzai section which was posted at Kandahar. In order to do this without fear

of the disaffection spreading, he had two Kabuli regiments sent specially from the capital to be at the disposal of the new Governor, Abdul Rasul, who was once the popular and able ruler of the Jelalabád province.

Lastly, amongst the dangers to which the newly united Afghanistan was subjected may be counted that from the ambition of the two relatives of the Amir, Ishák Khán, Governor of Afghan Turkestan, and his nephew Abdul Kudus, who recovered Herát from Ayub last year. The former of these considered that he should have been sent to Herát on its capture, and even advanced the statement that Abdul Kudus was only acting as his lieutenant in the operations by which Ayub was expelled. During the year, however, the claims of Ishák were carried no farther, and the latest rumours seem to indicate that he has been reconciled to both the Amir and his nephew, with whom he was once on the point apparently of breaking. Of Ayub himself little has been heard. Reports of an advance on Herát from the Persian frontier were once rife, but it appears that he has really been under more or less strict surveillance from the Persian authorities either at Teheran or Meshed. He has nevertheless been permitted to move freely about the frontier, and has been in communication, say some of the politicians of the North of India, with the Russians in their advanced outposts of Turkestan; and there is no doubt that his ally, Sikandar Khan, whose father was displaced from Herát by Dost Muhammad, has been frequently between Ayub and Tashkend. Musa Ján, the young son of the late Amir, Yákub, has also been on the frontier between Persia and Afghan Turkestan. He was probably accompanied by one or the other of the Sirdars Muhammad Hassan or Háshim Khán, who were with Ayub at Kandahar in 1881. At one time the Amir announced his intention of going in person to Herát, but the visit, like that also rumoured of one to Pesháwar, did not take place. The strengthening of the hold of the Amir on Herát is doubtless one of the main objects of Afghan policy from the standpoint of the Government. The desire of Persia to regain that province, and its importance to the ruler of Kabul as the gathering centre of the Durránis and Seisthánis on the south-west of the kingdom, the possibility of a Turcoman raid from the semi-Russian territory to the north-east of the fertile valley of the Hari-Rud, all tend to keep the Amir alive to every movement that is made with regard to this appanage, and it is thus satisfactory to learn that towards the close of the year the reconciliation between the Amir and Abdul Kudus, who is certainly efficient and popular as governor, was complete. It may be remembered that on the capture of the city from Ayub, or, more correctly, on the expulsion of that chief from his place of refuge, the Amir garrisoned Herát with Kabuli troops, and shortly afterwards partly with Heráti cavalry as auxiliaries. At the time when the relations between him and Abdul Kudus were most

strained, Abdul Rahman took the opportunity of remitting to Herát a considerable sum in liquidation of the arrears of pay due to the Kabuli troops—a proceeding which had the effect of making Abdul Kudus pause before relying further on the allegiance of this force in any plans of his own. He appointed, however, as his deputy one of the Taimani tribe, of strong local interest, and is also said to have secured the favour of the Char Aimaks, to whom belongs the father-in-law of Yákub Khan, and also seems to have received with favour Muhammad Sherif, son of Dost Muhammad, and a strong partisan of Ayub, with whom he was in communication at Teherán. Such facts as these, which have probably some truth in them, form the basis of the many rumours about the rebellious conduct of Abdul Kudus that have been current during the year in India.

As regards Kandahar, it has been already stated above that a new Governor, lately in charge of Jelalabád, was appointed by the Amir, the interval between the departure of the Amir himself and the arrival of Abdul Rasul being filled by the temporary appointment of the Mustafi, who, after his relief, went to Kabul. A change was also effected in the military command, and Ghulám Haidar Tokhi was succeeded by Feramorz Khán, of Pushtirud. The comparative tranquillity of the country between Herát and Kandahar induced the traders who formerly used that route to return to the last-named city, and from thence to re-establish their relations with the North. The financial necessities of the Amir, perhaps also his desire to test the allegiance of the Durráni and Ghilzai chieftains, induced him to realise a considerable amount of the arrears of revenue from his southern domain. Though some discontent was manifested, as is to be expected, at the time, it was reported that shortly afterwards the new Governor received visits of courtesy from many of the surrounding Alizai chiefs; and there is little doubt that, whatever the feeling of the tribes to the south and west of the Helmand, the actual vicinity of the city of Kandahar has so far accepted the sovereignty of the Amir. Owing to the disaffection of the Mohmands and the doubtful loyalty of the Khán of Lálpura, the trade between Kabul and the Punjab was not so much increased as it might have been. Nevertheless the returns show a decided improvement, though at a certain period during the year the merchants of Pesháwar, worked upon by the refugees and their interested informers, refused to cash bills of exchange on Kabul. It is satisfactory to note that the past year has been marked by only one of the organised raids on caravans that used to be so common in the Khaibar Pass; and still more is it a matter for congratulation that the corps of Jezailchis, formed last year only, had an opportunity of showing that their efficient aid can be relied on, as, on the occasion in question, this corps was called upon to defend a body of foreign traders against a well-planned and formidable attack made by their own tribesmen. It appears that the Zakka-Khel Afridis had got wind of the

probable crossing in the Pass of two caravans from Pesháwar and Jelalabád respectively, and that they arranged to separate their force into parties, so as to take the greatest advantage of the confusion in the defile near Landi-Kotal. Their intention was, however, discovered, and the Jezailchis disposed along the Pass so as to clear the way for the Pesháwar caravan. The raiders, who seem to have been from the Bazár Valley, after a short stand, retired to their homes, carrying away some of their party dead or wounded. The only other frontier occurrence in this neighbourhood was the incarceration in the fort of Lahor of the six Waziri leaders of the attack upon Tonk some time ago.

Central Asia.—Further north, the events of Central Asia consist mainly in the proceedings of the Russians with regard to the Turcoman tribes of Merv and Sarakhs, and the re-occupation of the Yárkand frontier by the Chinese, of which an interesting account was received during the autumn from Mr. Dalgleish, the Calcutta merchant who has been in Yárkand Káshgár for the last year or more.

The advance of the Russians in the Turcoman steppes derives more or less of its interest from the different view taken of it by the two strongly-marked parties of frontier politicians. The occurrences each year vary not in kind but degree. The occupation of one stronghold after another by the Russians enables them to take a gradually increasing share in the feuds between rival tribes, whilst it is asserted in one quarter that this increasing vicinity is utilised by the more civilised Power as a more favourable position for the instigation of the hostilities which it is the desire of the Russian authorities to have the opportunity of repressing. At the very end of the year, M. Vambéry, the well-known authority on matters connected with Russian and Turcoman policy, indited a letter to the *Times* which called forth considerable attention. He insists therein upon the importance of every move made by the Northern Power in the direction of Herát, which is now the point at which she is aiming. The latest action on the part of Russia in this direction is the expedition of M. Lessars, nominally for scientific purposes, but really and admittedly (*post facto*) for the survey of a route for the continuation of the railway from Askábád, which during the year was completely occupied by the Russians, and Sarakhs, the importance of which as a basis of military operations against Herát was pointed out in our review of last year. At the present time the frontier of Russian Turkestan ends in a desert, and it may be reasonably surmised from what has preceded the most recent operations that it is not the intention of the Russian commanders that the frontier thus established should be final. Apart from the question of whether the contiguity of the Russian frontier with that of British India or Northern Afghanistan is a source of danger to our rule or not, there is no doubt that the absorption of the formerly independent Turcomans into a Russian protectorate is

being gradually accomplished; and, judging from the alacrity with which the newly incorporated subjects of the Tsar are reported to be joining his army, the loss of freedom does not affect their good-will towards their conquerors. It will be borne in mind that the frontier of Afghan Turkestan is anything but defined, and with the propensity of the Turcoman for cattle-lifting, of which a notorious example was given this year on the Herát border, there will be abundant excuse given by the nominal subjects of Ishák Khán in Balkh and Badakhshán for the benevolent interference of Russia in the usual character of peacemaker. This, however, leaves the question of the further operations on the Hindu-Kush still open. A considerable and influential portion of the English press in India saw in the appointment of Tcherniaieff and Skobeieff together an intimation that the policy of the Central Asian authorities was to be a forward one, as the proclivities of both these officers towards Panslavism and the execution of the reputed will of the first Peter are well known. The death of the latter, therefore, though regretted in so far as the loss goes of a man of such ability and energy, was undoubtedly regarded as the removal of a great source of disquiet in the Herát and Northern Frontier tracts. It was felt that in Skobeieff his colleague has lost an ally who cannot be at once replaced. The complication of England in the affairs of Egypt, which Russia, in common with more than one of the other Great Powers, did not apparently expect to end in so rapid and complete a manner, was regarded in India as likely to lead Russia to some move similar to that which followed the Malta expedition in 1878. This anticipation was not entirely unfounded, but the movement took an unexpected direction. The revision of certain portions of the Kuldja Convention with China as regards Ili, and the conditions on which the retrocession took place, was demanded. The firm attitude of the Court of Peking, however, and the change of the aspect of affairs in the Mediterranean, induced Russia to withdraw her claims, and to re-direct her attention to the Sarakhs Oasis. Only one traveller from British territory is reported to have been heard of in Turkestan during the year, and this was Colonel Stewart, a well-known explorer of Central Asia, who was reported to have left Khorassan for Kháf. In commercial affairs, the Russian policy of extrusion of the British merchant has been successful by means of the prohibitive duties enforced by a system of barriers and outposts all along the Oxus and Hojend territory, as well as on the Sir-Daria. In justice to the Russian, however, it must be admitted, on the authority of travellers of undoubtedly British tendencies, that there is a dislike of British goods in parts of this tract, simply owing to the wholesale adulteration of the piece-goods that form the staple exports of Great Britain to Central Asia.

We have already mentioned the residence for a considerable period of Mr. Dalgleish in Káshgár. This enterprising merchant

undertook an expedition from Calcutta on his own account, without the slightest official aid. In a commercial point of view his adventure was successful, but it is on account of the keen and interesting observations made by him that his enterprise deserves the greatest commendation. On his return to India he published portions of his diary, and when on his way back to Calcutta was specially invited to spend some time with the Viceroy at Simla, and let the Foreign Office of the supreme Government have the benefit of his experience. According to him, the Chinese administration has now been replaced on a peace footing, and the arrangements are all firmly and judiciously organised from Peking. The hostile feeling against the Russians, owing to the procedure with regard to the Ili retrocession, and other matters connected with the recent occupation, is said to be very strong amongst the official Chinese, and on the arrival of a Russian trader with a caravan of goods, the treatment he received from the authorities was in a marked degree inferior to that experienced by Mr. Dalgleish himself. The gist of his opinion regarding the Yárkand *régime* is that it is most important for England to take advantage of the present reaction from Russian influence to renew the friendly intercourse, and to re-establish the diplomatic relations that were in existence during the short *régime* of the Átálík Gházi. The envoy of the latter, it may be mentioned, who has apparently retained a favourable recollection of his reception in India when in his accredited capacity he visited the Viceroy some years back, again paid a visit to Simla, where, under the changed conditions of his native country, he probably finds it safe to be received on good terms. It is the Begs, says Mr. Dalgleish, and the official interpreters, probably local dependents on the Begs, that are hostile to the British, owing to the recollection of the withholding of the expected assistance five or six years ago. As regards trade, Mr. Dalgleish reports that the prohibitive duties in the north of the province prevent any extension of operations in that direction, but that in Káshgár and its neighbourhood the demand for British articles is brisk, and even Indian tea found a ready though uncertain market, but is liable to be swamped at any time by the more favourite Brick article from China.

The occurrences in other portions of the territory that borders India on the north may be dismissed in a few lines. The Agent for the Chitrál State, who paid a visit to India during 1881, renewed his interchange of courtesies. It may be mentioned that this chief gave considerable assistance to Major Biddulph when the latter was pressed by the outbreak of the Yásínis in 1879.

One event of importance has to be recorded as having taken place in the isolated State of Nepál. A conspiracy to throw a bomb into the Council Hall at Khatmándu during the sitting of the Supreme State Assembly was discovered, and resulted in the execution, after torture, of a number of military officers of rank, the accounts varying between fifty and eighty. It appears that the

plot was conceived in favour of the sons of the late Jang Bahádúr, and was directed against his brothers and their adherents, who were to be assassinated as they fled from the Council Hall after the explosion of the bomb. Some of the sons and other descendants of Jang Bahádúr had just been on a visit to Calcutta when the plot was disclosed by an accomplice, and one of them of the highest rank and greatest popularity was prevailed upon by the British authorities to remain at Pátna, where he was stopping, until the excitement amongst the military was appeased. It is probably fortunate that this advice was taken, as reports indicate that the Nepál army was ready, on the slightest instigation, to declare in favour of General Jagat Jang, and were only kept in hand by the influence of the Buddhist priests. Some of the persons of rank arrested were at first interned at the fort of Chunár, after extradition by the Khatmándu administration, and were afterwards removed to Ootacamund. The prohibitive duties on trade imposed by the Nepaulese were continued, in spite of the urgent appeal to have them removed made by the local authorities in the North-West Provinces and Oudh.

It was announced during the year that Rána Janji Bahádúr, son of Jang, who had married an English wife and settled in Calcutta, was compelled to pass through the insolvent court, owing to the stoppage of the supplies from Khatmándu, on which he used to rely for his maintenance.

On the North-Eastern Frontier, the year began with a raid by one faction of Lushais on another. One village was plundered, and girls and booty carried off to the hills. The most serious raid of the season was that of a body of men into Cachár, headed by one who, as is not uncommon in such cases, laid claim to supernatural powers. In an attack on the Deputy-Commissioner, who had been sent to look after them, the band were repulsed with the loss of 11 men out of 20; but Major Boyd, in command of the pursuing party, and one of the most experienced and efficient officers on the Frontier Commission, was wounded by a Cachári knife in the hand, and shortly afterwards died from the mortification of the hurt. This band had previously attacked and plundered the headquarter station of Ganjur, but were dispersed after the disastrous encounter with Major Boyd, and on the arrival of the Chief Commissioner with reinforcements quiet was restored. The report of an intended attack in strength by the Lushais on the tea plantations turned out to be unfounded, and on the visit of Mr. Elliott, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to their territory, he found that the Lushais themselves were nearly starving, owing to the failure of their usual crops. Supplies of rice were at once sent up from the plains, and the Lushai raid was heard of no more. It is satisfactory to learn, moreover, that, owing to the advance of the Sektas, a tribe from Upper Burmah, the Lushais are being forced to take to fixed occupations, and many have found employment on tea plantations, where they constitute regular gangs, like the

imported labourers, whilst from the fact of their bringing with them their women and children, it may be surmised that they intend to make Assam their permanent residence. The Kukis are another tribe that are well known to the planters and Assam officials as troublesome neighbours. During the period under review, however, they are only credited with one raid, and that on a village in the State of Manipur. The Chief Commissioner went in person on a tour through the Manipur territory and the Kohima and Maga hills. The reinforcements of troops at first thought necessary were afterwards countermanded.

We now come to Burmah, a kingdom which has occupied more than its usual share of public attention and interest this year, partly owing to the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Ripon to the chief ports of the British portion of the territory, partly to the political intercourse between the British Government and the King of Mandalay, which, after a considerable interval, was on the point of being renewed. Lastly, the journey performed by Messrs. Colquhoun and Wahab from China through the Yunán country to Bhamo, and so on into British Burmah, was one of the most adventurous and successful feats of Oriental travel, and was accomplished in the face of great opposition and danger. We will relate these occurrences in their chronological order.

Lord Ripon held a public meeting at Rangoon as well as in Akyab during his January tour in Burmah. At both the injury done to British trade by the system of monopolies in force in Upper Burmah was strongly pressed on the notice of the Viceroy, and in consequence of instructions left by him when leaving the province, Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner, addressed a strong remonstrance to the Court of Mandalay on the subject. The result was that preparations were made by the King for an embassy of a somewhat more creditable and responsible character than the envoy or mission which he had sent forth to meet Lord Ripon at Rangoon, but which got no further than the frontier. It was not until April that the embassy was ready to start, and after some delay it was received at Thyetmyo, the frontier station, with due honour, and accompanied to India by the Deputy-Commissioner of the district. On April 30 it reached Simla, and was formally received by the Viceroy on May 3. As its only mission was to negotiate a treaty to replace that of 1867, which had expired, the matter was placed in the hands of the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary to the Legislative Department of the Supreme Government. The English residents of Rangoon and other Burmese stations do not appear to have taken the embassy as serious from the first. They openly published their belief, which, as regards one of the embassy at least, was unfounded, that King Theebaw had dressed up some of his adherents of no special rank, save what was given them for the occasion, and deputed them to negotiate with Lord Ripon's Government, in order to gain time to settle his own policy as regards the monopolies which were the cause of the

Commissioner's remonstrance. It may be mentioned that in the existing treaty, that of 1867, there are but three articles named which are to be made the subjects of monopoly by the King of Ava. These were rock-oil, timber, and precious metals. The reigning king had been adding article after article to the list, to the great detriment of the Rangoon trade, and practically to the stoppage of all intercourse in commercial matters between the Upper and Lower Irrawaddy. Then, too, the enactment by Theebaw that only his own vessels should be used for the carriage of the monopolised articles almost put a stop to the carrying trade of the Flotilla Company, which has done so much for the development of Anglo-Burmese traffic. The monopolies were granted not only to Burmese, but to Chinese and even European agents of houses in Rangoon. The abuse was growing intolerable, and even before the mission started the remonstrance of Mr. Bernard had borne fruit, and the number of monopolised articles began to be reduced from February. The internal affairs of the kingdom of Ava have been somewhat troubled during the year by other than commercial complications. The Sháns are said to have defeated the royal troops sent against one of their tribes which had revolted against the slender authority claimed by the King over this race towards the north-east of his dominions. Then, again, his Queen presented him with a daughter, an event which was expected to lead to the disgrace of her and her relatives, though luckily nothing of the sort has been yet heard of from Mandalay. Then, too, there seems to have been a relaxation of discipline in the rule of the State, for the Dacoities, or gang-robberies, for which parts of Burmah have been infamous, threatened to renew their vigour. One important capture, however, was made by the royal troops, and the leaders were crucified on a prominent headland by the side of the Irrawaddy. Reports of the ill-treatment of some Armenian residents in Mandalay were received in Rangoon, but were subsequently said to be false. On the whole, the conduct of the King seems to have been far less unbridled and licentious than last year.

To return to the negotiations going on in Simla. It seems that, after prolonged discussion, a draft treaty was drawn up and accepted by both parties, but when it came to be submitted by the Minister in charge of the affair on behalf of the King to the Court at Mandalay, the conditions were rejected by Theebaw. There were several reasons given for his refusal to ratify the agreement, such as the presence of an escort for the Resident, which was one of the things stipulated for. The abolition of the enforced removal of the Resident's shoes when in the presence of the King was another; but evidently the real objection lay in the restriction of the monopolies to the three or four articles admitted fifteen years previous. At the close of the year the matter was still under the King's consideration, and it was said that a second draft treaty had been prepared by his orders, containing the conditions to

which he was willing to agree. The embassy, however, had by this time left India, as the negotiations ceased on August 21. On their return to Burmah the mission was greeted with high favour by Theebaw, which gives ground for supposing that in truth all he wanted was to try whether the Indian Government would be persuaded to let him have some of the commercial concessions he really desired.

On his frontier, an attempt was made to settle the disputes between his subjects and those of Manipur and other tribes by means of a Boundary Commission; but though this proposal was actually carried out, it received no recognition from the Mandalay Court. The examination of the books of a large ammunition-exporting firm in Rangoon showed that a very large quantity of percussion-caps, about 50 per cent. in excess of that licensed, had been exported to Upper Burmah, probably for the King's arsenal. It was also stated during the year that no fewer than 60 Italians, military, mechanic, and mercantile, had taken up their residence under the protection of Theebaw. For some years there has been a tendency on the part of Italians to settle in Mandalay. On one occasion, however, an importing agent of this nation was discovered passing through the Rangoon Custom-house as iron railings what were really rifle-barrels in the rough, so that the supervision became more strict than was profitable for other adventurers.

Within the British province of Burmah matters have been progressing satisfactorily, with the exception of an outbreak of Dacoits towards the end of the year, which was of so serious a nature, and approached so near to the actual heart of the city of Rangoon, that special military steps had to be organised to repress it. The discipline, too, in the prisons was, as has been found on more than one previous occasion, quite inadequate to repress the continuous disposition to revolt shown by the Burmese convicts. In Rangoon the first elections for municipal seats were held, and apparently conducted with great intelligence and appreciation on the part of the native population. The material wealth of the province received some addition by the discovery of an abundant supply of rock-oil within accessible reach of a seaport. The trade, however, owing to the vexatious conduct of the King, was duller than usual, as it is with Upper Burmah that the Rangoon merchant chiefly deals.

We have finally to speak of the expedition of Mr. Colquhoun and his unfortunate companion Mr. Wahab. The cost of the journey was defrayed by the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and the object was mainly to discover the most practicable and the safest overland route between Burmah and China. It may be remembered that several travellers and geographers have recently given to the world their views on the respective merits of the Burmah and the Assam routes. Commercially speaking, the question is based upon the relative attractions of the ports of Calcutta and Rangoon. Mr. Lepper is strongly in favour of the

Assam line; Mr. Colquhoun considers the Rangoon outlet the most practicable. Whichever of these lines is the one finally decided upon, it will evidently be many years before the semi-independent tribes between the two frontiers on either side are in a state to allow free passage to any great extent, or without considerable danger. His brave companion, Mr. Wahab, who suffered from ill health for a great part of the time, died of dysentery at Suez on his homeward route. Though Mr. Colquhoun did not accomplish all that he intended, he got over, he declares, two-thirds of his project. He started from England, whither he had gone to provide himself with credentials to the Chinese magnates at Canton. He then attempted a direct route, but had to retrace his steps, and finally to pass through Yunnan, with a heavy price set upon his head by one of the local governors of the provinces that lay on his road.

II. BRITISH INDIA.

Before entering upon the domestic affairs of British India, we may give a short space to the events of the year in the more important of the feudatory States. Two of the minor chiefs who have been educated under the direct supervision of the Paramount Power were invested during this period with the full administration of their State in one case, and with a leading share of it in another. The former is the young Rájá of Idar, a Rajput of high lineage, holding the position of a first-class chieftain in connection with the Government of Bombay. The other is also a feudatory of that Presidency, and rules over the wealthy and important Peninsula of Cutch. He owns amongst his subjects many of the most enterprising and acute trading classes of the West of India, both Hindu and Muhammadan. The Maharaja of Idar rules over a frontier district inhabited by a number of Bhils and other wild tribes, who are apt, unless judiciously administered, to break out into raids of more or less violence:

The two Maratha potentates of Indore and Gwalior interchanged visits, and the latter made a lengthy tour through his districts, during which he is said to have made personal inquiries into a number of abuses brought to his notice for the first time. The Prince of Travancore has been before the public more than once as a lecturer on important social topics, such as education and self-government, and has also taken the practical step of starting an agricultural society in his States, financed by some leading citizens of Bombay, for the purpose of improving the cultivation of valuable indigenous and foreign products.

The discovery of apparently valuable coal-fields in Rewali, and the probable exploitation of these by the aid of a branch line from Sohágpur on the G. I. P. Railway, will probably do much for that State, which happens to be under the direct administration of the Crown, during the minority of the chief.

In Rajputána nothing of importance occurred during the year, save a tendency to outbreak manifested by some of the Mena tribes, aboriginals, only half-settled; but the accounts received by the public were evidently exaggerated by local panic. In the small State of Khánpur, the last footing of the Talpur dynasty of the Sind Amirs, the reigning chief, Ali Murád, was attacked and wounded by an assassin, and, though over eighty years of age, reached his gun and shot his assailant dead. During the removal of the chief for medical treatment from his capital, the discipline of the State is reported to have been very bad, as the chief has always ruled on the patriarchal system, and not suffered even his heir to exercise any but subordinate power.

We pass on now to the more important States. In Baroda the young Gaikwár has had hardly time to show his capacity for administering a very troublesome State, unless we consider that the absence of events or changes is a proof of such capacity, as to a certain extent it no doubt is in Baroda, where all the elements adverse to the *régime* of the past six or seven years are to be found. The Chief Minister, Sir Madháva Rao, went on short leave towards the end of the year, and left it uncertain whether it was his wish to return. The Gaikwár, like his Maratha compeer Sindia, took a tour of personal inspection in the northern divisions of his territory, which had not received such a visit for many years. The late occupant of the Baroda government, Malbár Rao, who was deposed for general misgovernment after the inquiry into his alleged attempt to poison the Resident, died of dysentery during the year, aggravated by a superstitious refusal to take food, in accordance with the wayward temper which characterised his whole career, from the time he was imprisoned for attempted rebellion against his brother, until his Cophetua-like espousal of a young woman of inferior caste and rank, whose looks had taken his fancy on a chance glimpse.

The insanity of the young Rája of Kolhápur, the leading State of the heritage of Shivaji, was decided by several medical men of eminence to be incurable, so that the Bombay Government was obliged with reluctance, owing to its already long-continued direct administration, to make arrangements for the ruling of the State during the lifetime of the unfortunate chief. It was not within the power of the latter to adopt a successor by Hindu law, nor could his child-wife do so on his behalf. The only course was to place the State under a regency, aided by a Council. The chief selected for the post of Regent was the Sirdar of Kágal, a young Maratha, senior feudatory of the Kolhápur State, who had been educated in company with the ill-starred Rája. The Council consisted of some of the principal officers of the State, with the Political Agent as referee. The Rája was removed for medical supervision and change of air to Ahmednagar. In connection with this affair we must mention a characteristic trial which excited a great deal of notice during the year. The Chief

Minister of Kolhápúr, or the Diván, to give him his native title, was accused by several Vernacular papers of having caused the madness of the Rájá in order to prolong his own influence, and various vicious and spiteful attacks were made in this strain against him. He was advised, accordingly, by the Bombay Government to clear his character before the native public by calling the editors and their informants into court. He was enabled to do this the more easily, as an application had been made for his removal direct to the Government of Bombay, signed by several of the adherents of the party of the Rájá's mother, who were desirous of obtaining a larger share in the administration. Armed with this, the Diván procured the conviction before the High Court of Bombay of two editors of popular Maratha papers, and of the purveyors of the forged letters made use of by them. The sentences passed varied from two years to four months. It is interesting to remark that though the evidence distinctly showed either negligence in examining the information supplied to the papers, or wilful connivance, as is more probable, with the fabrications on the part of the editors in question, the latter received the outspoken sympathy of the entire Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular press; and the Diván was compelled to file two more prosecutions a few weeks after the conclusion of the first against papers of an inferior class for repeating, with grosser insults, the libels for which the other editors had just been convicted. In these cases, however, an apology was offered and accepted in court before the trials actually took place.

In Mysore, the first year of the accession of the young Rájá was not a lucky one. The later rains held off, and for some months there was considerable distress, which, except for the timely showers in June, would have deepened into famine. The State was also visited by both cholera and small-pox to an unusual extent. The railway to the capital was opened towards the end of February. Less has been heard of the young ruler here than of the Gaikwár in Baroda, and apparently his character has not so much strength, or his Diván has more influence, than in the case of the young compeer who sat by him at the Durbár held by the Prince of Wales in Bombay in 1875. A public loan for railways, sanctioned by the Government of India, of twenty lakhs of rupees, was floated at about 98 in July. Twelve lakhs were taken up within the State, and the remaining eight by merchants and others in the chief trading cities. The State was visited by his Excellency the Governor, Mr. Grant Duff, on one of his tours of inspection, and the execution of some of the most needed public works approved of.

In Hyderabad the approaching arrival of the young Nizam at his majority necessitated the enunciation of the scheme of government to be adopted for this important Muhammadan State. It was to confer on this point that Sir Salár Jung, the well-known Minister, paid a visit to the Viceroy at Simla. The

scheme, which has since been elaborated, has been published in outline, though not with official authority, and as it is not yet to be put into execution for some time it is irrelevant to refer to it further in this review. Like the young Gaikwár, the Nizam has taken a tour in his territory for the first time. It is said to have been arranged that a visit to England will be paid by him in the spring of 1883—a plan which has hitherto been almost universally opposed in other cases, as in his, by the ladies of the chief's family. The co-regency established by Lord Lytton's Government came to an end, as was reported last year, by the death of the Amir-ul-Kabir, appointed to fill the post. No one was nominated in his place, and the title of Vikár-ul-Umra was conferred by the Nizam on the son of the deceased, in accordance with the social position occupied by the latter amongst the Hyderabad nobles, but without administrative duties. The new Amir went on a tour to Europe, as also did the two sons of Sir Salár Jung.

Passing now to the internal affairs of British India, we find that the policy throughout the year, and that for which the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon will hereafter be distinguished, is the gradual decentralisation of the financial control and administration, and the development of local government. In our review of last year we gave the outline of the scheme by which the different local governments and administrations were made responsible for the management of a considerable portion of the revenue raised within their limits. The programme, as then laid down, was carried out from the first day of the financial year. The originator of the proposal, and the first to take steps towards its realisation, was the late Lord Mayo, and the development into the present system is said to have been contemplated for some years back. The object, however, was not merely to secure the most careful administration of the public resources, which is one of the results looked for, but the opening of the path for self-government by the people themselves.

The latter object has been the leading topic of much official writing since the issue of the first manifesto by the supreme Government, with the detailed proposals made by the same authority in May of the year under review. The scheme consists in the establishment of a network of local corporations, beginning with the unit of revenue administration, called the *tehsil* or *taluka*, and entrusting to the charge of these bodies the management of all the funds that the government of the province considers susceptible of being efficiently administered by them. Larger bodies are to have charge of the district public works, education, and other matters requiring local supervision and knowledge. Then, the election, instead of the official nomination of the corporations is to be introduced, the local government being empowered to withhold this privilege in the more backward districts. In the larger towns, however, it will be universally carried out. Lastly, amongst the points which may be mentioned here, is the fact that

the President of the various bodies is not to be, as now, an official, but an independent member of the elective body. The duties of the officials responsible for the general administration of the whole district will consist in supervision, without undue interference, and in giving the advice that new bodies of this class must necessarily seek from time to time when first established.

Such are the main outlines of a scheme that has been received with the greatest enthusiasm by all the representatives of the educated native classes, especially, as is to be expected, in the larger towns. Hitherto there have not been more than two or three associations in the country which can be held to be at all representative, and these only of special classes. For instance, there is the East Indian Association of Bengal, composed chiefly of the zemindar, or landlord class, and practically their mouth-piece. In Madras there is an association maintained by a few literates of the best type, who take an intelligent interest in the public affairs of the presidency, but are invested with no authority to speak on behalf of other than their own class. Lastly, there is the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha, the best organised and administered of any, and probably conducted with the greatest amount of political tact and judgment. It represents, however, none but the powerful class of the Marátha Brahmans settled in Poona under the Peshwa's *régime*, which is the highest type of the lay-sacerdotal element (if the expression be permissible) in India. These Brahmans have always shown a great aptitude for administration and politics, and have the ability and will to get the best information regarding the opinions of their class throughout the continent. Their views on important subjects are frequently laid before the authorities with independence and often sound sense, and by them the local government system has been taken up with the greatest enthusiasm.

The policy of the supreme Government with regard to this aim was adopted in full or in great part by all the local governments. Some modifications were necessarily proposed in matters of detail, and in most cases the enactments of the local legislative council had to receive some alteration. In Bengal and the North-West Provinces circulars were issued on the subject almost immediately after the wishes of the supreme Government were made known. In Madras the matter was referred to a committee, which reported in favour of the whole scheme in the autumn. In the Panjáb the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. Aitcheson, adopted the original programme at once. Subsequent modifications of detail were made after the first acceptance of the scheme; but on the whole, the main principle has been preserved. The only friction that arose was between the Government of Bombay and that of India. The provincial government considered that the innovation of non-official presidents and of general elections was being thrown too suddenly before a public unprepared for the gift, and recommended some considerably modified changes in the

system in force in the Western Presidency, where the municipal and local fund system of administration has for some years been on a nominally popular basis, comprising local boards and committees. The letter in which the decision of the local government was conveyed to the Government of India contained passages and phrases which seemed, no doubt, distasteful and retrograde to the latter, so an answer was sent of a rather more acrimonious nature than is usual in official communications, and the end was that the local government yielded in one or two of the points on which they had been at issue. This difference of opinion has been made the subject of considerable discussion in the press of both India and England. As far as the vernacular newspapers are concerned, it is only to be expected that the apparent caution of the local government would appear misplaced, but unfortunately, the difference in political party between the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay—the latter being one of the last of the appointments of the Conservative Administration—has been made by the ultra-Tory papers in England a reason for the dissension regarding what the papers in question term the introduction of English Radical measures into Indian administration. By the end of the year, however, the short-lived excitement on the matter had died out in India, and the required legislative changes were being passed through the Bombay local council.

We have said above that the key-note of the policy of the present Administration was self-help—varied in aim, local in colouring, to use the words of the Viceroy—and in pursuance of this notion various minor changes were made during the year that can be traced to the same source as that of the more general step. For instance, the investment and general management of the Famine Insurance Fund was vested in a Board of three persons, only one of whom was an official, and he the Comptroller-General attached to the supreme Government, whose aid and knowledge of the state of the imperial finances is almost essential to the development of the scheme. Then, again, power was given to the important trust in which is vested the Bombay foreshore and harbour, to throw into the public market, so as to avail itself of foreign capital, its loans, guaranteed by the State. The anxiety of the Government to make the most of its local resources, too, was manifested in a succession of circulars issued to the different administrations regarding the stores and supplies of articles in ordinary official use that could probably be obtained in India, without need of reference to the India Office in London. Suggestions as to the method in which private capital could find profitable investment were also thrown out from time to time, as the Government came into possession of any special knowledge. Contrary to the general practice, too, some of the members of the Government of India, in addition to the Viceroy and local governors, took tours of visitation to places beyond the regular route between Calcutta and Simla. The most important of these tours were those of the

financial and the Public Works members respectively. Major Baring visited Madras, which had received, according to a complaint made in a speech by the local governor, much too little of the financial attention of the Simla magnates. The financier was interviewed by the Chamber of Commerce in Madras, and by the local association just mentioned above. The new harbour works and the scheme of local government were the chief points discussed, to which Major Baring added a pertinent inquiry regarding the probability of tapping the local capital for local railroads. In the meantime, the Home Secretary, Mr. Mackenzie, paid a visit to the Governor, in order to confer about some official points on which the local and the supreme Governments had been for some time at issue. The tour of Mr. Hope, the Public Works member, an appointment which was revived in August, extended to Sind, where the harbour works and the railway bridge over the Indus at Sakkar required speedy discussion and settlement. He afterwards took the opportunity of seeing some other large and important schemes in progress or about to be undertaken. The appointment, it may be mentioned, of an officer not belonging to the Royal Engineers, or even a professional at all, was an innovation that met with more approval than might have been anticipated, even from the professionals themselves, as there are in the case of a civilian member no preconceived ideas to warp his judgment on certain points, whilst the ability and experience of the officer chosen prevented any question being raised as to efficient work being done by him.

The local governors and lieutenant-governors took their usual tours and delivered speeches at most of the large towns on the subject of the new departure in self-government. The Governor of Madras, Mr. Grant Duff, was the most energetic in seeing his new charge, and one of his tours gave rise indirectly to an amusing incident, which the prominence given to it by the press made a matter of public notice. It appears that after one of his more lengthened tours, Mr. Grant Duff set down his experiences in the form of an official minute, which was issued as a confidential document. Shortly after, the minute appeared in the columns of the local *Times*, the editor of which was officially asked to state how he got possession of the document. He, necessarily, refused, whereupon an Order in Council was issued stopping publication of official notices in the paper in question. The very obvious reflection was, of course, made, that the publicity of the notifications, not the profit to the newspaper, was believed to be the chief object in sending the former to the press; and the last of the matter made public was that the subscription to the offending sheet from Government House, Madras, was discontinued from the end of the year.

We may here note the changes in the *personnel* of the Administration that have taken place during the year. All three of the lieutenant-governorships have changed hands. In Lower

Bengal, Sir Ashley Eden was succeeded, as had been expected, by Mr. Rivers Thompson. The reins of government in Allahabad were assumed by Sir A. Lyall, formerly Foreign Secretary, who succeeded Sir G. Couper on the expiration of the term of office of the latter. In the Punjáb, Sir C. Aitcheson, also a former Foreign Secretary, but who had since been Chief Commissioner of Burmah, succeeded Sir R. Egerton. The important post of Resident at Hyderabad also changed hands, and on the accession of Sir S. C. Bayley to the Viceregal Council, Mr. W. B. Jones, for some years Commissioner of Berár, was appointed. In some quarters it was assumed, from the appointments in connection with this State, that the rendition of the Berár province was again to be brought on the *tapis*, and the visit of Sir Salar Jung to Simla in the autumn was said to be on account of the intended transfer; nothing authentic, however, took place or was made known during the year under review.

Before entering upon the more recurring topics of finance and commerce, the nomination of an Educational Commission to inquire into certain points connected with the policy of the State as regards education may be mentioned as one of the events of the year.

The main purpose of the Commission was to make inquiries into the extent to which the principles enunciated in the despatch by the Court of Directors in 1854, which is, as it were, the charter of Indian educational policy, had been carried out, and the results during the period that has elapsed since the inauguration of the system therein recommended. The Commission was composed of twenty members, comprising representatives, both European and native, lay and clerical, from each presidency. The lines of inquiry and the subjects that fell within the scope of the Commission were laid down by the Government of India, and the Hon. W. W. Hunter, C.I.E., Director-General of Statistics, was appointed President. It was not the mission of the inquiry to investigate the condition of university, technical, or European and Eurasian education; nor was the Commission to affect British Burmah, where the educational system, conducted through the numerous monasteries, is entirely different from that inculcated by the directors' despatch. The special points mentioned in the general order appointing the Commission are, the training of teachers, the encouragement of female education, the system of inspection and of payment by results. The grant-in-aid system generally was to be carefully investigated, in accordance with the avowed policy of extending the sphere of private enterprise in as many directions as possible. In the words of the minute in question: 'It is not good for the educated youth of the country to come out of, as it were, the same mould.' Even the existing Government institutions may, as competent bodies of managers are found, pass from the direct State-class into that of the aided. The question of encouraging indigenous schools, too, received,

after the Commission opened, considerable attention. The first meeting took place in Calcutta, and after some of the general rules had been debated, it was decided that the President should make a tour through each province accompanied by the provincial members, and there examine the witnesses who might come forward to give information. When all the provinces had been visited, the Commission met again at Calcutta, and by the end of the year had not concluded its task. The connection of the new educational policy with that of local government, according to which the primary, and in most cases the higher institutions also, were to be entrusted to the local corporations, especially in the larger towns, rendered it essential that some provision should be made for this object in the legislation entailed by the scheme of government as a whole; but the amount of work before the Commission made it appear improbable that their recommendations would be ready in time to be put into practice by April 1, when the rest of the proposals were to be acted upon.

The above subject has received so long a notice owing to the importance with which it was invested by a large portion of the native press, which, from the discussion that preceded it, as well as by the purport of an address received by the Viceroy shortly before he left England in 1880, seemed afraid lest the tendency of such an inquiry should be in the direction of State withdrawal from secondary education, a move that would be highly distasteful to most of the class represented in the native literary world. The anxiety on this score was somewhat relieved by the speeches made by the different members of the Commission at the larger institutions visited by them, as well as by those at Calcutta and Lahore by Lord Ripon himself. There is no doubt that it is to be expected that the prophecy of the directors in 1854 will be to some extent fulfilled, and that on the sudden withdrawal of the State from direct assistance to secondary education, institutions of this class would fall into the hands of the missionaries of Christianity, unless where the natives had been able to set up a high school for themselves; and it was this, as well as the probable increase of expense under private management, that caused what was in some quarters almost a panic.

The military administration of the year has been marked by two main features; first, the share taken by the army of India in the expedition to Egypt, and secondly, the partial execution of the scheme proposed by the late Army Commission. In addition to these, the organisation of a transport corps in connection with the commissariat, and the establishment of the intelligence department on an efficient and wider base, are matters that are not to be passed over without mention. A great part of the successful landing of the Indian Contingent in Egypt in a state ready to take the field without any delay is due to the arrangements of the Transport Department, through whose aid every troopship contained a completely equipped corps in every branch.

The officers, too, thanks to the Intelligence Department, were provided with a gazetteer of Egypt, containing the latest information regarding routes, supplies, difficulties to be expected, and other useful points likely to arise. A similar handbook, too, was prepared during the year by the same authorities for Afghanistan.

The auxiliary force thus despatched to Suez consisted of one regiment of British infantry, one of Bombay, and two of Bengal native infantry, three of Bombay cavalry, two companies of Madras sappers and miners, and one Punjáb mountain battery. The delay that took place in sending the troops from their stations to Bombay, where the whole of the embarkation was accomplished, was owing to the indecision as to the strength of the force, and perhaps, too, as to the necessity for one at all, on the part of the English Government. The arrangements at the Bombay dockyard for both the departure and the return of the expedition were favourably mentioned by the chief military authorities of India. The part taken by the Contingent in the actual operations will find its place elsewhere in this review, and it suffices to mention here that the general in command, Sir Garnet Wolseley, reported in terms of high praise of the assistance rendered by the troops under Sir H. Macpherson, and of the manner in which they were equipped, disciplined, and handled. On their return to Bombay that city contributed a sum of 5,000 rupees towards a public entertainment to greet them, and the private subscriptions received from the presidency at large amounted to more than 18,000 rupees. As the whole of this was not spent on the single festival, some of the balance served to entertain also the men of the fleet, under Admiral Hewitt, which had been on service at Suez during the British occupation of that town. The contribution of the municipality was set aside to be devoted to the commemoration of the event in a more permanent manner hereafter.

The interest taken in the expedition by the native press seems to have been chiefly concentrated in the question of charging the Indian finances with any or all of the expenses. As a rule, the press was adverse to making India pay at all, and some of the leading associations presented addresses to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on the subject. The attitude of the Muhammadans of India as regards the intervention of the British Government in Egyptian affairs was watched with some interest. As a whole, they appeared comparatively little moved. One or two of their papers at first wrote in favour of the national movement under Arabi Pasha, but afterwards held him to be a rebel, probably on the receipt of the news of the Sultan's repudiation of the Egyptian leader. On the conclusion of the operations the Muhammadans of Meerut, an important body, voted an address of congratulation to Her Majesty, in order to show their loyalty to be above suspicion.

From the operations of the military in the field we pass to the

modifications that have taken place in the constitution of the army on its ordinary footing. Though the recommendations of the Commission have not been adopted to their full extent, still considerable changes have been made in accordance with the views laid down in their report. It was announced at the Budget debate that no less than twenty-two regiments of native troops, four of which were cavalry and eighteen infantry, were to be disbanded during the year. Three of the former and six of the latter were on the Bengal establishment; Madras lost eight infantry regiments, and Bombay four, with one cavalry. The men thus reduced were not discharged, but brought on to the strength of other regiments, thus effecting a gain of thirty-one men in the total army. A European officer was added to each regiment, a change that had long been wanted. The saving thus effected in the salaries and allowances of officers amounts to more than four lakhs of rupees a year. The strength of the native army under the new system will be 110,995 men.

A few minor events may be noted in connection with the army and military affairs generally. The extension of the Sibi railway towards Quetta was apparently considered still an open question, as in answer to an interrogation addressed to him in the House of Commons, Lord Hartington replied that it had not yet been decided to what point the railway in question would be carried. The meeting of the commanders-in-chief of India and Bombay at Sakkar, and the subsequent journey of General Hardinge by the Harnai route to the outpost, seem to indicate that this route will be the one selected if any. The approach of the Russian line to Sarakhs was regarded by the press as the matter that would bring the question to an end. Meanwhile, a new road through the Bolan Pass was under contemplation, as it is necessary to secure one above flood-level, though the tunnelling through the rocky sides of the river valley will entail a very large expenditure. We may lastly mention the numerous interesting and useful papers that have been presented, and the lectures given on military matters at the United Service Institution at Simla, which show that the Indian officer is well to the front in points of information that were formerly considered beyond the sphere of military training. With the financial aspect of the administration of the army we shall have to deal in connection with the Budget. Naval affairs occupied, as usual, but a comparatively small space in Indian history. A new appointment, that of Director of Marine, was made during the year, and the whole of the harbour and dockyard supervision placed on an improved footing; but owing to the resignation of the officer appointed on grounds of objecting to the control of his accounts in a civil department, the new branch of administration was not fully organised till quite the end of the winter.

We now come to finance, always one of the most difficult and open questions in the whole range of Indian policy. The severe

illness of Major Baring early in the year made it seem at one time that India would have again to change its financial member, but luckily the attack of typhoid fever ended in recovery, so that with the few weeks' interregnum of Mr. Hope, one of Major Baring's most trusted colleagues, the finances have had the advantage of uniform supervision throughout the year. It is probably superfluous to say that the policy of the present Administration does not give universal satisfaction, as no policy in India ever did, perhaps never will; but still, the present financial authorities seem, from the criticisms made upon them from time to time in the press, to enjoy more of the public confidence than many of their predecessors, and with the exception of one or two measures that went against the prejudices of a class, the criticism has been favourable. The apparent absence of reticence in important matters of administration, thereby taking the public into the confidence of the rulers, has been one of the points most in the van of the good-will manifested towards the leaders of the imperial finance, whilst the liberal sentiments as well as proposals given forth by the financial member and his colleague in charge of the legislation of the Viceroy's Council have had their effect in conciliating the press, which is the only articulate portion of native society.

Passing now to the details of the Budget statement we may first of all briefly consider the accounts of the year ending March 31, 1881. These show the revenue for that period to have been 72,560,000*l.*, or 1,888,000*l.* better than was anticipated in the previous December, whilst the expenditure amounted to 76,601,000*l.*, which is below the regular estimate of the preceding quarter by 287,000*l.* The nett result was better than what is known as the *regular* estimate by some 2,175,000*l.* The deficit was expected to amount to 6,219,000*l.*, but actually amounted to no more than 4,041,000*l.* The effect of excluding from both sides of the account the items relating to the late war will be to show a surplus of 6,320,000*l.*; the English war contribution, together with the ordinary war receipts, are entered at 3,298,000*l.*, whilst the war expenditure, including that on frontier railways, amounted to 13,662,000*l.* The form in which the English contribution to the cost of the Afghan war was brought on to the Indian accounts was explained in last year's review, but it was again mentioned in the statement by Major Baring in the opening of his Budget of the year under consideration in connection with sundry discrepancies between the estimates and the accounts.

The reforms in the method of controlling the expenditure on account of military operations suggested last year were put into practice during 1882, and the statement by the Comptroller-General in explanation of the financial position of the Government was published a few days before the meeting of the Council, at which the estimates and accounts themselves were submitted to

the discussion of the members. The only new measures said to be under the consideration of the authorities were two. One, the establishment of an independent appropriation audit, in addition to the departmental one already in existence; and the other was the improvement of the supervision of district treasuries, in which several frauds had been brought to light in 1882.

In the regular estimates for 1881-82, the current year, when the meeting considered the statement, the results, owing partly to the adjustment of book items, showed considerably better than the original expectations of the preceding March, both the revenue and the expenditure were increased, the nett result being 722,000*l.* in advance, as was just stated, of the estimate first framed. Without entering into all the items separately, it may be mentioned that the year included the extraordinary debit of a repayment to the local governments of sixty-seven lakhs of rupees on account of the contribution borrowed during the Afghan war, whilst 350,000*l.* was also credited to the same governments in connection with the renewal of the provincial contracts of 1877. On the other side of the account must be taken the extraordinary war contribution by the English Treasury, amounting to 2,305,000*l.* The Budget was framed on the principle of introducing no fiscal changes, whilst the finances were burdened with the possibility of extra charges owing to the continued occupation of a foreign country. The results of the year, therefore, which have been considered favourable by the experts, are due to the foresight and care of the predecessors of the present Administration, a fact that was prominently brought forward in the Budget by Major Baring. The cost of the war was now stated to be 21,611,000*l.*, or in true sterling, at the current rate of exchange, 16,293,000*l.*, including that on account of frontier railways.

The Famine Relief Fund, or the Insurance Trust, was set apart, as stipulated, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.*, and the three commissioners appointed to administer it were the Comptroller-General, *ex officio*, Mr. J. Keswick, of Calcutta, and the Hon. Durga Charan Laha, of the same place. The expenditure debited to relief was only 23,000*l.*, which was on account of the remission of some outstanding advances in Madras.

The expenditure on the public works of a protective nature, covered by the insurance fund, amounted to 727,000*l.*, of which 51,300*l.* was spent in England, and 6,000*l.* on surveys in Madras. The remainder comprised assignments to five irrigation works and two railways. Of the latter, one, between Rewári and Ferozpur, was in the Punjáb, and the other in the Deccan. The canals consisted of two in Bombay, and one each in the Punjáb and the North-Western Provinces, whilst one storage tank was undertaken in Bombay. The assignment for the reduction of debt was supplemented by an advance from that to be provided in 1882-83, and the debts to be operated on were the 5 per cent. of 1867, and the 4 per cent. of 1824-25, 1828-29, and of 1871.

The addition to the length of railways opened during the year was 318 miles, whilst 1,154 miles more had been sanctioned. The principles enunciated by Major Baring at the Budget meeting of 1881 were approved by the Secretary of State, and private enterprise was accordingly encouraged as much as possible. By the end of 1882–83 nearly 11,400 miles of line are expected to be open for traffic. From the financial summary given by Major Baring, it appears that out of the capital expended on guaranteed lines, 38,062,000*l.* is paying more than 4 per cent., and 34,251,000*l.* less than that rate. State lines are under greater disadvantages when their working is shown in a return like this, as many of them were undertaken for avowedly strategical purposes, whilst others have been open for only a very short time, and have therefore been insufficiently developed. Of the capital on undertakings of this sort up to the end of 1881–82, 9,963,000*l.* was paying more, and 20,555,000*l.* less than 4 per cent. It is interesting to see that the East Indian Railway, acquired a few years ago by the Government, pays about 8 per cent.

Great stress is laid in the Budget on the savings to be gradually effected by the substitution of Indian for English made stores. The amount this year credited to this account was 250,000*l.*, chiefly in woollen goods, paper, leather, and malt liquor.

The longest paragraph in the whole statement is that which deals with the opium question, which has received much attention lately, both from financiers and philanthropists. The latter take objection to this item of revenue on moral grounds, which do not concern the present review, except so far as they may be deemed influential in bringing about any changes in the financial administration of this branch of the public revenue. The objections taken by financiers are chiefly based on the uncertainty of the outturn of the article, the probability of increased competition with the British Indian Government, and the political chances of complications with China with regard to its introduction. Major Baring deals at length with the main objections. He admits the possible decrease in the revenue, owing to the short crops of late years, and considers that the rate to which Government can afford to raise the market price depends mostly upon the competition of the Persian opium and the indigenous Chinese article. Unless, therefore, there is an exceptionally good crop within the next few years, the reserve stock of Bengal opium will be very seriously diminished by keeping up the present annual sales. The expected revenue from this source was (from 1881–82) 7,838,000*l.*, or less by 613,000*l.* than in 1880–81. The current year's estimate was for 7,250,000*l.*, allowing a certain margin over the loss by reduction of the tax upon salt. This latter was brought to a rate of two rupees per maund of eighty pounds throughout the empire, except Burmah and the Trans-Indus districts. It was found by experience more advantageous to increase consump-

tion at a low rate, than to have a higher rate on restricted use of this article. For a certain portion of the year, for which returns are now available, the measure has apparently been followed by an increased consumption, as was anticipated.

From a very early period in the year the press gave warning that it was probable that the import duties on cotton goods would be removed, and in fact they were so abolished, and with them the duties on all other articles save intoxicating liquors and arms or ammunition. The native press, disregarding the outspoken opinions of the Viceroy, were almost unanimous in their condemnation of what they considered to be a needless sacrifice of revenue; but it may be noted that many of the Bengal papers, conducted chiefly by townspeople of the better class, were equally loud in their outcry against the reduction of the salt duties. The real cause of their objection was clearly the retention of the license tax, which, though mentioned by Major Baring as a temporary and not very efficient expedient, was retained for 1882-83 in its amended form of the preceding year. The loss by the abolition of the cotton duties was anticipated to amount to 1,108,000*l.*, and that by the reduction of the salt duty to 1,400,000*l.* The continued exemption of the official and professional classes from the license tax was one of the main grievances aired in the vernacular press, and of this Major Baring discreetly made no mention in his statement. The reduction in the army charge proposed was considerable, and the amount entered in the estimates (15,260,000*l.*) was less than it has been in any year since 1876-77. The disbandment of the twenty-two regiments mentioned in another part of this review, the increased supply of indigenous stores, and the arrangements made with the English War Office for decreasing the frequency of moves, and thus avoiding much of the great cost of transport, contributed to this result.

Amongst the new proposals broached on the Budget statement we may mention two of importance. First, the improvement, by reorganisation, of the subordinate Civil Service, and secondly, the issue of Stock Notes. The importance of the subordinate executive class of officials, which is intended specially for natives of India, is becoming more and more recognised. In the West and South of India these officers are vested with considerable powers, both magisterial and revenue. They are in charge of the local subdivisional measures, and on them Government has to rely for efficient and equitable administration of ordinary affairs and for energy and fortitude in times of famine or disturbance. They may be divided into two classes, that of deputy collector and that of subdivisional officer. Their duties and powers necessarily differ in the various provinces, as do the rates of their salaries. In some cases the latter have been deemed too low for the responsibilities thrown upon the recipients, in others the recruiting and system of promotion render the chances of promotion far less favourable than

elsewhere. Though the supreme Government did not propose to equalise the salaries of the two classes respectively throughout India, some modifications of existing rules of pay in this direction were thought advisable, and a uniform proportion between the appointed grades was essential to the equitable working of the pension rules, which are themselves in force throughout the empire. The proposals made by Major Baring were calculated to facilitate promotion, to attract the best class of natives desirous of serving the State in official positions, and of establishing continuous relations between one class of service and the other.

The issue of Stock Notes, though of less general interest than a permanent reform of a political as well as an official nature, such as that just mentioned, forms a leading feature in the year's transactions, especially when taken in connection with other proceedings of the Government with regard to the masses of the people under its administration. The idea of small transferable loans of this description, though immediately taken from across the Atlantic, is no doubt due to the initiation of Napoleon III., who, by means not unlike those now under trial in India, successfully overcame the distrust of public credit which prevailed amongst the French peasantry. It appears that between 1860–61 and 1880–81 no less than 78,308,300*l.* worth of gold (nett) was imported into India, whilst the imports of silver during the same period aggregated 151,478,300*l.* The question raised by Major Baring was, whether a large portion, if not the bulk, of this amount was not hoarded, as nothing, says he, is more remarkable in India than the contrast between the large quantities of the precious metals which are imported annually and the small amount of floating capital available for purposes of temporary accommodation in the market. The advantages of raising such loans in the country, whether financial or political, are so obvious that we need not dwell upon them. The competition with the Savings' Banks is not likely to be either excessive or detrimental to those institutions, as they will touch a different class of investors, and, in one aspect, are more advantageous to the State that they are not redeemable for twenty years, whereas the Savings' Bank deposits are at the disposal of the investor at any moment. Nor is competition with the more extensive loan system anticipated, since the circles, as in the case of Savings' Banks, are not concentric. The more favourable opportunities afforded by the Egyptian war rendered the issue of stock notes by private enterprise out of the question in Bombay, but in the upper portions of India tenders were accepted for large quantities, and the loan seems to have been successfully floated. In Bombay the retention of the issue in the hands of the Government, acting through district post offices, had a good effect in one direction, namely, the prevention of the accumulation of large stocks of these small notes in the hands of single persons or of speculative rings, who might have diverted them from their purpose of tapping the small

investor, for employment in larger operations with regard to the general loans of the State, for the paper of which they are exchangeable. In order to restrict such use as much as possible, the notes are not endorsable to Europe, nor payable at large city treasuries. The interest at 4 per cent., or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. above that given at the Savings' Banks, was deemed sufficient to attract a certain amount of capital requiring extraction, though inadequate to meet the expectations of the professional investor or large capitalist.

The extension of the Savings' Banks operation by connecting them, as in England, with the Post-office, turned out a very successful experiment. As mentioned in last year's review, the agreement with the Bank of Bombay prevented the introduction of the system in that presidency, but elsewhere there was not this obstacle. By July 1, in three months from the innovation that is, 4,014 banks had been started, and the aggregate deposits amounted to over $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, or 60,000 rupees per week.

The unexpected operations in Egypt led to the floating of a loan in October to meet current war expenses. The amount was for $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees, at 4 per cent. It was at first notified on September 24, at a rather dead season, but was favourably taken up by November.

The branch of finance known as Ways and Means needs but few words. The estimated balance on March 31, 1882, turned out 4,200,000*l.* less than that calculated a few weeks before the expiration of that period. The closing balance of the current year was financed at 848,000*l.* above the estimates of that which preceded it. In connection with the loan just mentioned, it is as well to point out that the balances in the State treasuries in India are always at the lowest ebb in the last quarter of the year, when the tea-borne trade has not yet opened fairly, nor has the early instalment of land revenue been paid in. It is always stated in the Budget proceedings that under the conditions of Indian administration it is almost impossible to estimate how far the cash balances may have to be strengthened ten or twelve months in advance. The efficient working balance is at a minimum when it sinks to 8,000,000*l.*, and an estimate of 10,000,000*l.* implies a deficiency in the dead quarter of the year, which has to be supplied by a loan of some 1,000,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* On the other hand, various items during the current year were calculated to aid in maintaining the balance at its working limit, though Major Baring declined to take credit for them in his estimate, as some of them are, at the best, of small amount, and others not as certain as caution demands in respect to this precarious system.

We have entered somewhat at length into the finances of the year owing to the prominent notice given to them in the press, both English and Indian, and the anticipations that were based regarding them from the experience of the estimate of the preceding statement. As a rule, the comments have been most

favourable regarding the administration of the present *régime*, though the retention of the license tax and the abolition of the import duties were fully stated to be blots on an otherwise highly satisfactory scheme.

From finance we turn to the commerce of the year. It has already been stated in the course of this review that the condition of Afghanistan and Yarkand led to a revival of their trade with India, whilst that of Burmah seriously decreased the traffic by the Irrawaddy. The abolition of the import duties on Cotton Goods was really anticipated by merchants, on receiving information of the reply made by Lord Hartington to a deputation of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in January. Nevertheless, it was reported from Calcutta that large stocks of duty-paid piece goods were still on hand there, and that the loss on these, even to the anticipated competition of free goods, would entail serious distress amongst native importers. This expectation does not seem to have been realised any more than was that regarding a sudden alteration in the rate of shares in the Bombay Cotton mills. Serious complaints of the bad quality of the cotton shipped from Bombay, especially that from Berár, was made by English importers, and towards the end of the year was brought prominently to the notice of the Bombay Government itself by the commercial community of that city. A similar complaint was, however, made regarding the American staple. On the other side, the practice of sending short lengths of piece goods from English factories received an effective check from Indian merchants, by a combination to decline articles not truly certified on the labels. A decision by the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce regarding a cargo of wheat stated to differ from the sample gave great dissatisfaction in Indian export circles, as it was reported to be one of a series designed to be an obstacle to free trade by foreigners between the Indian ports and France. The tea syndicate, which is extensively pushing its business, and has succeeded in establishing a fair connection with Australia and a good one with Canada, was stimulated by the commendations of the results of its efforts passed by the Committee of the Melbourne Exhibition, when it was well represented. The reports of the Special Commissioners, sent by the Indian Government to Melbourne, are interesting in other respects. They confirm, for instance, what has been so often remarked by persons not in a position to speak with the authority of experts, namely, the disadvantage at which Indian manufacture is placed in foreign markets by the badness of the finish of its finer articles, and no doubt the high price put on artistic productions from India, joined with the above drawback, prevents their reaping much more substantial recognition than that of verbal praise.

As regards Opium, apart from the transactions by Government, it appears that the appreciation of the Persian article by the Chinese is not yet raised by the help of greater care on the part of

the preparers to improve its quality. The chief shippers, Messrs. Sassoon, found so large a stock on their hands in their China warehouses, that they withdrew from operations with Persia until some of the opium already in stock had been sold off. There was also a considerable fraud attempted on them by one of the chief Yezd purveyors, who had received from them the usual advance for shippings from Bushire. As most of the Persian exporters depend upon the advance made by this house, the proceedings caused some consternation in that city.

The rivalry between Calcutta and Rangoon for the Chino-Burmese land trade has been already mentioned in connection with the overland routes advocated respectively by Messrs. Colquhoun and Lipper. The former city made, also, strenuous efforts towards obtaining a sort of differential tariff on the East Indian Railway, in order to secure an advantage over Bombay, its rival in the trade of Upper India. In spite of the break of gauge on the Rajputána-Málwa line, the advantages of Bombay over Calcutta are so great with regard to certain branches of traffic, that the tide of trade in those branches is certainly being diverted to the westward; on the other hand, Calcutta has undoubtedly great advantages in other branches, such as the export of jute, indigo, sugar, silk, and rice, which can never be interfered with by rivalry from Bombay. It may be interesting to show by figures the change of the last two years, since the opening of the New State Line. The following is the distribution per cent. in the trade in the three main articles of raw produce most affected :—

	1879		1881	
	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay	Calcutta
Cotton	79·30	20·30	92·89	7·11
Wheat	12·97	87·03	61·88	38·12
Seeds	21·86	78·14	53·11	46·89

the balance in two of the main articles of export of Upper India being thus gradually drawn down westward.

Amongst new undertakings we may mention a bleaching factory, the first ever set up in India, which began operations in Bombay during the year, and the purchase by the State of the Bengal ironworks, which were then offered, in encouragement of private enterprise, to any individual or company who satisfied the Government of India as possessing the requisite capital and capability for its working. The sum fixed was 4,30,761 rupees. The known iron-bearing tracts in Bengal and the Central Provinces were examined by a special agency with a view of making public their actual resources and value. Efforts were also made to get paper mills established at suitable localities for the supply of Government requirements in this line.

The Legislation of the year has not been of a generally interesting nature as far as the actual Bills passed are concerned, though the debates in Council have been more than usually lively,

and the means taken by the Government to ensure publicity of all measures intended to be laid before the Legislative Council have had their effect in arresting the attention of the press to an unusual degree. The first viceregal measure of the year that needs notice is the Assam Labour Act, which was passed after some persistent, though somewhat vague, opposition from the representatives of the landed interests in Lower Bengal. The main provisions are directed against rings of contractors for labour. The contract term was raised to that current in the case of emigrants to foreign colonies, and the Assam authorities were specially directed to closely watch the results on both planter and labourer of the new system.

Amongst proposals of a more special application we have to mention the Transfer of Property Bill and the Act relating to Trading Companies, as well as a Merchant Shipping Act. The Small Cause Courts were placed on a wider footing, and the Indian Currency Act was modified in order to secure its application to British Burmah. The introduction of railways made and managed by private companies entailed an alteration in the existing Act in order to ensure official inspection before they are open to public traffic.

Last of the minor Acts, or rather those that excited the least public comment, we may specify one for the regulation of the excavation, manufacture, and sale of salt. Some opposition was experienced to the penal provisions of this Bill, but the power to enforce and to institute proceedings under them was vested in officers of sufficient rank to ensure its exercise with due discretion and sense of responsibility.

The proceedings that remain to be mentioned relate to legislation that was the subject of more popular feeling than the Acts and Bills above brought into notice. First amongst these is to be placed the repeal of the Seditious Publication Act, generally known as the "Vernacular Press" Act. Measures were taken under the Customs Regulations to prevent the importation from abroad of publications that would otherwise have come within the scope of this act of the late Government, and the ordinary law of India was deemed enough to cope with utterances of the type against which the special Act was levelled. In the course of the debate that preceded the repeal, Lord Ripon said, "It will cause the greatest satisfaction to me to remember that it was during my viceroyalty that this Act was removed from the Statute Book." The repeal was received, as may be expected, with great rejoicings by the whole vernacular press, as well as by most of the English papers. A number of addresses were presented to the Viceroy with reference to it by different representative associations. The next most important measure was not passed during the year, though it was debated in more than one meeting of the Council. This was the Central Provinces Agricultural Act, providing for the levy of local rates. The chief use of the Bill was to serve as the excuse

for giving formal and authoritative utterance to the views of the Government on local administration, whilst the kindred Act for the facilitation of the advancing of loans to the agricultural population was the means of bringing on the Council Board the subject of agricultural banks, which had been much and profitably ventilated during the year in other parts of the official world. Neither of the matters have as yet reached more than a preliminary stage, which renders it unfair to them to discuss the probabilities of their ultimate development.

Turning now to local measures, we find the most worthy of note to be the Rent Bill of Bengal. This has been under consideration for the last three years, and was made the subject of a mixed Commission of European and native officers and landlords in 1879-80. The report issued by this body showed that the chance of establishing a fair compromise between the landlord under the permanent settlement system and the tenant by whom his estate is cultivated was very remote. The native landlords all voted in one direction, whilst the official and other Europeans took a diametrically opposite view of the degree to which the tenants are entitled to recognition. After some interval the Bill was again brought to light. It is not said authoritatively whether it had been sent meanwhile to England for the opinion of the Home Council or not, but this appears most probably to have been the case. Anyhow, its reappearance produced a strong protest from the Chief Justice of Calcutta against some of the main provisions regarding the acquisition of rights by tenant cultivators, and considerable excitement was caused temporarily by the reply to this dissent by the Home Secretary to the Government of India, who had been one of the leading members of the Commission. Without entering into a description of a measure which is not yet likely to become law, we may merely state that the gist of the Bill is to place the tenant of the zemindar in a more favourable position with regard to the land he tills than that of a yearly holder subject to be rack-rented, as he too often frequently is, at the will of the permanent landlord. The question of tenant-right is one that has been gradually creeping into notice throughout the eastern and northern provinces of India, and the whole influence of the societies supported by the landowning class is being brought to bear against its discussion.

In provinces beyond Bengal the only legislation that we need mention is the amendment of the Excise Act in Bombay, locally known as the *Mowra* Bill. This unfortunate measure was brought into Council in that presidency, and read for the first time against the votes and strongly-expressed feeling of all the non-official members, with one or two exceptions. The opposition to the Bill from the presidency at large was still more outspoken. Nevertheless the Governor took upon himself personally the responsibility of the suspension of the rules and the passing of the Bill at one sitting. It was hinted at the time that the approval of the Governor-General

had been obtained to the measure, but from the subsequent literature that was published on the matter it seems that this was a mistake, and that only the penal clauses, which have always to be submitted before a Bill is introduced, had been considered by the Viceroy. At any rate, the Bill was returned from Simla with rather a strong expression of disapproval, which following so closely upon the controversy mentioned in a former part of this review, about the development of local government, led the way to a very free criticism of the conservatism, or despotism, as it was termed, of the Bombay Government. It may be explained as regards the title of this much-discussed Bill, that *mowra* is the fruit of the tree botanically known as the *Bassia latifolia*, which is used mostly in the distillation of the local liquor, but is also the food, during part of the year, of the wild tribes inhabiting the woods in which this tree is mostly found. It was on account of this double use that the opposition was chiefly based, and the Governor-General apparently took the view of the public. Since the veto of the Bill as a whole, the illicit distillation of spirit from the *mowra* in the two districts where its use is confined, it is said, to the less necessary purpose, has been made the subject of special investigation, so that a Bill of local application may, if found necessary, be introduced next year.

In Madras the Forest Act was the most important measure passed, and, as the provisions are in the main much the same as those prescribed in the more general Act of 1878, we need not enter into them.

As regards the Punjáb, the most interesting law passed was that conferring on the chief educational institution there the status of a university. The opening ceremony was performed by the Viceroy.

The public works that have been most pushed forward during the period under review are railways. Of these the largest scheme is that known as the South Maratha system, 400 miles of which were made over to a company floated in London with a capital of 3,000,000*l.* The State guarantees 4 per cent. for three years, and then 3½ for forty-five. Provision was also made for the resumption of the undertaking by the State at par value, and the termination of the company's usufruct at a year's notice. The objections raised to the scheme, and the part taken by Government therein, were chiefly on account of the gold debt hereby increased, and the raising of the capital entirely in England, instead of in India. The terms as regards property in the system were, however, approved. The small charge made by the State for the concession was justified officially by the inclusion in the lease of the Eastern Deccan line, one avowedly made for famine purposes and likely to be a continuously unproductive undertaking. The surveys for the Western Deccan line were being pushed on at the end of the year with energy, as it is supposed that this branch, tapping the Satara and Belgaum districts, besides the rich state of Kolhapur and other smaller chieftainships, would bring in a fair remuneration

The concession of a line between Itarsi and Gwalior, ultimately to connect the Great India Peninsula line with the grain-producing territory round Cawnpore, as well as opening up the native states of Sindia and the Begum of Bhopal, was also one of the important events of the year. Several other lines, mostly local ones, were mooted, and some of them put into construction, as the much required one into Assam, and the northern undertaking between Delhi and Patháńkot. In Bengal at least two new projects, one to open out the sugar-producing country of Jessor, were brought forward, and for the first time native capital began to take the initiative in subscription. The first railway in India constructed by private enterprise was opened this year. It is a short pilgrim-line in the North-West Provinces.

The question of a direct route between Nagpur and Calcutta, thereby shortening considerably the distance from Bombay, was much discussed during the year. The route finally selected for survey was one that involved a slightly longer line, compensated for by the great saving in the expense of construction, as compared with the three others that had been considered. It was also proposed to extend the advantages of railway communication to the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, by means of a branch line from Raipur or some other town to Vizagapatam. The Madras ports of the Upper Coromandel Coast are, as regards communications, amongst the most neglected in the empire. The proposal for the extension of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian line through Rutlam to Gwalior was not approved by the Government of India, on account of the heavy cost and the doubt as to the necessity of this additional means of transit.

The first sod of the Patháńkot-Umritsar line was turned by Sir R. Egerton, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb. The Rupar Canal, one of the largest irrigational works known, was formally opened in November by the Viceroy in person, and formed the occasion of a great meeting of the resident chiefs and officials of the province.

The most interesting extension of the telegraph system is that from Tavoy to Bangkok in Siam. In India, the revision of the rates, and the introduction of different classes of messages, was followed by an increased use of this means of communication. There was some talk during the year of the amalgamation of the offices of Director-General of the Telegraph and of the Post Office, but the scheme appears to have been merely mentioned as a future possibility.

The business of the Postal Department, as happened in England years back, is showing an annually increasing tendency in all directions. In India the matters that fall within the cognisance of this department comprise, in addition to the letter-carrying, the new savings-banks in most of the empire, the transmission of money-orders, which was till lately carried on through the accountants-general, and the conveyance of value-payable parcels, as well as insurances. The most noteworthy variations in the

numbers quoted in the annual report are found in regard to post-cards and embossed covers disposed of. The idea of obtaining the envelope for the value of the stamp on it, is one that has made astonishing way amongst the bulk of Indian correspondents. The increased use of money-orders has had the expected effect of reducing the number of registered letters. Taken generally, the number of articles carried by post has risen proportionally from 100 in 1854 to 476 in 1880, thus showing a tendency to double itself every thirteen years.

There remain a few less general subjects to be still treated of. Amongst these we may begin with the state of feeling between the two leading sections of our native fellow-subjects, the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It will be recollected that last year, 1881, the outbreaks of ill-will were almost entirely confined to Upper India. This year the religious animosity seems to have broken into flame in the Southern Presidency, though there were not wanting indications of the continuance in the Punjáb of the feelings manifested there last year. Open violence, however, was used in some towns in Madras, and in one instance a riot of a most serious nature took place in Salem. It appears that a recent ruling of the local High Court regarding the use of music and of the public roadway for religious processions had been interpreted in limitation of the power of the Executive authorities to an extent which the judges that delivered the decision did not intend. The relaxation of strict discipline with reference to this point on the part of the magistrates was hailed by the Hindus, who in all three of the more notorious cases were proved to be the aggressors, as the occasion for the long-desired insult to their rivals. Accordingly, in the town of Salem, a Hindu procession passed on July 28 opposite a mosque, with band playing, in defiance of previous custom. The Muhammadans perceived the intention to insult them, and the riot at once commenced. Two companies of Native Infantry were sent for from Bangalore, but the riot was ended before they arrived, and two Muhammadans were killed and some 150 of both religions wounded in the struggle. About fifty persons, all Hindus, were arrested in consequence of this affair, and the magistrate called a conference of the leaders of the two religions to settle a *modus vivendi*. Whilst this was in progress, and the Hindu leaders were pretending to be engaged in deliberations, the papers produced at the subsequent trial proved that they were steadily and energetically engaged in organising another attack on their rivals. A tax of sixpence per house was levied on all Hindus, to defray the cost of legal proceedings after the riot, and to compensate the families of those injured in fighting against the Muhammadans. The *casus belli* arose on August 16. It appears that some religious function was to be performed by the Muhammadans, and they were advised by the authorities to go to a mosque outside the town to do it. This the leaders not only agreed to do, but sent round a notice about it. The intimation,

however, did not, unfortunately, reach all the community in time, so that a considerable number of Muhammadans gathered at a mosque in the town itself. This gave the Hindus their opportunity, and they at once rushed to the attack fully armed and disciplined. The mosque was burnt, the Muhammadans driven back, and their houses and shops sacked and set on fire. Several persons, women and children included, were killed, and the bodies found in the open streets. The police, whose sympathies were afterwards proved to have been with the Hindus, when called upon to fire on the mob, sent a futile volley or two into the air, and were quite useless in the hand-to-hand struggle that was going on. Military arrived from Bangalore and Trichinopoly, and peace was restored. The worst features of this outrage appear to be not only the high position of the Hindus who were proved before the local and the High Court to have been the active promoters and instigators of the attack, but the manifest sympathy shown by the upper-class Hindus generally in the neighbourhood with the persons convicted, and the readiness with which they came forward for the defence, even in the public press of Madras and Bombay. In addition to these two outbreaks at Salem, which have had the result of almost depopulating the town of its Christian and wealthy inhabitants, the Southern Presidency has had to answer for other riots of a similar description. At Goriattam the Hindus dressed up in costumes such as are used by the Muhammadans at one of their most popular festivals; a riot ensued in which there was a loss of life, and troops were sent for from Vellore, at which place itself there had been a riot, owing to the same cause, ten days before. At a small town near Bangalore the Hindus insulted a Muhammadan tomb. The local Muhammadans at once telegraphed to their co-religionists in Bangalore itself to prepare to assist them in resistance. The telegram was fortunately intercepted and handed to the authorities, who were thus able to reach Kengern before further operations had been commenced, and to prevent any violence. Outbreaks of a less important character took place, too, at Metapollium and in Coimbitore. It was stated in a local paper that the system of election to municipal seats had enabled the Hindus to swamp the Muhammadan community, and thus deprive the latter of all voice in local administration, and to carry on the detailed business of the town in defiance of any opinion but their own.

In other parts of India there were disagreements of a more or less suggestive nature: one at Kandauli near Agra; and one, not resulting in any violence, but equally injurious to the public well-being, at Cutch-Mándri. In the latter case, the Hindus, chiefly of the wealthy trading class, as were the aggressors in Multan last year, tried to get the authorities to prohibit the Muhammadans from erecting the *Tábut* or imitation shrines carried in procession at the Muhanam, and also from maintaining fish-shops within five miles of the town. The compulsory measures taken were highly

characteristic of both parties. The Muhammadans, like the Hindus of Mandri, are noted and successful traders, so the Hindus were bound by their leaders not to either transact any business with the Muhammadans, or to take passage in any vessel owned or conducted by persons of that religion. The latter provision pressed somewhat hardly on both parties, as the main passenger traffic with Bombay is carried on by Muhammadan vessels. The Muhammadan leaders, in turn, represented to the authorities that as their community was being practically shut off from their livelihood, or even from obtaining their daily food from Hindu shops, the safety of the bazaar was a question for which they could not consider themselves responsible. Ultimately the disagreement subsided without further results, probably owing to cooler counsel from the Bombay merchants of both parties.

Less interesting are the internal dissensions of the two religions. In Delhi the Sunnis and Wahábi Muhammadans were near coming to blows on questions of doctrine and practice raised by their respective Maulvis, and differences of a similar nature were reported to have arisen in different parts of the Punjáb. In Billary, a Hindu district noted for Hindu sectarian intolerance, the Lingaiats engaged roughs to obstruct a procession of images organised by the Bedans, a lower, but more pugnacious caste. The riot was not, however, serious, except as taken in relation to the general state of Hindu religious feeling in Southern India, as manifested in the various occurrences which have taken place during the year in that part of the empire.

Of disturbances that cannot be traced to any religious or sectarian origin, we need only mention the local rising of the Khonds, an aboriginal tribe of the hills and woods of the South-west of Bengal, and the East of the Central Provinces. In a small feudatory state in connection with the latter administration, called Kalahandi, the land, with the consent and apparently the approval of the chief, was passing from the improvident Khond into the hands of the thrifty and industrious Kulti. The latter, though good cultivators and revenue-payers, were unable to resist their wild antagonists in the field of strife, and the local British authorities only arrived just in time to prevent one of the human sacrifices that used to be the invariable accompaniment to a Khond raid. The leaders of the latter were hung at once, and the outbreak thus quelled; but the local inquiries showed that the aboriginals had some substantial grievances to complain of, and that the original purpose of the attack on the cultivators was not to wreak a violent revenge on them, but to plunder them of some of the wealth of which the Khonds were so jealous. In the actual attack no weapons were carried, nor was violence used beyond what was conducive to the aim of the expedition. The human sacrifice appears to have been an afterthought, when the passions of the Khonds had become excited with their success. The district was garrisoned for a while with extra police under

European supervision. The affairs of the State were subjected to some scrutiny, and the Kultis vainly entreated to return; but they had declined up to the date of the most recent information, and cultivation was at a standstill. The Khonds are reported to have abandoned all idea of further violence, and most of the property stolen from the 35 villages attacked was given up to the police.

Amongst minor events of the year was the visit of a detachment of the most recent revival in England, the Salvation Army. The occurrence would have been allowed to pass without notice but for the opposition raised to the processions and other modes of conducting religious service usual to this band by the police authorities in Bombay, where the leaders of the Salvationists were both fined and imprisoned for voluntary default. Elsewhere in their progress they excited little attention or interest, and were left alone to their devices.

The ecclesiastical world was considerably stirred by a Pastoral, read as a sermon, by the Bishop of Bombay, regarding the re-marriage of divorced persons by clergy in his diocese, a ceremony which he then and there prohibited. A question about the legality of his threat to cancel the license of any clergyman thus marrying persons who had been divorced was asked in the House of Commons, and the matter had been much discussed in all circles in India, but the Secretary of State could only answer that he had "called for information." The individual marriage against which the Episcopal prohibition was implicitly directed took place instantly afterwards, in the presence of a considerable gathering of notabilities who attended as a matter of protest against the doctrine of the Pastoral.

Lastly, we have to briefly chronicle the physical events of the year, and of these the most remarkable have been earthquakes, of a more or less local character. None of them were severe enough to do much damage, but their frequency made them the subject of much comment, as well as the fact of their mostly moving apparently in one direction—namely, from north-east to south-west. The first was in Madras, or rather, along the whole of the Coromandel coast, as far as Tivandrum. Several shocks were felt, but no damage to buildings ensued. Towards the middle of April another was reported from Bangalore, and in the beginning of December one, the severest of all, was felt throughout North Gujarát, in Bombay, and part of Rajputána. Shocks were also felt in Silchár in the month of October.

In the South of India heavy floods during the middle of the monsoon did much damage to the bridges on the South Indian Railway, and to communications in the Wynaad, as well as breaking many of the irrigation works in the Krishna Delta. In September the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Cambay rose, and broke two bridges along the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian line, and also an important viaduct near Khandwa, on the Bombay and Jabalpore route.

The season was favourable, on the whole, to agricultural prospects, save, as already mentioned, in Mysore. The crops in some of the Deccan districts of Bombay, notably those of Nārik and Ahmednagar, were devastated by locusts, which, contrary to all precedent, appeared as indigenous, instead of in swarms swept by heavy winds from elsewhere. The development of special cultivation was furthered as much as possible by the information spread abroad by the Government of India in its new department of agriculture. The growth of tobacco at Ghāzipur, as well as in Burmah, where the consumption of the weed is seven pounds per head, against one pound in India, was amongst the most promising enterprises, next to the tea industry, which we have seen to be spreading to Canada and Australia, in addition to a certain demand in Central Asia and in India itself.

As regards the public health, we have no specially severe outbreaks of epidemic to recount, save a short one of cholera, arising from a large gathering of pilgrims and devotees at Allahabād. Mysore was also affected by both this and small-pox before the timely rain set in, and restored the people to their normal standard of living. The question of the drainage of large cities has been much before the public in connection with a new scheme being undertaken in Bombay, and the reported inefficiency of an existing one in Calcutta. In the latter case a special investigation was in progress as the year closed, whilst in Bombay the question of the merits of rival systems was being made the war-cry of the municipal elections expected a month later.

From what has been written above, it will be seen that the year in India has been more or less barren of incident in foreign relations, and as regards internal policy, more promising than usual in finance, and more liberal and popular in administrative tendencies. The actual occurrences that we have had to record have been otherwise of more local than general importance and interest.

III. CHINA.

The year 1882 passed without any startling event to chronicle, though at one time war with Japan appeared imminent, and it required all the skill of the Pekin diplomatists to avert an outbreak. The creation early in the year of the Order of the Double Dragon was taken to indicate a desire on the part of the Chinese Government to be on friendly terms with those whom twenty years ago they regarded as "unmanageable outer barbarians." This step was the more noteworthy since the Order was only to be conferred on foreigners of distinction, whilst the insignia, unlike those of existing native Orders, consisted of a jewelled star and ribbon, and could be worn in European fashion. With this conciliatory spirit about, the temporary withdrawal, in obedience to ancient custom, of Li Hung Chang, the great Reform minister, from his high post in

consequence of his mother's death, was not attended, as might have been expected, by retrogressive measures. In anticipation of her death he had obtained a month's leave of absence, so that he might be with her during her last illness, and at the same time accustom his deputy to the duties that would devolve on him when the period of mourning should commence. This deputy was Chang Shu Sheng, his fellow-provincial and ally, and the then Governor of Canton, and he entertained the same ideas as to the development of schemes of improvement, and could be trusted to continue the progressive policy initiated by Li Hung Chang. His first step was to sanction the construction of a telegraph line from Hongkong to Canton, whilst the troubles that beset the Kaiping Coal Mine Company at the close of 1881 were heard of no more. In May the United States Treaty with Corea was concluded, by which the ports of Jansen, Fusan, and Renshan were to be opened for trade, *i.e.* foreign merchants were to be allowed to land their goods and sell them, but nothing more; travelling in the interior for purposes of trade or otherwise, and participation in the coast trade, were forbidden. Conspicuous in this treaty was the recognition by the United States Government of China's suzerainty over Corea; China herself, though evidently inspiring the text of the treaty, not being one of the contracting parties. Some think Commodore Schufeldt, the United States envoy, was a catspaw of Li Hung Chang, the treaty having been drawn up by the Chinese, and the ceremony of negotiating and signing it having been previously arranged between the Chinese and Corean officials. England and Germany soon afterwards followed the same text. France wished for a clause in favour of Christian missions, but the Coreans would not consent, and so the treaty hung fire. Before the Corean ports had been formally opened and the consuls and merchants established thereat, a reaction set in, and an outbreak was directed by the ex-regent against the king and his advisers. The Japanese Legation was attacked, and the envoy and his followers had to fight their way down to the beach, where, after losing twelve men, they managed to get on board a boat, and were subsequently rescued by an English gunboat surveying in the neighbourhood. The reins of government were then seized by the ex-regent, the king imprisoned, and the queen and others put to death. The Japanese Government acted with great promptitude, and within a fortnight of the attack on the Legation, a Japanese fleet anchored in the river Seoul, and 5,000 men landed within easy reach of the capital. At this juncture China showed no hesitation, but sent her powerful gunboats into the Corean waters, and landed several thousand soldiers close to the Japanese force, the Coreans offering no resistance to either army. The Chinese admiral then contrived to relieve the situation. He invited the leader of the insurrection to his ship in a friendly manner, and the latter suspecting nothing went, but he was no sooner on board than the

vessel weighed anchor, and the guest found himself a prisoner *en route* to Pekin. The insurrection thereupon collapsed, the king was restored to power, and the Japanese demands were complied with. These consisted of a suitable apology, the punishment of the murderers, increased liberty of movement in the interior, the opening of another port of trade, and the payment of a war indemnity of 500,000\$ in addition to 50,000\$ for the families of those killed. The fact that China had seized and retained without hindrance the rebel chief, counselled the Koreans what to do in their negotiations with Japan, and helped them to provide the compensation money, is sufficient evidence of her hold over Corea, whilst Japan's acquiescence is an acknowledgment of diplomatic defeat.

In another quarter too China gained a diplomatic victory in the successful taking over of Kuldja. The new boundary, starting from the Bojangel mouth of the Tekes River, follows the downward course of the stream to the Suimbe mouth, and thence passes up the Suimbe river as far as the Sary Tan mountains. Thence it proceeds over the Sary Tan range, crosses the river Kassan and the heights which separate that river from the Kara Ganda, and on to Sary Nichai. Passing onwards over the summit of the Bindintin mountain, it follows a south-westerly direction and crosses the Kuldjata, leaving the fields watered by it to Russia. The further boundary, *viâ* Chorgas to the Borotola River, has been agreed upon and will shortly be marked out.

The province of Ili is settling down, and China has in it once more a firm footing. Russian emissaries are said to have been very active on the northern frontier, but the Chinese ministers are on the alert and alive to the danger. It was no doubt partly with a view of checking Russian enterprise in this quarter that China persuaded Corea to open her ports to European trade, there being a general feeling that Russia was entertaining designs on the Port of Lazareff as a preliminary to annexing the whole of the peninsula. As this region has an area of 91,000 square miles of rich and fertile soil, it would be a valuable acquisition in itself, and as Lazareff would offer a commodious harbour on the Pacific, capable of being strongly fortified and accessible at all seasons of the year, its possession by Russia would be a matter of vast importance to China as well as to England. News arrived from Kuldja in October that Tian Chu, the leader of the Dungan rebellion against China, was dead, thereby putting an end to the question of his extradition to the Chinese, who had persistently demanded his surrender.

As the year was closing a French expedition started from Toulon for Tonquin, ostensibly to present to the Emperor Tu Duc a new treaty, in which France's rights in that country were to be defined with more precision than they were in 1874, but practically to establish a "definite protectorate." The expedition was strongly opposed by some members of the Cabinet in Paris and by

the French Minister at Peking, but notwithstanding that, the troops started; these were, however, reduced in number to 700 in consequence of the departure of the Chinese troops from Tonquin, brought about by the vigorous representations of the French Minister at Peking. Out of every ten ships to be found in Cochin China waters, two only are said to be French, the remaining eight being equally divided between English and German, so that at present France only enjoys one-fifth of the carrying trade of her own colony. In Cochin China itself the French made an important move towards Annam. After capturing Hanoi they assumed a sort of authority over the whole territory, which resulted in a demonstration from China and in 10,000 Chinese troops being sent across the frontier. Negotiations were still going on between Peking and Paris as the year closed.

Considerable damage was done by floods in the north of China in July and August, causing great loss of life and destruction of crops. But apart from the injury by flood, famine, or rebellion, to which China is subject nearly every year, she is not making progress. In many provinces the population has diminished to a half, a third, or even a quarter of what it was in the last century. The important journey which Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Wahab recently accomplished from Canton to Bhamo, to discover a practicable route from Canton to British Burmah, has furnished a sad tale of the condition of the south-west of China, the decay of a great civilisation being visible everywhere. Although the whole region has boundless resources above and below its surface, the inhabitants seemed unable to better themselves and were helpless against any foe bold enough to attack them. In contrast to this degeneration are the efforts Li Hung Chang makes to break down some of the prejudices of his countrymen against trade and progress. In the neighbourhood of the Kaiping coal mines a farm of 5,000 acres has been started under his auspices for the purpose of improving the breeds of native cattle by introducing cattle from the United States, and the experiment is being watched with great interest, as it is expected to prove most successful. Commercially China has not prospered. Although Li Hung Chang resumed work in August, he was not able to stem the tide of native obstructiveness that was setting in once more against European enterprise; sometimes it is doubted whether he himself is as eager for progressive measures and reforms as has been represented. Two instances of obstructive policy occurred towards the close of the year, when Tso Tsung Tang, Governor of Nankin, ordered the removal of electric lamps from the streets of Shanghai and shut up a cotton manufactory in that place by arresting the manager on a speculative charge of complicity with rebellion thirty years ago. It had been hoped that, when Tso Tsung Tang and Li Hung Chang came together, they would inaugurate, what the country needs so greatly, a railway system; but nothing has been done, and the latest intelligence is that Tso Tsung Tang has been struck down

by paralysis. The Chinese people are so convinced of the superior value of European manufactures that they must ere long strike against the official corruption that restrains them from using foreign machinery and turning native products to account. This corruption is the one vice that is dragging the country down, and it is so universal that the people are helpless against it. Some excitement has lately been caused by the impeachment of two Cabinet Ministers on a charge of bribery. Bribery is such an everyday matter that it would have been hushed up but for the appearance of the comet. Ninety-nine Chinese out of a hundred believed firmly that the comet was sent by Heaven to warn the Emperor that misgovernment was going on in his dominions, and that, if not checked by the punishment of the offenders, calamities would follow. As the two high officials had already been charged with gross corruption, they will probably be made the scapegoats, but their guilt is believed in by all classes. They are high in favour, show fight, and may very likely succeed in transferring the blame to their subordinates. The Chefoo Convention is not yet ratified, though some advance in the matter has been made and the amount of taxation on opium finally determined. The vexed question of lekin remains as it was. On the whole, the year ought to show better results, since there was no war, famine, or pestilence to distract the country; but whilst the concessions to Europeans continue so restricted, and corruption gnaws at the vitals of the country, it is impossible there can be any real improvement.

IV. JAPAN.

This country, as has been stated in the foregoing section, barely escaped going to war with China, and it was only through the skilful diplomatic measures of the Chinese ministers and the capture of the rebel leader in Corea by the Chinese admiral that war was prevented. The attack by the mob on the Japanese legation in Corea had been for some time preceded by a very sore feeling on the part of the Japanese against the Chinese authorities for the supposed interference of the latter in certain territories with which treaties had been negotiated. The Loochoo difficulty added fuel to the fire, and China was obliged to act with the greatest caution to avoid an open rupture. The latter country, however, contrived to make herself so thoroughly mistress of the situation that Japan had to be content with what the Corean treaty, inspired by China, allotted her, and accept the apology brought to Tokio in October by the Corean envoy. In the spring, a new political association was formed in Japan, its objects being: (1) To uphold the dignity and prosperity of the Imperial House and the welfare of the Japanese people; (2) To extend the power of the empire by the development of the national resources; (3) To encourage local government, and check the inclination

towards centralisation ; (4) To regulate the right to vote at elections in proportion to the progress of the people ; (5) To restrain participation in foreign intercourse and devote as much attention as possible to domestic affairs ; and (6) to abolish the irredeemable paper currency. Internally and commercially Japan has made little progress during the year. The finances are weaker, and the state of trade is far from satisfactory. Her financial embarrassment is no doubt due to the issue thirteen years ago for war purposes of inconvertible paper money ; the plan succeeded for the emergency, but it was suicidal to repeat the issue merely for purposes of convenience, and during the year the paper money has been quoted at less than half its nominal value. To seek a way out of their difficulty the Japanese have been clamouring to raise the import duties ; if they do, they will find the remedy worse than the disease. On the other hand, the establishment of a new Penal Code and the assimilation of the Procedure of the Courts of Justice with that of the European powers, indicate good and substantial work. The country is also feeling its way towards the promised constitution, in which the people are to have a voice in the government, and steps have been taken to investigate the subjects of agriculture, commerce, and manufacture. Cholera visited the country during the summer, but not so badly as on the previous occasion ; still, in August, 572 persons out of 775 attacked died in 20 days at Yokohama, and at Tokio over 60 per cent. of the cases were fatal.

In Hong Kong it is said that Chinese institutions have greatly increased during the year, and their worst features have been developed. After great delay, supplies have been voted for public works, and it was decided to carry out the Tytane Water Scheme, and carefully examine into the sanitary condition of the colony. The question of education and the condition of the so-called slaves have also been attended to, and the revenue has continued to increase satisfactorily. In the Straits Settlements there has been as usual a good deal of legislation, and beneficial measures have been passed for dealing with secret societies and for strengthening the police force ; the question of coolie labour has also received attention, and local public works have been vigorously carried on, the reclamation at Singapore having made great progress. The trade of the colony has flourished, the revenue has again advanced, and may be favourably compared with that of the preceding years ; the census was taken early in the year, and shows a large increase in the population, and telegraphic communication has been opened between Singapore and Malacca. Great excitement was caused in the colony by the ill-treatment of some British engineers on board the "Leon XIII," and the imprisonment of the captain for contempt of court. Diplomatic correspondence followed, and the question is still unsettled. In Borneo the formation and starting of the British North Borneo Company is the most important event that has

happened in the Far East for a long time. Their intention is to farm out the right to sell spirits, opium, or other commodities, as at Hong Kong and Singapore. They do not seek any monopoly of trade, and, subject to customs dues, the interchange of goods between natives and foreigners will be free to all. No slavery will be permitted, native religion and property will be respected, and domestic institutions will be regulated by native laws and customs. The resources of the island, hitherto untouched, appear to be unlimited in extent and variety, and, apart from its political bearings, it is expected that the company as a commercial speculation will prove a great success. In Dutch Borneo there is nothing to chronicle, but the Dyaks have given a little trouble. The Dutch have had their resources taxed to retain their position in Acheen, and the conquest of that country is as far off as ever. A company of Dutch capitalists has been formed to open up for trade the Bachan group of the Moluccas, and considerable success is reported. In the Philippine Islands the abolition of the tobacco monopoly and the change in the Government policy were in good working order. Manila was visited by such disastrous typhoons and earthquakes that the city was almost destroyed, and the misery that followed was so great that an appeal for help had to be made to the Home Government. The country also lost many thousand persons through a visitation of cholera. Expeditions were made to Sooloo, and the rebellion of the Moros and Mindoros quelled. In Siam so much advance has been made with the telegraph survey that communication with India and the Straits Settlements may soon be looked for. Grand festivities were held at Bangkok to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the city and the accession of the present dynasty.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA.

I. SOUTH AFRICA.

Cape Colony (including *Basutoland*).—At the beginning of 1882 it was understood that the Cape Government would make some definite proposals to the Imperial Government with reference to the restoration of law and order in Basutoland. Of the Ministerial policy nothing transpired, but Colonial feeling must have been greatly roused to draw from the *Argus*—"If Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kimberley will neither take measures themselves for making the authority of the Crown respected, nor stand aside while the Colonial Government fulfils the hateful necessity of doing what may have to be done, it will be time seriously to consider the

question of the relations of the colony with the mother-country." On this "if" the Basuto question has hung all through 1882. Early in February, the Home Government and the Cape Ministry agreed to tell the Basutos they must comply with the Governor's award, or the Geething district would be occupied and disposed of to loyal Basutos and Europeans, whilst the rest of the territory, except the position at Maseru, which would be strongly garrisoned, would be abandoned. A few days later, Lord Kimberley assented to the proposal that the Basuto award, unless complied with, should be cancelled, leaving the Government free to enforce order and confiscate the territory. The Ministry then fixed March 15 as the last day for compliance with the award. The effect of Lord Kimberley's assent to the confiscation and ultimatum of the Cape Government was to reunite the Basutos as one tribe, and they said, "We will die with the country." Masupha held a grand 'pitso' at which, in accordance with custom prior to the declaration of war, a bull was offered up as a sacrifice, and his warriors were decorated. The colony was certainly not in a condition to carry on a war, for the Cape Mounted Rifles, though nearly up to their full strength, were weakened by sickness, the Yeomanry had been disbanded, the new Infantry existed only on paper, and the Volunteers were discouraged by their former experiences. There was practically no Government in the country, and at any moment Masupha, or any other rebel chief, might attack the magistracies, which were entirely unprotected for such an emergency. Letsea, who in January had by arrangement with Masupha occupied the famous stronghold Thaba Bosigo, was as powerless as the Resident to enforce order. The Loyals were still without the compensation promised them by the Governor's award. Bereng, a son of Letsea, had declared that if the colonial troops moved forward he would attack Maseru, whilst Morna and other chiefs were authorising and supporting the establishment of canteens in their villages, a proceeding wholly contrary to law. Matters had therefore reached a critical stage when the Cape Parliament met on March 17, on purpose to consider the state of things in Basutoland. Public opinion rather favoured its abandonment, after providing fitting ground for that portion of the tribe which had continued loyal during the rebellion. The Ministry submitted to Parliament a policy that aimed at the gradual restoration of law and order. It condemned, on the one hand, such a dangerous step as the abandonment of colonial territory to successful rebels, and, on the other, abstained from pledging the resources of the Colony to a conflict on a large scale with uncivilised tribes. In the meantime, the Resident in Basutoland was endeavouring to induce the rebel chiefs to make some show of submission by altering the ultimatum, and the Basutos applied for an extension of time to consider it. On March 28, the Premier made an important statement in Parliament. He said three courses lay before them: the total repeal of the Annexation Act, a war of subjugation, and the course

which the Government recommended, viz. further patience and a steady persistence in the task of trying to restore order. He condemned abandonment as certain to lead to a long and bloody struggle, and as most unfair to the Free State out of whose hands the Basutos had been taken when they were virtually subjugated; but if the choice lay between abandonment and war, he would elect for war as the lesser evil. Several angry discussions followed, but the Government commanded large majorities, and the new policy of the Government worked peacefully, the bulk of the chiefs and people accepting the proposals of the Ministry and paying the hut-tax; Masupha and Ramaneka were the only important chiefs who held out by refusing to pay it. Difficulties, however, threatened from another quarter. In the Legislative Council a resolution was adopted the first week in May, by 14 votes to 6, advocating the abandonment of Basutoland by the Cape Government, and calling upon the Imperial Government to resume the responsibility of the administration of that country. To this Lord Kimberley replied that, under no circumstances could the Imperial Government relieve the Cape Government of its responsibilities in Basutoland, and for a time the matter dropped. Parliament was prorogued on July 1. In the House of Assembly a resolution had been unanimously voted, earlier in the session, authorising the use of the Dutch language in the debates of the House. The second reading of the Excise Act Amendment Bill was, after a warm debate, carried against the Government by 29 votes to 21, and shortly after passed through Committee. The Postal Bill, providing for the ultimate adoption of the penny postage all over the Colony, was also passed. Measures were introduced into Parliament in June to authorise the payment of 150,000*l.* to the Imperial Government, being the balance of the war expenditure in 1878, and also the further loan of 309,000*l.* for the construction of telegraph works. The supplementary estimates provided for a sum of 10,000*l.* for the support of Civil Government in Basutoland while taxes were not collected. The cost of Colonial Defence was set down for the financial year, commencing on July 1, at 246,487*l.*, and for this there was an army on paper of about 1,800 men, of which 600 were natives. General Gordon, better known as "Chinese Gordon," had assumed command of the Colonial forces on July 1, and he had issued a report on the Colonial forces in South Africa, which gave general satisfaction, though it contained some unpalatable truths. He recommended the formation of a native militia, with blockhouses garrisoned by Europeans, pronounced the field-artillery valueless, and deprecated too much red tape and pipeclay. His opinion on the Basuto question was that the limits of the native locations should be then and for ever fixed by legal deeds, and that all who encroached upon the borders of the tribes should be legally proceeded against. He thought this would make the natives quiet and contented. In August, a strong feeling was said to be gaining ground in Basutoland against Masupha. Two of his sons had been

expelled from Safonias village, and many chiefs were going about among the people and inducing them to pay the hut-tax. This tax was coming in freely, particularly in Maseru, where 150*l.* had been collected in one day—but little was collected except from Letsea's people. The President next tried to divide the camps of Letsea and Masupha; for the power of the latter was certainly not yet broken. In September, the Secretary for Native Affairs and General Gordon visited Basutoland, in the hope of settling existing troubles with the natives and the white squatters. One thousand armed Basutos met and escorted them, and they had an interview with several chiefs who professed an ardent desire for peace and disgust at Masupha's conduct. It was decided a little later that the Tembuland country, from Indive Drift to Tsomo Drift and thence to Maclear, should be settled with European farmers; it was to be surveyed into farms, and sold by public auction as soon as possible. The Secretary for Native Affairs and General Gordon next had an interview with Masupha; but he would make no offer of submission, and declared he would not be satisfied with any settlement which did not give him independence. Whilst negotiations were going on, and General Gordon was urging Masupha to pay the hut-tax and submit to the authority of the Government, news arrived that an expedition under Lerothodi was on its way to attack Masupha. The latter was so enraged at the tidings that he immediately broke off negotiations, and General Gordon was so displeased at such a step being taken at a moment when he thought his efforts might prove successful, that he tendered his resignation to the Cape Government, which was accepted with unseemly haste, and he forthwith started for England. The loss to the Colony of a man like Gordon, at such a critical time, was most serious, and indicated a want of justice and wisdom on the part of the authorities that betrayed either weakness or division. After Gordon's departure, Masupha became more arrogant than ever, and boasted that he had sufficient men to fight the English. He also refused to attend Letsea's summons to a 'pitso,' and said he would call one himself. The expedition which started under Lerothodi had dispersed, Masupha having declared that the action of the Government in having ordered it was contrary to General Gordon's assurance that force should not be employed. Matters continued in this unsettled, unsatisfactory state up to the close of the year. The Premier and the Secretary for Native Affairs returned from their mission to Basutoland on November 24, without having effected any important results. Early in December there was great excitement in Basutoland, in consequence of the flight of Joel Molappo into the Free State with some thousands of his followers and a quantity of cattle. This was in consequence of the failure of an attack he had made on his brother, Jonathan Molappo, who defeated him with great slaughter, and burnt his kraal. The outbreak was attributed to the influence of Masupha.

Cetywayo landed at Cape Town on September 25, on his return

from England, and was received by the assembled bystanders in silence. He remained at Oude Molen until the arrangements for his restoration to Zululand could be completed. The uncertainty about Basutoland and the measures taken to prevent the spread of small-pox, with which the Colony was terribly smitten during the year, combined to make trade dull at Capetown, and there was a large falling-off in Customs receipts. The revenue of 1881–2 reached 3,492,396*l.*, or 524,196*l.* beyond the estimate, the actual surplus being 262,407*l.*, which had been applied to the reduction of war expenditure. The revenue for 1882–3 was estimated at 3,572,110*l.* and the expenditure at 3,530,188*l.* No change in taxation was proposed, but the Premier stated that, if the revenue increased in the same ratio as last year, he would suggest some remission. Parliament was in due course prorogued to February 7, but subsequently summoned to meet on January 19, to consider the position in Basutoland.

Natal.—In Natal, as throughout South Africa generally, the year was uneventful, though two serious questions caused constant anxiety and apprehension—the establishment of a responsible Government and the restoration of Cetywayo to Zululand. In December 1881, a Select Committee of the Legislative Council had reported in favour of the establishment of a responsible government, pointing out that this colony was the only portion of South Africa to which powers of self-government had not been conceded, that a freer form of government would relieve the Crown from liabilities, secure greater legislative power, and free a loyal community from the consciousness of political inferiority. In a despatch from Lord Kimberley to the Colonial Government, he stated that, if responsible government were established in Natal, Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared to continue to station imperial troops in the Colony as a permanent garrison, either for the maintenance of internal order or for the defence of the frontiers. One great danger of such a step would be the placing of a native population of 400,000 under the sole control of a body of European settlers, numbering not much more than 20,000; whilst the presence of a large and warlike population of the same race on the northern border would be an additional risk. At the beginning of the year, Sir Henry Bulwer, then in England, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Natal, and also Special Commissioner for Zulu affairs. He landed at Durban on March 4, and went on to Maritzburg, meeting with a hearty reception at both places. Colonel Mitchell, who had been acting as Administrator with great tact and energy in his absence, was commissioned to take his place in the event of his death, absence, or incapacity. On February 23, the Legislature summoned a special session to consider the tenders for the railway extension to Ladysmith. The nature of these tenders had caused a suspicion that a ring was being formed in London to the prejudice of Colonial interests, and a strong feeling prevailed in

favour of departmental action. The tender of Mr. J. Percy, of London, was eventually accepted; but if no contract with him were completed, the Crown agents were empowered to contract with one of two other firms, and a bonus was offered on the speedy construction of the railway. As soon as this matter was settled, the Legislative Council was prorogued, and a fortnight later it was unexpectedly dissolved. Much excitement prevailed in Durban in view of the general election, and political feeling ran high. Lord Kimberley's statement that the Colony must be responsible for its defence from external as well as from internal dangers, created natural anxiety in view of the disturbed state of Zululand, the possible restoration of Cetywayo, and the effect upon the native mind of the imperial policy in the Transvaal. Nevertheless the Ministry felt prepared to undertake the government and defence the Colony itself, provided proper guarantees and concessions as regards Zululand were given. The elections, however, resulted in a majority hostile to Lord Kimberley's offer, only three out of the fifteen members returned having been in favour of its acceptance. When the Council met in June, the Treasurer's statement showed that the financial condition of the Colony was most satisfactory. Resolutions were passed, declining to accept the burden of responsibility offered by Lord Kimberley, but expressing its willingness to make such suggestions for constitutional reform as would satisfy him and secure the safe government of the Colony. Considerable feeling was shown about Cetywayo's proposed visit to England, and the Legislative Council passed a resolution to the effect that no restoration of Cetywayo could be accomplished with safety to Natal, or with advantage to the Zulu people, unless preceded by measures providing for the future government of the Natal native population and for the permanent influence of the Queen's Government in domestic affairs in Zululand. Later on, the Speaker having ruled that the Council could not reconsider the question of Cetywayo's restoration, a great and influential outdoor meeting was held on August 6, to record its solemn protest against it, feeling assured that such a step would be "fraught with imminent peril and disastrous consequences to this Colony," and pledging itself to continued resistance to the return of the ex-king. An amendment was made, but only secured twenty-two supporters, and the original motion was carried amid unbounded enthusiasm. A report that the English Government intended to restore Cetywayo caused general consternation at such a reckless disregard of the welfare of the Colony, and at an act which was generally regarded as a certain prelude to war. The Council was prorogued on August 25. Two Constitutional Reform Bills had been passed, providing ten new members and establishing a lodger franchise. The agitation about Cetywayo's restoration continued, and numerous petitions against it to the Secretary of State were signed. John Dunn came to Durban early in September, and tasted his belief that the restoration was a monstrous injustice,

and would have disastrous consequences, besides destroying the last shred of native respect for the English Government. The Stanger Rifles, a Volunteer Border Corps which did good service during the war, was so put out at the prospect that it disbanded itself. In October, Sir Henry Bulwer went to the border on an official tour, and had an important interview with Zulu chiefs at Rorke's Drift, which, however, resulted in nothing. In December, Colonel Mitchell, the Colonial Secretary, started for India, to inquire into the arrangements for supplying Natal with coolies. The close of the year found the Colony in a great state of disquietude about Cetywayo's restoration to Zululand, which had been decided on by the Home Government, and which was engaging everybody's thoughts. The ex-king, who was at Capetown, was to be conveyed to his territory in a British man-of-war at the beginning of the year 1883. The people of Natal were so indignant at the prospect of his return, that the authorities decided he should not disembark at Durban and move across the Tugela into Zululand (the direct route), but should be transported by sea to Port Durnford and landed there. An escort of cavalry and infantry, detailed from the regiments in Natal to await him at Port Durnford and accompany him to Ulundi, would add a certain amount of dignity to his restoration, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone would, for the second time, give his assistance at the coronation of the Zulu king. Just as the year was ending, Vijn, Cetywayo's Dutchman, returned from a trip through the Zulu country. He stated that the Zulus now had a proverb to the effect that the English were liars, and he thought there would be war again before the year was out—as soon, in fact, as Cetywayo felt secure. It was reported that guns and powder were being landed in large quantities from Delagoa Bay, and that the Zulus, in view of eventualities, were buying largely.

Zululand.—As the year opened, North Zululand was in a far from tranquil state, and an outbreak seemed imminent. There being no hand to restrain the lesser chiefs and no British authority visible, misgovernment was conspicuous everywhere, and Dunnsland was the only territory well ruled, trade, industry, and missionary work steadily progressing in this district. Mnyaman and his people were still troublesome and truculent, but the other chiefs appeared anxious to follow Dunn's example, but were prevented by circumstances from doing so. The people too were willing to work well if properly encouraged, and the remedy therefore seemed to lay in the appointment of some central administrator. The Zulus in Dunnsland having been told that the majority of white men wanted Cetywayo back again, expressed a corresponding desire; but others thought that if he returned without conditions endless bloodshed would follow in the settlement of old scores, whilst if he returned with conditions a military occupation would ensue. In February there was some fighting between Oham's people and the Magulisini, brought about, it was thought, by intrigues of the Boers on the border; but during this month, and

for some time longer, the country remained in an unsatisfactory state, and was expected to continue so until the uncertainty as to Cetywayo's return was set at rest. In May anxiety began to be felt as to the progress of events in Dunn's district, the subordinate chiefs having resolved to get rid of him, peaceably or otherwise. When he summoned them to assemble they refused, but named a day when they were going to meet the British Resident, and told him to be present if he had anything to say to them. About this time, too, the announcement that the British Government had decided to postpone Cetywayo's visit to England did not improve matters. Such action only served to mystify the Zulus, the Kaffirs, and the Colonists, for they had not forgotten how Sir Garnet Wolseley's assertion, in the name of England, that the Transvaal should never be given up, had been deliberately set aside, or how his "settlement" of Zululand had been allowed to be unsettled. In June the prospect brightened somewhat, especially in Dunn's land, and it was generally hoped that the Governor's firmness and tact, aided by the British Resident's discretion and Dunn's experience, might succeed in keeping matters quiet. In July the aspect had again changed. Undabuka had attacked Oham, destroyed two of his kraals and all the men in them, and put him to flight. Dunn's people were deserting him, and the excuse given by the Zulus for the outbreak was that he had appropriated to his own use taxes collected in the name of the Queen. The news of Cetywayo's departure for England had also upset them, for they now regarded his restoration as a certainty, and a large majority were against this. In August a guerilla warfare began between the Usuto party and the chiefs Dunn, Oham, and Usibebu. The two latter, at an interview later on with Sir Henry Bulwer at Rorke's Drift, declined to acquiesce in Cetywayo's return. On December 11, Cetywayo signed the conditions for the resettlement of Zululand at Government House, Cape Town, and he was to start for Zululand at the beginning of 1883. He complained bitterly of the conditions of his restoration, which he was compelled to sign without being allowed to discuss. At a large meeting of the Zulu chiefs and people, at the Resident's place, the terms announced were as follows:—The deposition of all the chiefs but Usibebu, he remaining in the same position as before, but exchanging a portion of his territory with Umgojama; all Zululand south of the Umhlatusi to become reserved native territory under a commissioner; each headman to rule his own tribe, with an appeal to the commissioner; Dunn and Hlubi to receive tracts of country large enough to provide for their immediate followers, over whom they will rule as headmen; all the remainder of Zululand to be governed by Cetywayo. Nearly 1,000 of Dunn's men attended this meeting and gave free vent to their surprise and disgust at these terms, and to the satisfaction which they felt with Dunn's rule. The meeting separated quietly, but the Zulus were more bewildered than ever by the action of the British

Government, and it seemed clear that most persons regarded the restoration as a huge blunder, based on the mistaken belief that the Zulu people wanted Cetywayo not only released but restored. His military escort reached the Tugela on December 29, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone met it there, crossing the river on the 31st. The escort, consisting of one squadron of dragoons, two companies of mounted infantry, and two companies of infantry, then moved to Ekowe, where the main body would await the king's arrival from Port Durnford.

Transvaal.—Affairs were going on smoothly as the year opened, but petitions in favour of the abolition of the new import taxes and of the High Court, with the return to the old system of Landdrost's courts, were being numerously signed. The attention of the Transvaal Government was engrossed by the construction of a railway between Pretoria and the Lebombo Mountains, the company asking for the concession of import duties equal to those levied in Natal, and the right of charging 10s. per cwt. for the whole distance, Portugal to complete the line to Delagoa Bay. On January 22, a force of 300 Boers and 600 natives with three guns crossed the convention boundary of the Transvaal and attacked Montsima, but were defeated. Fighting was resumed, and continued on and off until the 31st. The Boers were again beaten on February 21 and 25, by Montsima, one day losing all their cattle, and the other falling into an ambuscade. In March, Taouns, Mankoran's head-quarters, was attacked on three separate occasions by Boers, Korannas, and Batlapins, but the attack was repulsed, the Boer commandant and the Batlapin chief being killed. In April affairs had quieted down again, and the native disturbances appeared to have subsided. In May the Triumvirate opened the Volksraad with a speech in which it was stated that affairs within the borders were satisfactory, likewise the relations between the Government and the British Resident. A little later sanction was given for the construction of the railway to Delagoa Bay. The Queen's birthday was observed in Pretoria as a general holiday, a royal salute was fired at noon, and an address was presented by Mr. Kruger to the British Resident containing expressions of loyalty to Her Majesty, and alluding especially to her recent escape from assassination at Windsor. During the summer a concession was granted to a Mr. Nellmapius for the manufacture of iron and steel in the Transvaal, and for twenty years all imported iron would be taxed at 2*d.* per pound. A similar concession was granted a little later to a Mr. Mears for woollen manufactures, who was to pay for it 100*l.* per annum for twenty-one years, and the Government bound itself to levy an import duty of 20 per cent. on all woollen goods. The public accounts since August 1881 show a cash balance in the Treasury of more than 20,000*l.* at the end of June, after paying off several extraordinary items. There was a considerable influx of gold-diggers during the summer, and a Government Commission, in-

including Mr. Joubert and Mr. Pretorius, went there to make a report. In the Volksraad the Financial Committee framed charges amounting to 176,757*l.* against the British Government, and a resolution was passed requesting the latter to deduct this sum from the 265,000*l.* which, according to the Convention, was due from the Transvaal. Early in August peace was concluded on the Transvaal and Griqualand West borders between Mankaroano, Mansioa, and Gasibone, by which the independence of each chief was to be secured, a Boundary Commission appointed, and grants of land made to about 500 white freebooters, any disputes between those chiefs and their subjects to be submitted for arbitration to the President of the Transvaal and his decision to be final, and lastly, no interference from any other Government to be permitted. The British Resident was, however, informed by the Imperial Government that they could not recognise the right of freebooters to set up a government of their own on the Transvaal borders, nor allow that state to annex the territory granted them by Mansioa. On August 13, Secocoeni, who was vanquished and subdued by Sir Garnet Wolseley and restored by the Boers, was killed, with his son and fourteen followers, by Mampoor, the chief put in his place by the English Government. Mapoch then openly defied the Transvaal Government, and a force of 2,000 men was organised to proceed against him. Early in November two engagements took place between the Boers and Mapoch, resulting in the defeat of the former with a loss of 300 men on the first occasion, and such losses on the second that they had to retire to the laager. Later on, however, they were more successful, making free use of dynamite to blow up the caves of the natives, and killing a great number. Mampoor still held out, but on November 30, the Boers attacked and captured a Kaffir stronghold, inflicting great losses on the natives. The Cape Government had recently lent the Transvaal Government two heavy guns and ammunition to help in the subjugation of Mampoor. As the year closed measures were being taken on a large scale to surround him in Mapoch's stronghold where he was then at bay, cut off all his supplies, and force him to submit. A strong feeling was reported to be gaining ground among the Swazies against the Boers, and it was feared a formidable native combination would have to be crushed before peace could be restored. A statement of the revenue and expenditure for the first three quarters of 1882 was published in December by the Transvaal Government, according to which the revenue from import duties, transfer dues, and licences was considerably in excess of the estimates, but there was a deficiency of 53,415*l.* in the receipts of the hut tax. The Treasurer had a balance in hand of 15,808*l.* The discovery of gold in the Transvaal caused great excitement throughout South Africa during the year, and great rushes were made from all parts to the gold-fields.

II. EGYPT.

Of all foreign countries Egypt was destined throughout 1882 to attract the most attention. When the year opened the Egyptian Chamber of Delegates called together by Cherif Pasha's Ministry had just assembled; and it still remained to be seen whether the military revolt of the previous September was either the outcome or the starting-point of a national movement, or merely a display of Arabi's ambitious restlessness and vanity. Whatever his motives may have been, Arabi promptly showed that he was not disposed to play an insignificant part. Returning suddenly from Ouady, whither after the revolt he had withdrawn with his regiment, Arabi in the first week of the new year found himself appointed Under-Secretary of War in the Ministry of the statesman whose policy he had hitherto done his utmost to upset. His advent to office corresponded with the appearance in the *Times* of a manifesto, which though denounced as apocryphal at the time, was subsequently recognised as expressing Arabi's views on the condition of Egypt. In this document it was insisted that for the time the army represented the people, and that it was trusted by the people; that Egypt was sick of the European Control, and of its highly-paid and often incompetent officials; and that Europeans should be replaced by Egyptians, even were it deemed expedient to carry out the financial policy inaugurated by the Control. The cry was raised "Egypt for the Egyptians!" and politicians at once began to speculate whether Arabi Bey was acting for himself alone, or as the secret agent of either the Sultan or of the Khedive. The British and French Governments, representing by European sanction the Condominium at Cairo, at once addressed to the Khedive an Identical Note, in which they expressed their determination "to ward off by their united efforts all causes of external or internal complications, which might menace the *régime* established in Egypt"—in other words, they declared their intention to uphold the Joint Control, established alike for the good of Egypt, the peace of Europe, and the benefit of the bondholders. The challenge thus thrown down was at once accepted by the Chamber of Notables, which forthwith (January 18) claimed the right of regulating the National Budget. To this pretension the Controllers at once demurred; but the Notables found themselves supported, not indeed by an open manifestation of popular feeling, but by the strongly-expressed approbation of the Sultan, who, claiming Egypt as an integral part of his possessions, resented the interference of European Powers in her internal affairs. Cherif Pasha in vain attempted to find a middle way of conciliation, by offering to increase the numbers and pay of the army; the Notables would be content with nothing short of the virtual abrogation of the arrangement of 1879, by which the

Anglo-French Control had been constituted. A deadlock ensued, and Cherif Pasha found it expedient to resign. The Khedive, however, shrunk from his obvious duty of forming a fresh Administration, leaving it to the Chamber to make its own selection. This after some delay was effected, and under the nominal Presidency of Mahmoud Pasha Samy, Arabi Bey was advanced to the post of War Minister, having for his colleagues Ali Sadek Pasha (Finance), Mahmoud Bey Fehmi (Public Works), Mustapha Pasha Fehmy (Foreign Affairs), and others of less note. The Administration, however, was not formed without difficulty. Ismail Ayoub Pasha, who had been originally designated as Finance Minister, suddenly refused to join the Cabinet, stating to his proposed colleagues that the Controllers had threatened to quit the country, accompanied by the Consuls, should the Ministry be formed. On this Arabi Bey had said that under these circumstances there was nothing to be done but to prepare for immediate defence. A Finance Minister was, subsequently, found in Ali Pasha Sadyh, who as Native Administrator of the Railways had given proof of considerable aptitude for business. The President of the Council, on assuming office, at once assured the English Controller, Sir Edward Malet, that the new Government would faithfully observe all international obligations. To the Assembly of Notables the President spoke in a different tone, promising measures which would subject Ministerial responsibility to the votes of the majority. To check this rising spirit of independence or revolt, M. Gambetta was ready to take summary measures, and urged upon Lord Granville the need of immediate intervention to prevent anarchy. Whilst the English Government still hesitated to stifle a national movement, a change of Ministry in France placed M. de Freycinet at the head of affairs. His policy was wholly opposed to that of his predecessor, and the Egyptian Notables were at once led to believe that a divergence of views would ensue between the two Powers exercising the Control which could not be otherwise than favourable to the development of their scheme. Arabi Bey, supported, as was asserted, from Constantinople, was the master of the situation, and although he hesitated to take decided action, it was clear that both the Khedive and his colleagues in the Ministry were powerless to act in opposition to his designs. Under his advice, therefore, the Chamber continued to discuss the measures which transferred to the Ministry and Parliament the right of settling the Budget, which had hitherto been framed in conformity with the views of the Controllers. These officers strongly protested to their respective Governments and to the Khedive against the fundamental change in their position. The measures under discussion by the Notables would, if passed, the Controllers affirmed, seriously prejudice the interests of France and England, and would reduce to a minimum the influence of their representatives at the Council Board. These views were substantially adopted by their respective Governments and embodied in a joint note, which was addressed to the Khedive; but

no further action was taken, and for a time Egyptian affairs, outwardly at least, moved peaceably, an Anglo-French note to the Porte, couched in conciliatory terms, having assured the Sultan that his sovereignty over Egypt would not be questioned or limited. On March 12 M. de Blignières resigned his post; but not before he had, in conjunction with Sir A. Colvin, showed how a surplus of 600,000*l.* had been obtained in the past year, and how the proposals of the Chamber would, if adopted, result in a deficit, and the consequent interruption of the scheme of liquidation.

The terms upon which the truce between the Khedive and his powerful Minister had been arranged were soon declared, throwing some light upon the part taken by the authorities at Constantinople. Arabi Bey was created a Pasha (March 15); seventeen of the principal officers who had supported him were promoted to colonelcies, and the Bedouins on whom he leaned were confirmed in all their privileges. At the same time an outcry against European officials was raised by the Egyptian press, and the Khedive was forced to receive deputations representing the general discontent of the country with those who, under the pretence of administering its resources, were chiefly concerned in providing large salaries for themselves.¹

The customary outcome of a military revolt, however, was not slow in manifesting itself. The system of allowing the War Minister to govern through a nominally responsible Cabinet lasted scarcely a month. On April 11 a plot, real or fictitious, to murder Arabi was discovered, and the instigators were declared to be certain Circassian officers whose claims had not been adequately recognised. In the wholesale promotions of the preceding month, soldiers of this nationality who had hitherto held a prominent place in the Egyptian army were passed over and the Arab officers brought to the front. These Circassians, about forty in all, of whom the chief was Osman Riftei, ex-Minister of War, conceived the idea of upsetting both Arabi and Tewfik, proclaiming Ismail Khedive in the place of the latter, and getting rid of Arabi by the most summary method. The plot was, however, betrayed on the eve of its accomplishment; thirty-one Circassian officers were arrested, thrown into prison, and tried by a secret court-martial. Arabi, who had good reasons for suspecting that his rival, Cherif Pasha, had more or less instigated the revolt, was anxious to make an example of the ringleaders, and to show by some striking act

¹ There was undoubtedly a *primâ facie* cause for this discontent, inasmuch as the number of Europeans holding appointments in Egypt had risen from one Frenchman employed in 1835, to 1,324 employés of various nationalities, receiving no less than 373,704*l.* per annum in 1882. The effect of Mr. Cookson's return, furnishing these results, was such that the English Foreign Office found it advisable to extenuate the anomalies it exposed, by showing, by fuller statistics, that the foreigners in the Egyptian service formed but a very small percentage of the total number of public servants employed by that Government. According to this revised estimate, the salaries paid to European officials did not amount to 16 per cent. of the total cost of administration, whilst in point of numbers there were ninety-eight natives employed by the State to every two Europeans.

that the Egyptian Government was determined at any cost to emancipate itself from foreign tutelage—European and Circassian. The Courts, however, took a more lenient view of the conduct of the rebellious officers, whilst regarding Ismail Pasha and his agent Rahib Pasha as the prime movers in the plot. Tewfik was therefore advised to discontinue the payment of the ex-Khedive's Civil List, and to condemn the Circassians to degradation and exile for life. To these sentences the Khedive refused, on the advice of Sir Edward Malet, to append his signature, on the ground that the trial had been held in secret. After considerable delay, the Khedive decided to commute the sentences, and to place the inculpated officers on half-pay. The struggle between the Khedive and his Ministry, in which Arabi and Mahmoud Baroudi were the only important elements, rapidly became acute. The latter, as President of the Council, insisted that the decree should be changed and that the prisoners should be struck off the rolls of the Army. On the Khedive's refusal, Mahmoud Baroudi spoke disparagingly of any assistance he could receive from the foreign representatives, and remarked that if he persisted in his refusal there would be a general massacre of foreigners. These threats were, however, denied by the President of the Council when called upon for an explanation by French and English Consuls. A fresh proof of the small esteem in which the Khedive was held by his Ministers was soon given. On May 10 the President of the Council convoked the Chamber of Notables without even consulting the Khedive, and notified that until its assembling no further communication would be held with the nominal ruler of the country. The Foreign Consuls were at the same time informed that the safety of Europeans would be guaranteed, and in view of the intimation that France and England had ordered the immediate departure of two ironclads for Alexandria, the Egyptian Ministry declared that their guarantee would hold good in the event of an intervention by the Porte alone.

The Chamber having met and considered the matter in dispute between the Khedive and his Ministry, begged the former to accept the resignation of the Prime Minister. The proposed substitution of Moustapha Pasha Fehmi was not however found feasible; the excuse being that any change in the Ministry was impossible so long as the military power remained in Arabi's hands. The news of the expected arrival of the Anglo-French fleet in the harbour of Alexandria gave a different aspect to the crisis, followed as it was by the declaration that the Governments of England and France reserved to themselves the right to employ such other means as they might deem necessary to make order respected and to maintain the authority of the Khedive.

Meanwhile the episode of the Circassian plot had suggested to the Egyptian Government the advisability of coming to terms with the Bedouins. The Chamber of Notables, probably under the influence of the Government, had endeavoured to impose upon these

nomads certain restrictions, from which since the reign of Mehemet Ali they had been exempt. This menace of their independence had brought about a general assembly of the Bedouin Sheikhs at Tantah (April 8), and a second at Belbeis (April 26), on which latter occasion the overtures of the Egyptian Government were received and discussed. A promise to respect all their ancient privileges having been obtained, a deputation of Sheikhs was sent to Cairo, where they were received by Arabi Pasha, and assured by him, on oath, that his sole objects were the defence of Islam and the good of the country.

On May 15 the sailing of the combined fleets from Suda was telegraphed, and in the evening of the same day the Ministers presented themselves before the Khedive at the Ismailiah Palace and made a complete submission. The French and English Consuls, on their side, were not slow in making use of the position then obtained. They urged their respective Governments to be permitted to obtain from the Khedive a decree proclaiming a general amnesty, whilst at the same time they should ask the President of the Council, the Minister of War, and three military pashas—Toulbeh, Abdul Al, and Ali Fehmy—to quit Egypt for a year. Arabi at first declined either to resign office or to leave Egypt, believing, in common with the majority of the country, that the two Western Powers would despatch no troops, and that the opposition of France rendered a Turkish intervention impossible. After a few days' interval, the Ministers in a body tendered their resignations (May 26), alleging that the Khedive in accepting the conditions proposed by France and England had acquiesced in foreign interference, in violation of the firmans. Tewfik, without hesitation, accepted their resignation, stating that the relations between himself and the Sultan were for him to arrange. This bold step was followed by an unsuccessful attempt to induce Cherif Pasha to form a new administration; the Khedive then summoned to his palace the chief personages of the State, of the Chamber, and of the Merchants, together with the fifteen superior officers of the Cairo garrison, and laid before them the situation. He had, however, made but little progress, when General Toulbeh Pasha interrupted the Khedive, stating that the army absolutely rejected the joint note, and awaited the decision of the Porte, which was the only authority they recognised. On the following day (May 27) Arabi attempted a counter-demonstration, in which, although the proposed deposition of the Khedive was discussed and negatived, it was unanimously agreed that the Khedive should by decree reinstate Arabi as Minister of War, failing which the former's life would not, it was said, be safe.

At Alexandria the presence of the allied fleet seemed to have produced a sense rather of anxiety than of confidence. The Egyptian troops at once began throwing up batteries and earth-works. Within the city the feeling against the Europeans grew stronger every day. On May 30 Mr. Cookson, who was then at

Alexandria, addressed to Lord Granville a significant warning, signed by the principal merchants. "During twenty-four hours," he wrote, "from the 26th to the 27th inst., the town was in continual danger of being stormed by the soldiery, who actually had cartridges served out, in response to their demand, to be used against Europeans. The crisis is only suspended, but all elements of danger which existed yesterday remain to-day. . . . The small squadron in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptian forts, and when these forts are disabled then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat. . . . Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiers and their growing defiance of discipline." Neither the Viceroy nor his English adviser could any longer hold to the belief that there remained in Egypt an authority on which reliance could be placed, and very reluctantly the latter was brought to admit that the presence of a Turkish commissioner, urged strongly by Tewfik, might have a pacifying effect. The Toulbeh Ministry had indeed formally resigned, but no one was willing to step into the vacant places, so that it was not surprising to find a memorial presented to the Khedive, got up in the name of the principal inhabitants of Cairo, praying for the reinstatement of Arabi and his colleagues. The reason given for this complete surrender was the desire to save the capital from an insurrection, and the European inhabitants from a massacre, which was openly threatened in the event of Arabi being dismissed.

From this moment Arabi, although only nominally War Minister, was practically sole dictator. Gifted apparently with powers of business beyond the average of Egyptians, endowed with a rapid sympathy, with an insight into their hopes and aspirations, he speedily showed his intention of vindicating for his countrymen the rights of self-government which he had claimed for them. It is not within the scope of this summary to discuss, and still less to decide, whether Arabi was a patriot or an intriguer; but that he displayed rare administrative qualities, and some tactical power, was generally recognised. By his orders the Alexandrian forts were put in a condition of defence, and long lines and earthworks were speedily erected to cover the entrance of the harbour. Arabi, moreover, gradually drew round Alexandria the *élite* of the Egyptian army, including those regiments on whose co-operation he could rely. In spite, moreover, of repeated orders to cease, from both his ruler, Tewfik, and the English Admiral, he continued the construction of batteries round the harbour, and when Dervish Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner, reached Alexandria (June 7) the Nationalist party found itself strong enough to set at defiance the Khedive, the Sultan, and the European Consuls. Arabi, however, soon showed himself unable to hold in check the forces he had brought together. On June 11 a serious riot broke out at Alexandria under the guns of the Anglo-French fleet, the Admirals avowing

their inability to intervene. In this disturbance Mr. Cookson, the British Consul and Judge, was dragged out of his carriage and severely injured, the Greek Consul-general was attacked, and a French Consular dragoman, with at least half a dozen French subjects and as many British, were killed. The total loss of life was variously estimated at from fifty to two hundred. When the news reached Cairo the representatives of the European Powers, convinced of the helplessness of the Khedive, applied to Dervish Pasha, the Sultan's representative, to insure the security of Europeans throughout Egypt. Dervish replied that neither he nor the Khedive possessed any such power, and, being without any troops, must decline the responsibility; and ultimately it was found necessary to appeal to Arabi Pasha, although at this time, but without any proof, he was being accused throughout Europe as the instigator or cause of the Alexandria massacre. Arabi at once undertook to make the Khedive's orders respected, and to the surprise of many, Dervish Pasha assumed joint responsibility with Arabi for the execution of the Khedive's orders, and the suppression of all inflammatory preachings and writings, which had become a source of no small danger. In spite of these assurances, and the apparent understanding between the Turkish Commissioner and the rebellious Minister, a general exodus of European inhabitants took place, totally paralysing trade, and on the 13th the Khedive and Dervish removed from Cairo to Alexandria, where they were shortly followed by the consular body.

About this date the influence of England and France seemed to undergo a sudden eclipse, and the Khedive was found to be turning a willing ear to the proposals of the German and Austrian Consul-Generals. In accordance with the suggestions of these functionaries Ragheb Pasha was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry, and on June 16 presented the list to the Khedive. In this list Arabi Pasha again appeared as War Minister; and his ascendancy was, if possible, greater than it had been in the previous administration. His conduct, moreover, up to this date had been such as was compatible with the claim to enlightened patriotism which his friends, European as well as native, claimed for him. There was no direct evidence forthcoming against him of participation in any of the violent excesses at Alexandria or Cairo; and the engagements into which he had entered with the foreign Consuls had been honestly carried out. Of the Joint Control and the financial servitude of his country he was a violent opponent, and he made no secret of his belief that the first step towards Egyptian regeneration was to be found in Egyptian self-government. To emancipate his country from foreign tutelage, and its costly system of administration, he doubtless relied upon the jealousy with which the European powers regarded any encroachment by one of their body upon the highway to the East. Had his object been simply to gain time, Arabi's judgment of the situation would have been unassailable; but the general feeling of suspicion roused by the

Sultan's open patronage of Arabi, and the latter's more open defiance of France and England, once more gave to the representatives of those powers a preponderating influence in the discussion of the Egyptian question. The presence, moreover, of the Anglo-French fleet in the Bay of Alexandria was additional evidence that with both of these powers the reckoning would have to be made.

Admiral Beauchamp Seymour was nothing loth to satisfy the wishes of the Egyptian Ministry, which now regarded Arabi as either an ambitious rebel or a religious fanatic, who would be ready at any moment to discard the protection of the Sultan or to overthrow the authority of the Khedive. An excuse, if not a reason, for taking a more active part in passing events, was given to the British Admiral by the works in progress for the protection of the harbour of Alexandria. In spite of persistent denials made to the British Admiral, the works on the fortifications were pushed on with all possible speed, and the orders of the Khedive, of Dervish Pasha, and of the Sultan, met with evasive replies. Admiral Seymour replied (July 7) by the scarcely-concealed threat that he would not hesitate to bombard Alexandria if his request were not complied with; and three days later a more formal ultimatum was despatched to Arabi, demanding not only the stoppage of the works on the fortresses, but their immediate surrender into British hands. By this time the European inhabitants had almost wholly embarked on board the ships provided for their reception; and no satisfactory reply having been received from Arabi, the British ships at nightfall on the 10th withdrew from the inner harbour to take up the positions assigned to them, the French ironclads retiring to Port Said.

The fleet assembled before Alexandria on July 10 consisted of thirteen vessels, of which eight were ironclads, evidently some of the most powerful in the British Navy, and five gunboats. Late on the evening of that day they steamed out of the inner harbour, and before nightfall had taken up the positions assigned for them. The first division, consisting of the "Monarch" (8,320 tons, 7 guns), the "Invincible" (6,010 tons, 14 guns), and the "Penelope" (4,470 tons, 11 guns), remained in the outer harbour in face of Fort Meks, and the recently-erected earthworks at Marsa-el-Kanal. The second division, stationed outside the harbour, consisted of the "Alexandra" (9,490 tons, 12 guns), the "Sultan" (9,290 tons, 12 guns), and the "Superb" (9,100 tons, 16 guns), and were destined to silence Fort Aida, Pharos Castle, and the Ras-el-Tin works. The reserve, composed of the "Inflexible" (11,400 tons, and 4 turret guns), and the "Téméraire" (8,540 tons, 8 guns), was to support the ships inside and outside the harbour as necessity should arise, whilst the gunboats held a sort of roving commission, and were held in readiness to undertake any duties which called for their active aid. The total force comprised 3,539 men and 102 guns, under the orders of Admiral Sir

Beauchamp Seymour, who had hoisted his flag on board the "Invincible."

At 7 a.m. on July 11, the first shot was fired by the "Alexandra," and was at once replied to by the forts, and the action at once rolled all along the line. The Egyptian guns were served with unexpected vigour, and pointed with creditable accuracy; the ships were frequently "hulled," but generally by round shot which failed to penetrate their armour. The "Téméraire" grounded early in the action, but was speedily got off by the gunboats "Condor" and "Beacon," and resumed her place in the attacking force. The first impression was made by the inside division, by which the fort at Marsa-el-Kanal was blown up about 8.30, and half an hour later the neighbouring Meks forts had only four guns left in position, and at 11 a.m. these were silenced, and when an hour later a spiking party landed, they found the batteries wholly deserted. On the east the second division had been equally successful in their bombardment, and the Lighthouse batteries did not outlast by very long their companions. Fort Ada, however, was not silenced until 1.30 p.m., when the "Inflexible" with her 80-ton guns joined in the fray. Fort Pharos, occupying a strong position at the eastern extremity of the line of defence, held out till 4 p.m., but it was not until dusk (5.30 p.m.) that the order to cease firing altogether was given from the flagship. The total loss of men at the close of the day was found to be only five killed and twenty-seven wounded. The gunboat "Condor," commanded by Lord Charles Beresford, bore itself most bravely. Detached to divert the attention of the Marabout Fort, lying at the extreme west of the line, and after Fort Pharos the strongest position, the "Condor" ran close into shore, and commenced harassing the fort and dismounting its guns with amazing dexterity. The rapidity of the gunboat's movements, as well as her small size, enabled her to escape scathless, and at length, with the aid of the "Beacon," "Cygnet," and "Bittern," by which she was joined, at 10.30 a.m., Fort Marabout was completely silenced.

No formal surrender of the forts and city had, however, followed upon the silencing of the guns; and on the following morning, in spite of the unfavourable weather, the bombardment was recommenced, though in a desultory fashion. After a few shots from the "Inflexible" and "Téméraire," a flag of truce was displayed, and Lieutenant Lambton was sent as an envoy to state the terms of the British commander. He was received by Toulbeh Pasha, the military commandant, from whom the immediate surrender of the forts at the entrance of the harbour was required before negotiations could proceed. Toulbeh Pasha declared that with this demand he was unable to comply without the Khedive's sanction. A truce until 3.30 p.m. was thereupon agreed to, but no reply having been received, the "Inflexible" began to fire once more. Another flag of truce was then hoisted. Again an envoy, Captain Morrison, was

sent to the shore, but being unable to meet with anybody, pushed on and found that the entire line of fortifications had been abandoned by Arabi and his troops, under cover of the white flags which had been displayed since the early morn. The departure of the troops was the signal for a general outbreak of anarchy in the city. According to reports, the prison doors were thrown open, and a general licence was given to loot and destroy the European quarter, which had been deserted prior to the bombardment. It is more probable that during the siege convict labour was impressed into the service of the forts, and that on the withdrawal of Arabi with the regular troops, the convicts remained, released their still imprisoned colleagues, and began a systematic pillage of the richest quarters of Alexandria. During two days, July 12 and 13, the work of devastation continued, during which it was estimated that upwards of 2,000 Europeans, chiefly Greeks and Levantines, who had remained in the city, lost their lives. The city, fired in its centre as well as in the various suburbs, continued to burn for more than two days, and a vast amount of property was destroyed. Admiral Seymour was loudly blamed, especially by the continental press, for having undertaken the bombardment of a commercial city without having at his disposal sufficient force to occupy and protect it when its powers of resistance ceased; whilst military critics were not less severe in their strictures upon a strategy which permitted Arabi and his demoralised army to escape from the reach of the fleet, when by a bold attack with a small body of troops the narrow road between Lakes Aboukir and Mareotis might have been seized, and Arabi forced to surrender. Criticism of this nature, however, was speedily drowned, and the Admiral's assurance that he had no troops at his disposal for such an enterprise, which might have failed, was accepted as satisfactory by all except those who held that the moment chosen for the bombardment of Alexandria, if a necessity, was singularly inopportune. If it had been designed as a punishment of those responsible for the events of June 11, the penalty followed the offence by too great an interval; if, on the other hand, its object had been to bring about the submission of Arabi and the dispersion of the now-called "rebel" forces, no adequate provision had been made to follow up the anticipated results of the bombardment. Moreover, at the time when Admiral Seymour opened fire upon the forts of Alexandria, the Khedive was nominally at least still sovereign of Egypt. All orders to the troops were issued in his name, and no appeal had been made to the English or French commanders by the Khedive to intervene by force of arms between the latter and his subjects. When the firing began, Tewfik retired to his palace at Ramleh, about four miles from Alexandria, where he practically remained a prisoner (whether willingly or not cannot be decided with confidence) until after the bombardment. It was asserted that Arabi Pasha, seeing the downfall of his hopes, despatched messengers to Tewfik with orders to assassinate him, but that at the last moment

their courage failed them, and they denounced their employer. Ragheb Pasha, although wholly sympathetic to Arabi, exerted himself to the utmost to protect the Khedive, and by his advice the latter placed himself under English protection, and was conveyed back to the Ras-el-Tin, where he was guarded by 700 marines.

When the anarchy by which the city was threatened was at length ascertained, the British commander gave a somewhat tardy assent to the landing of both Blue-jackets and Marines. No time was lost by their leaders in attempting to protect the peaceful inhabitants who still remained, and those quarters which had so far escaped the marauders. Very summary methods were adopted, and all plunderers caught red-handed were promptly shot, whilst many implicated were carried off to prison to receive sentence after certain formalities. Order was at length restored, and the lives of Europeans, so long as they kept within the patrolled districts, were safe; though from time to time partial outbreaks of violence and attempts at incendiarism showed that the elements of mischief let loose were not brought back under complete control.

Meanwhile the British Government had been hurrying up the troops with which it proposed to reconquer Egypt for the Khedive from the soldiers with whom he had up to the morrow of the bombardment been openly associated. The precise date at which the Khedive's troops became rebels could be no more accurately ascertained than that of the discovery that the "military tyranny" imposed by Arabi received the cordial sympathy and support of nearly every class throughout Egypt. The first troops to arrive were such of the Malta and Gibraltar garrisons as could be spared, strengthened *ad hoc*; and these, by a strange irony of fate, had been in the first instance mustered at Cyprus—so much ridiculed by the members of the Government when in Opposition as a probable or even possible "place of arms." The direct despatch of soldiers from England was of necessity postponed until after the Vote of Credit was obtained from Parliament (July 27). The first instalment to sail consisted of the 1st battalion of the Scots Guards (July 30), and in fourteen days from that date the last battalion of the force (2nd Royal Irish) had been despatched. The strength of battalions varied from 861 non-commissioned officers and rank and file in the case of the 2nd Royal Irish, the 2nd Duke of Cornwall's, and the whole of the 4th Brigade, to about 765 in other regiments. Of the cavalry sent, the 4th Dragoon Guards numbered 452 sabres, and the 7th Dragoon Guards 573. Each battery of artillery had six guns, 194 non-commissioned officers and men, and 153 horses, the Horse Artillery batteries being somewhat stronger. The force originally despatched from this side of the Canal included about 1,010 officers and 21,200 non-commissioned officers and men, with 54 field guns, 5,600 horses, and 500 pack animals. Besides this last small contingent of pack animals, great exertions had been made to procure mules throughout the world, but this was the one point

on which English organisation for the despatch of an army corps had not been completed. The reinforcements which were prepared after the despatch of the corps amounted to 280 officers and 10,800 men, so that the total force which had been despatched, or was in the act of being despatched at the end of the war, from Great Britain and the Mediterranean stations amounted to 1,290 officers and 32,000 men. The Indian Contingent, including a small reserve left at Aden, consisted of 170 officers and 7,100 men, thus completing a grand total of 40,560 officers and men of all ranks for the expeditionary force.

The troops despatched from India were two English battalions, the 1st Seaforth Highlanders and the 1st Manchester; two Bengal and one Bombay battalions of Native Infantry, with one 9-pounder field battery and one mountain battery, each of six guns; and three regiments of Bengal Cavalry, with some sappers and miners from Madras. The force was accompanied by about 3,500 followers, including transport drivers, 1,700 horses, 840 ponies, and nearly 5,000 mules, some for regimental and others for general transport purposes. They carried with them a month's provisions for the sea voyage, and three months' for the land campaign. The first battalion despatched from India was the 1st Seaforth Highlanders, which left Bombay on July 22, and landed at Suez on August 8. The rest of the force received their orders about July 24, and began to leave Bombay on August 5. The bulk of the Indian Contingent arrived in the Canal by degrees while the operations for securing the base at Ismailia were in progress.

Sir Archibald Alison was the first general officer to reach the seat of operations, and his first act was to push out reconnaissances in all directions to discover the whereabouts and strength of the insurgent forces. In these duties an ironclad train, invented by Captain Fisher and manned by sailors, did very important service, the railroad being the only practicable route towards the east, where it was subsequently found that Arabi was entrenching himself in force at Kafr-dowar. Skirmishes and outpost engagements were of almost daily occurrence along an extended line, having at least the result of retaining some 20,000 Egyptian troops in position, who in the event of a defeat in a partial engagement might have scattered themselves throughout the country and thus indefinitely prolonged the war.

On August 10 Sir John Adye, Chief of the Staff, arrived at Alexandria with the Duke of Connaught. The whole of his brigade of Guards appeared within the next two days, and astonished the people of Alexandria by their martial appearance. On the 11th the cable to Port Said was completed, and telegraphic communication made with the entrance to the Canal.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had suffered from fever before leaving England, and had been advised to make the journey by sea, arrived at Alexandria on August 15, five days after his Staff, and the Khedive at once issued decrees giving full power to the British to

undertake operations and occupy the country. On the 16th Sir Garnet landed, and on the 17th ordered the embarkation of such parts of the 1st Division as were already on shore. The troops embarked on the 18th, and the same day the English Parliament adjourned. It was known that Alexandria was full of spies, who reported every rumour to the Egyptian leader. Sir Garnet therefore proclaimed openly that the destination of the troops was the bay of Aboukir, where they were to land after the ships had silenced the forts. On the afternoon of the 14th, the ironclads and transports consequently made sail for Aboukir, the former clearing for action as if the programme publicly announced was to be followed. When night fell, however, the whole fleet sailed to the eastward, and when daylight dawned Port Said was occupied by the 1st Division; the fleet commanded the Canal, Kantara and Ismailia were seized, whilst the Seaforth Highlanders, who had reached Suez from India on the 8th, moved rapidly northwards, occupied Chalouf, and saved the Freshwater Canal.

On the 22nd the disembarkation of the 1st Division was completed, and other troops, including those of the Indian Contingent, began to arrive rapidly in the Canal. The troops on landing found that their water supply had been cut off by the erection of dams across the Canal, and Sir Garnet immediately pushed on with an advanced guard under General Graham to seize and destroy the obstructions to the flow of water. On the 24th, before daylight, the Household Cavalry, the 2nd battalion York and Lancaster, a few Mounted Infantry, and a detachment of Marines, with two 13-pounders of the Horse Artillery, moved out from camp and came in contact with a strong body of the enemy posted in the neighbourhood of Tel-el-Mahuta. The Egyptian infantry appeared to number about 10,000, and they had twelve guns in position against two English pieces. But the 13-pounders were superior in power and accuracy to the Krupp guns, and the English gunners under Lieutenant Hickman showed determined courage and great endurance under the burning sun. A few men of the Marine Artillery relieved at times the exhausted gunners, and the British artillery warded off demonstrations of the infantry, both in front and on the flanks, assisted by two Gatlings brought up by a detachment of Blue-jackets. Only once did the enemy approach near enough to menace the infantry with immediate attack, and then the skirmishers were swept away by a charge of the Household Cavalry, three squadrons of which, each from a different regiment, had been sent to Egypt to represent Her Majesty's Mounted Guards.

The result of this engagement was to oblige the Egyptian army to abandon its strongly entrenched position at Tel-el-Mahuta, whence they made good their escape under cover of the night, with but comparatively trifling loss. The Cavalry Brigade fell upon the rear of the enemy's forces, and the artillery poured a few volleys into the retreating masses. The demoralisation displayed in the

Egyptian forces was at this moment so great that the English commander at once decided to push forward and if possible to occupy Kassassin Lock (August 26), and thus to ensure a supply of fresh water. The force employed for this service, under the command of General Graham, consisted of the Duke of Cornwall's and the York and Lancaster Regiments, about 400 Royal Marine Artillery, small detachments of the 4th and 7th Dragoon Guards, amounting together to little over 50 sabres, 70 Mounted Infantry, and two guns of the Royal Horse Artillery. General Drury-Lowe, with the Household Cavalry, the 7th Dragoon Guards, and the remaining four guns of the N battery, A Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, remained behind at Mahsameh, where also was a battalion of the Royal Marines. The brigade of Guards, under the Duke of Connaught, was still farther back at Tel-el-Mahuta, and part of it, perhaps, even farther to the rear; but the whole force did not exceed 1,900 men of all arms. One day was allowed for rest, marked only by the arrival of a detachment of Turkish troops, who were not, however, allowed to land on territory in English occupation, and consequently continued their journey towards the Red Sea. On the next morning (August 28) the Egyptians commenced the attack first with cavalry, attempting to turn the ridge behind which General Graham had posted his right wing. At the same time, they brought two heavy guns upon railway trucks to within 4,000 yards of the British troops, and had their artillery been better served might have inflicted serious loss upon our troops. The attack, however, on this side was not pressed, but about half-past four commenced a very determined attack, with the obvious view of overlapping the English left front. With twelve guns well served and well directed, the position of the English was somewhat critical, especially as its two wings were separated by the Canal, and might in case of disaster have been unable to rally and present a firm front. General Graham's good fortune sustained his skill. He was able to communicate by heliograph with General Drury-Lowe, and thus to hasten the arrival of the reinforcements of which he was so sorely in need. They reached the field in time to engage the enemy's skirmishers, and just when the reserve company of the York and Lancaster Regiment was deployed to meet the Egyptian attack, and it was found that the ammunition for the 13-pounders was exhausted. Luckily the Royal Marine Artillery were able at this important juncture to make effective use of a Krupp gun, which with its ammunition had been captured a day or two previously at Mahsamah. The Egyptians, however, pressed forward with wonderful tenacity of purpose, and in face of steady firing of the Mounted Infantry and dismounted Dragoons managed to throw two or three detachments of men across the Canal, but were unable to keep any permanent hold in consequence of the fire of the Marine Artillery. It was already sundown, and darkness was settling on the plain when the movement which was to decide the fate of the day took place. The Household Cavalry, 7th

Dragoon Guards, and Horse Artillery, which throughout the day had been left in comparative quiet, whilst the York and Lancaster, the Duke of Cornwall's, and the Marine Light Infantry had borne its brunt, now advanced under the command of Sir Baker Russell. Keeping the ridge between them and the enemy until within a few hundred yards of the latter's position, they suddenly burst at full speed upon the Egyptian batteries, sweeping through the infantry and cavalry by which they were supported, and throwing the whole corps into confusion. General Graham himself was in ignorance of what was passing at this part of the field, but, finding it impossible to remain inactive in the positions he had occupied, gave orders for a simultaneous advance along the whole of his line. The Egyptians, thrown into disorder by the heavy cavalry which now threatened their flank, broke and fled, and for two or three hours were pursued through the darkness by our troops. The English losses, when they came to be ascertained, were only eleven killed and sixty-eight wounded, an almost incredible result considering the number of hours the troops had been engaged.

A slight pause in the operations succeeded this brilliant affair. Arabi was busily occupied in fortifying his position at Tel-el-Kebir—the very spot indicated by Sir Garnet Wolseley before leaving England as the probable spot of the decisive struggle. The British commander was also awaiting reinforcements from both England and India, and these went on arriving up to September 14, but already on the 3rd the whole of the troops were at various places along the Canal. On September 9 Arabi, with 8,000 men and 24 guns, issued from behind his fortifications and pushed out to the Salahieh terminus of the branch line from Zagazig. Whether his object was to threaten the flank of the British troops advancing from Ismailia or merely to make a reconnaissance was not ascertained; but an opportunity was afforded to both combatants to try their respective artillery. The Egyptians withdrew after a sharp duel, leaving four or five guns upon the field, whilst about sixty English were killed or wounded. The moment for the final development of Sir Garnet Wolseley's plan had at length arrived. On September 9 the headquarters were transferred to the front, all the needful provisions and ammunition were either in camp or within easy reach, and the troops hitherto scattered over a long line extending from Kassassin to Ismailia were concentrated within striking distance of Arabi's entrenched position. This position had been chosen with prudence and fortified with skill. The front presented to the invaders was about four miles in length, composed of soft earthworks with hurdle revetments. At intervals along the line redoubts mounted with guns were placed so as to deliver both front and flanking fire, and connected by trenches. In support of the front line were redoubts which were especially strong towards the right centre of the position, crowning natural elevations which had been materially strengthened by art. The flanks were protected by similar works, an entrenched front line, and redoubts. They were probably un-

assailable by cavalry. Behind these works lay an Egyptian force, the strength of which can only be estimated by the fact that 18,000 rations were issued the day before for the regular troops, and 7,000 for irregulars. But the strength of his enemy was only known vaguely to Sir Garnet Wolseley. The troops under his own command comprised 11,000 bayonets, 2,000 sabres, and 60 guns, and with these under the cover of the night he determined to attack the Egyptian position. Accordingly, at nightfall on September 12 the camp was broken up, tents struck and packed, and the force moved silently forward. After a short advance the men bivouacked silently in the sand, no light or fire being allowed, and there remained until about 1.30 A.M., when the order to advance was given. On the extreme right were two batteries of Horse Artillery and the Cavalry Brigade; next to them was General Graham's Brigade (infantry), supported by the Guards under the Duke of Connaught; to the left of these were forty-two guns of Field Artillery under Colonel Goodenough, supported by a brigade of infantry composed of the King's Royal Rifles, the Duke of Cornwall's Regiment, and the Marine Light Infantry. Between these and the Canal and railway (which ran through the British position) was the Highland Brigade under Sir Archibald Alison. The ironclad train, manned by 250 Blue-jackets, occupied the railroad, whilst on the south side of the Canal and occupying the extreme left was the Indian Contingent,

The Highland Brigade on our left and Graham's Brigade on our right stole forward through the darkness to the assault of the enemy's position. On both flanks the British attacking forces came within short distance of the enemy before they were perceived. Dawn was faintly creeping up the eastern sky when the crest of a ridge some 500 yards in front of the Egyptian left became covered with moving objects telling black against the pale light. It was Graham's Brigade advancing. Then a single shot from the Egyptian lines rang out in the stillness of the morning, and immediately the whole front of the position was broken by jets of red flame from rifle and cannon. It would seem that at this moment the rest of the troops down in the shadows of the plain had not been perceived, and that the fire was of that involuntary sort which tells of want of steady discipline. On the British side scarcely a minute's pause ensued, during which the battalions formed, and then the order was given to charge with the bayonet. The Egyptian infantry clustered on the parapets of the redoubts, on the slopes, and in the trenches. The young soldiers in front deployed with perfect steadiness, advanced by sections, alternately lying down to fire and making short runs towards the entrenchments, and then with a cheer the second line, rushing forward to join their comrades, leaped into the trenches, and the first line of the Egyptian defences with its redoubts was carried at the point of the bayonet. Behind lay a still stronger position, occupied in force and defended by twelve guns. The

officers called on the men to make another effort; the fort was scaled and the gunners bayoneted at their guns; and in twenty minutes from the first rush the whole of the right of the position of Tel-el-Kebir, which Arabi had been fortifying for weeks, was in the hands of the British. On the left the same good fortune had attended the troops under Sir Edward Hamley, and it was a matter of doubt whether the Egyptian positions were not first entered and carried on that side of the field. The Highlanders, who formed the nucleus of this Division, advanced with cat-like stealthiness through the dark, for until they were within 300 yards of the Egyptian position their approach had been unperceived. In answer to the burst of flame along the earthworks, the Highlanders rushed forward and cleared the first line of its defenders in a couple of minutes. Against the inner and stronger redoubt they advanced more slowly, using their rifles with apparently deadly effect, for when the final charge was made the defence was feeble and momentary. The Egyptian army was now thoroughly broken up; the two wings of the attacking force threatening to throw round them a net, from which escape would be impossible; the battle having been thus far won by the infantry, but the rout was completed by the cavalry, which, sweeping round from the north, and supported by the guns left unspiked in the Egyptian redoubts, harried the fugitives beyond all hope of rallying.

The services of the Indian Contingent, which hitherto had played but a subordinate part, were now called into use. Pressing rapidly over the battlefield, they made straight for Zagazig, which was occupied in the course of the day. The bulk of the cavalry and Mounted Infantry, striking south-west by a desert road, seized upon Beilbeis the same evening, and here for a few hours they halted to rest their weary horses. Long before dawn, however, they were again astir, and by a forced march of thirty-nine miles under a blazing sun they reached Cairo on the evening of September 14, capturing Arabi, who surrendered himself without further struggle, and preserving the city from the dangers of a repetition of the Alexandria catastrophe. On the following day Sir Garnet Wolseley, with the headquarters, Staff, and detachments of the Guards, Highlanders, and Marines, entered the capital, and were received by the populace with outward expressions of good-will.

The total loss of the British troops did not exceed 54 men killed, of whom 11 were officers; and 342, of whom 22 were officers, wounded. One serious and irreparable loss, however, marked the campaign. Mr. Palmer, the learned Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and well known as the author of a splendid monograph upon Haroun el Raschid, was employed by Government to deal with the Bedouin tribes who, during the war, threatened the Canal. On August 10 he quitted Suez, in company with Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., and Captain Gill, R.E., who had orders to cut the telegraph wires in Arabia. They marched out towards Gaza, near which it was believed they were murdered for

the sake of the large sum in gold Mr. Palmer had with him for the purchase of camels for the Indian troops. Relics subsequently were found belonging to them which showed they had been murdered by the Bedouins by order of the Governor of Nakl, who offered them the alternative of jumping off a precipice or being shot. Professor Palmer jumped, but the other two were shot. The story was carefully sifted, and the Governor of Nakl, together with some half-dozen of the principal murderers, was pursued, caught, and executed.

The Egyptian losses could not be accurately ascertained, but very nearly 1,000 men were believed to have fallen; 3,000 surrendered, whilst the remainder, numbering about 15,000, for the most part threw away their arms and spread themselves over the open country. Sixty guns and seventy large field tents were among the spoils which, with large quantities of arms and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. Arabi, as soon as he realised the extent of his disaster, took train and reached Cairo in a few hours, alone and almost unrecognised. He sought refuge in his own house, but early the next day was arrested by the police, and given up to the English commander on his arrival. Meanwhile, Tewfik remained at Alexandria, and until the result of the fight at Tel-el-Kebir transpired was practically deserted by Egyptians of all classes. The downfall of Arabi was the signal for a complete revulsion of feeling; and Tewfik at once became again the most exalted personage in Egypt. Towards the English, however, popular feeling was less favourable. In Cairo Sir Garnet Wolseley had to threaten to fire on the native quarters, if British soldiers were molested. The Ulema was one of the first to recognise the irresistible decrees of fate, and promised to assist in maintaining order; and the result showed that his power had not been overrated. With the fall of Cairo and the capture of Arabi the "National" movement promptly collapsed. Zagazig, Kafr-Dowar, Rosetta, and Damahan promptly surrendered; but at Damietta, where General Abdellah Pasha had under his command 6,000 negro troops, there was the momentary appearance of a stand; but it was of a temporary nature, and the demand for terms was speedily withdrawn, and an unconditional surrender made.

The last suggestion of opposition was scarcely removed when the re-embarkation of British troops began, Sir G. Wolseley advising that a force of from 10,000 to 12,000 men would abundantly meet the requirements of the country. The organisation of a native *gendarmerie* was also at once recommended, and Baker Pasha, who had shown considerable skill in the service in Turkey, was at once intrusted with the duty. From the rumour which first reached England it was supposed that Baker Pasha's intention was to compose his *gendarmerie* of mercenaries, chiefly Albanians, placing it under the command of British officers; but subsequent events showed that this hazardous and unpopular plan, if ever

entertained, had been speedily abandoned in favour of a purely native force, with a certain proportion of native and European officers. The scheme as finally elaborated provided for an army of 10,900 men, based upon the principle of conscription and eight years' service with the colours. Of this total, 6,000 were to be infantry, 1,500 cavalry, 1,100 artillery, and 1,400 gendarmes. Half the officers were to be English, whilst the non-commissioned officers were to be selected from the disbanded Egyptian army, supplemented by Bosnians, Albanians, and Bulgarians. The total expense, according to Baker Pasha's estimate, would not exceed 368,000*l.* a year.

The Khedive and his Ministers, of whom Cherif Pasha was once more the chief, now again established in Cairo, promptly set themselves to work to gather up the threads of administration, to punish their enemies throughout the provinces; and above all to decide as to the fate of Arabi, whose tardy proclamation as a rebel, by both the Khedive and the Sultan, suggested that certain difficulties might arise if the ordinary course of trial were pursued. There was therefore a not unnatural desire on the part of the dominant faction to settle as secretly as possible with the disturbers of order. This would most probably have led in a more or less direct fashion to the gratification of private revenge, and to worse scandals. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt and one or two others, who from the beginning of the troubles in Egypt had maintained that Arabi represented a national feeling, roused public opinion in favour of an open trial, and by their intervention English counsel were assigned to the ex-dictator to meet the charges brought against him. The principal count of the prosecution was the firing of Alexandria, of which Arabi loudly asserted his innocence; but with this other charges of a vaguer and more insidious nature were coupled. The action of the English Foreign Office in insisting upon a fair and open trial nearly brought about a Ministerial crisis in Egypt; the Khedive's advisers urging that as the English had handed over Arabi to be tried by Egyptian laws, they must be trusted to carry on the proceedings with justice. If they were incapable of doing this, they were equally incapable of carrying on the government of the country; and their yielding to the English demands would make the populace believe that Arabi was being supported by those who a few weeks previously had driven him from power and handed him over as a prisoner to the recognised rulers of the country. Lord Granville, however, stood firm, and the Khedive forced his Ministers to accept the conditions imposed.

The consequences of this decision were soon manifest. Arabi at once handed over to his counsel (Mr. Broadley) a number of documents, which were subsequently found to implicate the Sultan, Ismail Pasha the ex-Khedive, and numerous Egyptian officials. Pressure was forthwith brought to bear upon the Khedive to stop the trial, and to exile Arabi by decree. The

action taken by the British Government, however, prevented summary procedure of this sort, so the preparations for the trial were allowed to drag on. Meanwhile the English Cabinet had decided to send Lord Dufferin (October 31) to Cairo, to unravel if possible the tangled skein of Egyptian politics; to suggest the best substitute for an English protectorate; and to lay down the basis upon which self-government might be established in the Valley of the Nile.

Lord Dufferin reached Cairo on November 7, and his arrival was almost immediately followed by a request, addressed by the Egyptian Government to the Cabinets of London and Paris, that the condominium should cease. To this proposition, after a show of decent hesitation, England consented, but the French Government for some weeks refused to recognise as annulled a joint arrangement from which two out of the three contracting parties had withdrawn. Although at the close of the year France was still protesting against the claim put forward by Egypt to manage her own affairs, the action of her representative in the Control, M. de Brédif, was limited to a half-hearted protest against the treatment of which he had been the victim. Forms of compromise were offered to France to soothe her wounded feelings in the shape of the presidency of the Financial Commission, and other posts subordinate to the Egyptian Ministry, but they were all declined, and ultimately Lord Dufferin was able to sketch out his plan of the reconstruction of Egypt and its finances regardless of the susceptibilities of France or of the intrigues of French financiers.

The trial of Arabi, which had been dragging on for six weeks, was, by the influence of Lord Dufferin, brought to a prompt conclusion without any revelations of the positive or comparative implication of Turkish and Egyptian officials in the outbreak of which Arabi was the apparent sole leader. The prisoner pleaded guilty (December 3) to the vague charge of rebellion, and was sentenced to death by a court-martial on the following day. The sentence was immediately commuted by the Khedive into one of perpetual exile, a return to Egypt being punishable with death. The Egyptian Ministry, led by Riaz Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, at once resigned, in order to mark their disapproval of the compromise, and, although Cherif retained the premiership, the Cabinet was reconstructed upon a more liberal, though possibly upon a less national, basis than that which had been in power since the return from Alexandria. Arabi was finally conveyed, with a few of his fellow-rebels, to Ceylon, where a life of peaceful ease was assured to him.

At the beginning of November news reached Cairo that a false prophet had shown himself in the Soudan, and was collecting a formidable force and preparing to march on Khartoum. The dangers of a religious rising at such a moment were greatly increased by the disquiet reigning throughout many Mussulman

countries, where the completion of twelve centuries from the Hegira (November 12, 1882) was expected to usher in the Mahdi, or new Deliverer. The fateful day, however, passed without any important incident, and although the insurgent forces in the Soudan held together and obtained some slight advantages, they gave no signs of advancing in irresistible force upon the more settled portions of the Khedive's dominions, and their operations were almost entirely limited to the districts in which the disaffection first showed itself.

On the last day of the year, Lord Dufferin forwarded the first instalment of his scheme for the regeneration of Egypt, and laying down proposals for the absolute neutralisation of the Suez Canal, by rendering it available for all nations at all times and for all purposes, provided peace were maintained within its limits.

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA.

I. AUSTRALIA.

Victoria.—The obstruction of a small section of the Opposition during the tedious session of 1881 had considerably strengthened the Government. The public saw that Sir Bryan O'Loughlen and his Ministers were bent on doing solid, useful work, and testified their approval by the results of several bye-elections. The Government, however, had little to show for the work of the past session beyond an Appropriation Act, a Loan Act for 4,000,000*l.* for the construction of railways, a measure for the supply of water to country districts, and the Chinese Immigration Act. As the existing Land Act was about to expire, it was renewed for twelve months, by which time it was thought the new Land Bill would be ripe. A Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of the common schools system—a very necessary step considering how unsatisfactorily the Education Act had so far worked. The expenditure for education in 1875 was 384,528*l.*, and in 1881 was 603,000*l.*, and this in a population of less than a million. The children who had been thus charged on the State belonged chiefly to parents able to pay for instruction, but who naturally would not do so if the State was ready to bear the burden. The labour-market, glutted with clerks, cannot supply masons and carpenters, &c., who command double the wages of the clerks. The Tariff Commission was still sitting in the spring, and the members were taking evidence both in Melbourne and in various county townships.

The Revenue Returns published early in the year were satisfactory; the land credit arrears were coming in fully, and the Treasurer had re-purchased the greater part of the Treasury bonds

issued by the Berry Government. The measures connected with the defence of the colony were being actively proceeded with. Government ordered two gunboats on the Alpha-Beta pattern, two Thornycroft torpedo launches, as well as Nordenfeldt and Armstrong guns for the "Cerberus" and "Nelson." An artillery corps was also about to be established on a permanent basis. Parliament was opened on April 25 by the Governor, the Marquess of Normanby, who stated that the revenue had increased, and that a portion of the deficit for the last financial year had been extinguished.

In the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Berry moved an amendment to the address in reply to the Governor's speech, condemning the importation of water-pipes and railway carriages, which gave rise to a long debate, but the Government on a division obtained a majority of sixteen votes. The address was adopted, as well as an address to be forwarded to Queen Victoria congratulating Her Majesty on her recent escape from assassination. At the end of May the Colonial Treasurer introduced his financial statement. The revenue for 1881-2, including the balance of revenue and expenditure of 188,000*l.*, was 5,750,000*l.*, being 316,000*l.* in excess of the estimates. The expenditure was 5,370,000*l.*, exclusive of 305,000*l.* applied for the redemption of Treasury bonds. The Customs revenue showed an increase during the year of 169,000*l.*, and the railway revenue of 115,000*l.* The revenue for 1882-3 was estimated at 5,610,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 5,570,000*l.* The actual surplus was expected to be 32,000*l.*, which it was proposed to apply in reducing the beer excise, establishing a penny postage, and remitting the tea duty. The Treasurer further announced that 300,000*l.* remained to be expended on the defence works, the disbursement of which amount would be spread over three years, and that the military and volunteer forces would be re-organised. The estimates included 100,000*l.* for irrigation works in the agricultural districts, and it was ascertained that the railways then opened yielded more than 4 per cent. on the capital of 18,000,000*l.* The proposed loan of 4,000,000*l.* would probably not be floated before January 1883. The Budget proposals were greatly criticised, especially as regards the remissions of taxation, and in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Francis, representing the "Constitutional" party, moved that the remissions were undesirable in view of the improbability of a surplus, and because a Royal Commission was then investigating the tariff. He stated that his motion was not intended as a vote of want of confidence in the Government, but the Premier said he must regard it as such, and the matter ended a week later in a compromise. He withdrew his motion, and the Government abandoned the reduction of the tea and tobacco duties, and postponed the establishment of a penny postage. In July the tobacco duties were re-affirmed by a large majority, and the Budget proposals of the Government were virtually accepted. The Railway Construction Bill was read a second time in July; this measure provides for the construction of 850

miles of new lines, and until October the Legislative Assembly was chiefly engaged in discussing the Bill as passed in Committee. The next important matter in Parliament was the Government Loans Conversion Bill. So much opposition was offered to this Bill that Sir Bryan O'Loughlen consented to modify some of its clauses rather than that the credit of the colony in England should suffer by the contingency of a Government defeat. The Bill was subsequently divided into three parts, the first provided for issuing a loan of 3,800,000*l.* in London in July 1883, to meet the debentures shortly falling due; the second gave the purchasers of loans contracted in 1883 the option of taking debentures or subscribed stock at 4 per cent., and the third authorised a local loan in Melbourne of 170,000*l.* to pay the railway and waterworks debentures falling due. Mr. Berry then congratulated the Premier upon these proposals, and seconded the motion, which was carried, and by December the Bill had passed both Houses. The consideration of the new Government Land Bill was the last important matter on which Parliament was engaged before the close of the year.

The Grattan address to the people of Ireland, in June, signed by a few persons of no influence in the country, caused a good deal of excitement. As this address contained language characterised as seditious and treasonable, and had been signed by five members of the Legislative Assembly, the latter was bound to notice it. A motion by Mr. Patterson condemnatory of the address, and especially of the five members, was defeated by a majority of sixteen in a full House. An amendment by Mr. Francis, condemning the action of the members in signing the address, and expressing unswerving loyalty towards the Crown and a desire for the maintenance of a united Empire, was then carried. Public feeling outside was aroused, and in all parts of the colony the loyalty of the people took fire. All Victorians, except the Romanist section, were agreed that they would not permit Irish politics to disturb or supersede the consideration due to their own proper and legitimate interests as an integral portion of the British Empire. Yielding to the outburst of indignation on all sides the five members, in view as much of a possible dissolution, as of the feelings of the House, made a formal apology, which was coldly received.

The gold production of Victoria, which had at one time seemed to be declining, gave proof of a steady revival from its lowest point, as shown in the following figures:—

	oz.
1875	1,068,418
1876	963,760
1877	809,653
1878	758,040
1879	758,947
1880	829,121
1881	858,146

New South Wales.—The opening year in New South Wales pointed to a continuance of the general prosperity. The banking returns showed an increase of accumulations as well as greater activity in business transactions. This state of things had stimulated the Government lessees of sheep-runs to purchase land to the utmost that their credit would allow. In this way the treasury was amply filled, and the Government was spending money freely in public works. The rate of wages was thereby kept up, and the working classes were enjoying a season of high prosperity; they were also buying land and building their own homes. People were also rejoicing in the eradication of small-pox at Sydney, there being not a single case in the city at the end of February; this, however, had only been attained at considerable expense, and with some interference with individual liberty. The new Licensing Act, which provides for the closing of all public-houses at 11 P.M. every week-day and throughout Sunday, came into operation at the beginning of the year, and within a month its effect was considered beneficial. On January 16, her Majesty's ship "Wolverene" (corvette) was transferred to the Government by Admiral Wilson as a gift from the British Government, and the Cabinet agreed to cede to the latter a portion of Dawes Point, for the purpose of erecting a residence for the Admiral of the Australian station, and for the establishment of a navy-yard. In February, news arrived of the failure of Sir Henry Parkes to induce the United States Government to reduce the duty on Australian wool. The result was not unexpected, for it did not seem probable the United States Government would concede to the English Colonies what they had already refused to Great Britain. Attention was directed to the state of the colonial defences, and in March an officer of the Royal Engineers, acting under orders from the Home Government, examined the fortifications at Port Jackson and the torpedo works, and was satisfied with the system of defence. Later on, in July, the fortifications at Port Philip Heads were inspected by the military authorities with the object of putting the batteries in a complete state of preparation to meet any emergency. In April, Sydney was visited by Mr. Berry, ex-Premier of Victoria, who came on the invitation of the Reform and Protection League to defend the Protection policy of his colony and advocate the establishment of an intercolonial tariff, but he did not make much impression. New South Wales had found Free-trade telling in its favour, and with an exchequer so well filled felt no temptation to increase taxation, and naturally hesitated to return to Protection. When the land revenue falls off, and when people have retrenchment and direct taxation staring them in the face, they may be more ready to listen to Mr. Berry's arguments and adopt his proposals. Considerable progress has been made with railways, and the line to Hay River, opened on July 4 by the Governor, Lord Augustus Loftus, made it the longest line in Australia, the point reached being 450 miles from Sydney. In

1881, 274 miles of railroad were opened, and at the close of the year there were 442 under construction, whilst it was proposed to construct lines of a less substantial character to act as feeders to the main lines at a cost not exceeding 3,000*l.* a mile. It was also proposed to extend the steam tramway system, which had so far been a great success, to some of the more distant suburbs of Sydney, as well as to certain towns of the interior. After the failure of the Premier's mission to the United States in February, he paid England a visit, and returned to the colony towards the end of August. Parliament then met after the longest recess known in the Australian Colonies, and an amendment to the Address on the Governor's speech in favour of a revision of the tariff in the direction of Protection was negatived by an immense majority. The first week in November the Treasurer made his financial statement in the Legislative Assembly, and was able to tell the same story of abounding revenue that has prevailed in recent years. It would amount to 7,160,000*l.*, the largest ever realised in the colony, while the expenditure would not exceed 6,120,000*l.* There would, therefore, be an available surplus of 1,040,000*l.*, which, added to the excess of 1881, would produce a total surplus by the end of the year of nearly 1,850,000*l.* The Treasurer stated that the revenue was in a flourishing condition, and he thought it might reach 8,000,000*l.* in 1883. The Government proposed to utilise a large portion of the surplus for permanent public works, and gave no hint of any increase of taxation. It also was further decided to abolish the road tolls and the Customs duties on thirty articles of small importance, which in 1881 had only yielded a sum of 56,000*l.* The revenue for 1883 was estimated at 7,360,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 6,780,000*l.*, leaving a balance of 580,000*l.*, which would increase the surplus to over 2,400,000*l.* The estimated expenditure included 150,000*l.* for immigration, which was double the sum deemed necessary for this year, but which the great demand for unskilled labour rendered necessary. It was also intended to introduce a Bill at once to convert Government debentures into inscribed stock. On November 20, the Land Bill was thrown out in the Legislative Assembly by a majority of ten. The Government then advised a dissolution of Parliament, which had now sat two years, and the Governor accordingly on the following day issued a proclamation of dissolution. Twenty years' experience had shown that the plan of indiscriminate free selection was unsuitable to a pastoral country, where the Government seeks to obtain the highest possible rental from unsold land, and where the tenants desire to make the best possible use of the land which they lease. The appeal to the constituencies against the rejection of the Land Bill by the Legislative Assembly resulted, as was anticipated, unfavourably to the Government, and the Ministry sustained a decisive defeat. Parliament was to meet again on January 3, 1883, and it was expected the Ministers would then immediately resign.

On September 22 a fire broke out in the Garden Palace, Sydney, and in less than an hour the whole building was a heap of ruins. Nothing was saved, and the extent of the loss is incalculable. The palace contained many of the Government departments, including the lands, railway construction, and survey departments. The loss of the railway department is very serious, as most of the surveys must be made again, and will cause great delay in the construction of new lines. The Census statistics were also destroyed. The fire was supposed to be the work of incendiaries. The Government within a fortnight proposed to erect a handsome permanent structure on the site of the old one.

At the beginning of the year the largest nugget ever unearthed at the Temora gold-fields was found, and at a depth of only fourteen feet. It was taken to the Australian Joint-Stock Bank, and weighed 153 oz. 17 dwt. In the north-east of this colony an extensive deposit of bismuth in the form of metal and oxide has been discovered, and it is said that it can be sent into market at a cost which, if present prices are maintained, will insure a profit of 500*l.* per ton.

South Australia.—This colony, like its neighbours, is in a flourishing condition, but there is not much of general interest to record. The revenue has shown a steady increase over that of 1881, except in the quarter to September 30, when there was 85,280*l.* less than in 1881; this falling-off is due to a decrease in the land revenue, the receipts for Customs and railways showing a substantial improvement. The Treasurer in his Budget speech, on August 1, stated that there was a credit balance of 57,000*l.*, and that he estimated the revenue for the financial year at 2,162,000*l.* The Government proposed to tax lands outside the boundaries of district councils, and to have a stamp duty on bank cheques. In October a Bill was introduced into the House of Assembly for the construction of a railway between Adelaide and the Victoria border, which would place the capitals of the two colonies in direct communication with each other. This was agreed to by the Legislative Assembly a few weeks later. The colony has been visited by very severe drought; to the north of Port Augusta water was at one time being sold at two shillings a bucket. At Adelaide steps have been taken for the construction of an ocean dock nearly thirty acres in extent and thirty feet deep at low water. The capital required will be little less than a million, and is to be provided by private enterprise. Railway communication will soon be completed between Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, and, as this dock will afford harbourage for vessels of the largest class, passengers and mails will probably be landed at Adelaide for all parts of Australia. The number of members of the Assembly has been increased from forty-four to fifty-two.

Queensland.—Parliament was opened on July 4. The total revenue of the year was 2,000,000*l.*, showing an increase of 331,000*l.* over the previous year, whilst the expenditure was

1,884,000*l.* The surplus up to June 30 amounted to 245,000*l.* The Customs and Excise duties showed an increase of 119,000*l.*; land revenue, 12,000*l.*; pastoral rents, 44,000*l.*; railways, 83,000*l.*; and posts and telegraphs, 25,000*l.* In August agitation was increasing at Townsville and Cooktown in favour of a separation of North Queensland as an independent colony. Additional immigration to the extent of 10,000*l.* per annum was authorised in the summer, and in November the Government applied to the Legislative Assembly for a grant of 250,000*l.* for immigration purposes, as well as 60,000*l.* to defray the cost of constructing two new gunboats for the colony. Railway construction has been going on rapidly; the Sandgate Railway was opened on May 10, and several others are in progress, especially to connect the sugar and mineral districts with the sea. At the end of the year, the Government concluded a contract with the Australian Syndicate for the construction of the trans-continental railway from Charlesville to Point Parker, to be completed within seven and a half years, under the land grant system. The success of the sugar-planting has been such as to cause experiments to be tried with coffee, and the prospects are most promising, experts from Ceylon having reported favourably.

Western Australia, Tasmania, Fiji, etc.—There is little of importance to record here of these Colonies, beyond the fact of steady progress. In Western Australia, the Governor appointed a Commission to revise the tariff. At the end of March, the indebtedness of the Colony on current account was extinguished, and there was a credit balance of nearly 22,000*l.*; the season later on was an exceptionally good one, and prospects for the future were brighter than they had been for some time past. The "Native Question" was attracting public attention, from the attacks by natives on life and property in the new settlements on the Gascoyne, and it became necessary to send an itinerant magistrate and a police force to the districts where disturbances were taking place.

In *Tasmania*, the new Parliament met on July 11, the results of the General Election being very favourable to the Government. Out of the thirty-two members in the Assembly, the Government were able to count on at least twenty certain supporters, and therefore public works would probably be pushed on with much vigour. The Governor congratulated the members on the steady advance of the Colony, and stated that the revenue had exceeded expenditure. The passing of the Mersey and Deloraine Bill will lead to an expenditure of 120,000*l.*, which is part of the 450,000*l.* to be expended on public works. Another most important Bill passed by the Legislature was one providing for the execution of certain works for the defence of the Colony. With a view to obtaining suitable immigrants for the Colony, the Government voted 30,000*l.* to be distributed equally over three years. *Tasmania* no longer deserves the reproachful name of "Sleepy Hollow." The discoveries of large quantities of tin, and of mines of gold and

coal near Launceston, account chiefly for this advance. The famous Mount Bischoff Mine now yields an output of from 250 to 350 tons of tin per month, and the 5*l.* shares of the Company are worth 60*l.*, whilst only one-third of the original shares has been paid up. The gold mines are also very rich in ore. With all this mineral wealth at hand, Launceston must soon become the commercial capital of the island. American enterprise in the Colony is very energetic, and British trade suffers in consequence.

Fiji.—The financial prospects of this Colony are gradually improving, the revenue being larger than in former years, and the foreign trade having doubled in the last six years. Through the multiplication of sugar mills, the value of exported sugar, which in 1881 was 23,252*l.*, would probably this year reach 50,000*l.* The “Labour Question” is still the cause of considerable local controversy, the important point being as to whether the visits of immigration officers to the plantations should or should not take place after dark and in the presence of the planter or his manager. A new material for building purposes has been discovered, which goes by the name of “Fossil Coral,” and promises well; when found in any quantity it is soft and easily cut into blocks, but hardens on exposure, and has the appearance of fire-brick.

II. NEW ZEALAND.

With the arrest of Te Whiti, towards the close of 1881, the native difficulty came to an end, and the relations between the authorities and the Maoris became more satisfactory than at any time during the last thirty years. The prompt action of the Government in this matter was generally approved, and it was followed by an appropriation of one-fifth of the native reserves as a penalty for the disturbances at Parihaka. Te Whiti was committed for trial before the Supreme Court, but subsequently an Act was passed enabling the Government to detain him in custody until the next session without bringing him to trial. As he had never stirred a mile from his forest home for the last twenty years, he was conducted by a magistrate and an interpreter, at the public expense, all over the South Island, so that he might see the power and progress of the pale-faced strangers he had so long thought himself able to withstand. The punishment was by no means a severe one. In June, three Maori chiefs visited London in the hope of securing some assistance towards a settlement of their land grievances. The Prince of Wales gave them an interview, as did the Archbishop of Canterbury, and after a stay of ten weeks they returned to their country, encouraged by the sympathy they had met with, but hardly, after their conversation with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, hopeful of any practical results from their visit. In December, Tawhiao, the native king, was offered a pension of 400*l.* per annum, with a residence, a life appointment as Assessor to the Native Land Court, a Justiceship of the Peace, and

a seat in the Legislative Council, but he declined these offers and refused to resign his claims as king.

In December 1881 the first General Election since the institution of triennial Parliaments took place, resulting in an increased majority for the Government of Mr. Hall, the new House of Representatives consisting of 44 Ministerialists, 35 Opposition members, and 12 doubtful. Early in 1882 a serious crisis occurred through the breakdown, from continued overwork, of the Premier's health. His resignation was followed by that of the other ministers, and great excitement ensued when it became known that the Governor (Sir Arthur Gordon) had sent 500 miles for Sir George Grey, the leader of the Opposition. It was however only to consult him on the state of affairs, not to ask him to form a ministry, and the same ministry was shortly after reconstituted under the leadership of Mr. Whitaker, an ex-Premier and the Attorney-General in the late administration. Parliament met on May 18, when the Governor alluded to the improved commercial prospects of the Colony, the increasing revenue, and the progress made in the settlement of the country. On June 17, the Colonial Treasurer made his financial statement. The revenue for 1881-2 amounted to 3,800,000*l.* and the expenditure to 3,610,000*l.*, there being at the end of the financial year a surplus of 215,000*l.* The public debt was 31,400,000*l.*, and the annual Sinking Fund was fixed at 2,260,000*l.* The revenue from railways for the year yielded nearly 4 per cent. on the capital expended, and there had been a large increase in savings-banks deposits. Later on Acts were passed authorising loans to the extent of 4,000,000*l.*, viz., 1,000,000*l.* to complete the Main Trunk Railway, and 3,000,000*l.* for a term of three years, to be expended on railways, the purchase of native land, the erection of public buildings, immigration, and the making of roads and harbours. A grant of 50,000*l.* for defensive works was passed, and also an annual subsidy of 20,000*l.* towards direct steam communication with England; the latter produced great satisfaction in view of the probable impetus it would give to the frozen meat trade, dairy produce, and immigration. Parliament was prorogued on September 15, 112 Acts having been passed during the session. Railway construction was pressed forward steadily, and in July there were 1,333 miles open for traffic. The revenue on all the lines for the past year was 55,000*l.*, and the railways throughout the Colony show a profit of nearly 4 per cent. on the cost of construction. Among the coal mines being rapidly developed is one near Westport, which is situated at from 800 to 3,000 feet *above* the sea-level, and the seams of which range from 6 to 53 feet in thickness; some of these seams are even exposed on the face of the cliffs, and it is clear the dangers usually attending the production of coal will be avoided, besides there being a great saving in expense. An important oil-producing district has been discovered which is expected to yield a great quantity of oil of different kinds. As

hitherto America has had the largest trade in oils with the Australian colonies, the discovery must certainly benefit this Colony. With regard to the introduction of the tea and silk industries, it has been ascertained that the soil is very suitable for their cultivation, particularly in Auckland, which resembles the tea and silk districts of China, and it is thought this twin industry will prove a financial success in the future, besides being a relief to the overstocked female labour market. Towards the close of the year it was announced that Major-General Sir W. Jervois, R.E., G.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of South Australia, was to take the place of Sir Arthur Gordon as Governor of New Zealand.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1882.

JANUARY.

2. According to Captain Shaw's report to the Metropolitan Board of Works, the number of calls for fires, or supposed fires, received during the year 1881 was 2,376. Of these 240 were false alarms, 145 proved to be only chimney alarms, and 1,991 were calls for fires, of which 167 resulted in serious damage, and 1,824 in slight damage. The fires of 1881, compared with those of 1880, showed an increase of 120 ; and compared with the average of the last ten years, an increase of 351. Eight firemen were named who had been commended for special merit for saving lives during the year, and 98 firemen were hurt while extinguishing fires. Captain Shaw spoke in terms of praise of the discipline and efficiency of the fire brigade.

3. The Registrar-General's report for the year 1881 showed that 132,674 births were registered in London, the birth-rate having been 34·8, that for 1880 having been 36·2 for every thousand inhabitants. The births showed an excess of 51,602 over the deaths, the area concerned extending from Hampstead in the north to Sydenham in the south, and from Woolwich in the east to Hammersmith in the west, in all about 122 square miles. The deaths of 81,072 persons were registered, a number far below those of the three previous years. In the year, 16,847 deaths took place in workhouses, hospitals, and other public institutions ; 5,538 were inquired into before coroners, and 3,026 were due to violence, the latter item being considerably over the total of the previous year. There were 19,575 deaths recorded of infants, and 16,905 took place at sixty and upwards. In 1880 small-pox was fatal in 475 instances ; but this number rose in 1881 to 2,371. Fatal cases of scarlet fever declined from 3,073 to 2,108 ; on the other hand, fevers of other types rose from 886 to 1,195, and diphtheria from 541 to 654. In 1880 there were 3,438 deaths from whooping-cough ; in 1881 the number was 1,961.

4. The following statistics of Presbyterianism in England and Scotland for the past year issued from authentic resources. Established Church of Scotland : 16 synods, 14 presbyteries, 1,560 churches and preaching

stations; 1,660 ministers and licentiates; total number of communicants, 520,000; number of Sunday-schools, 1,952; teachers and officers, 17,436; scholars, 187,418. Raised for home and foreign missionary purposes, 377,760*l*. The Free Church of Scotland: 16 synods, 73 presbyteries, 1,006 congregations, 1,634 ministers, 230,000 communicants. Foreign missionary income, 75,000*l*.; raised for all church purposes, including missions, 590,000*l*. The United Presbyterian Church: 30 presbyteries, 549 congregations in Scotland and Ireland, and 587 ministers, with a church membership of 173,982. Foreign missionary income, 32,536*l*. Total church income, 383,000*l*. The Presbyterian Church of England: 10 presbyteries, 272 congregations, and 7 stations, with 55,286 communicants; 18 foreign missionaries, with 5 medical missionaries, 65 native Chinese evangelists, 36 native Chinese students. Sunday-school teachers, 6,829; scholars, 61,125. Foreign missionary income, 12,090*l*. Total for all church purposes, 205,630*l*. There were also 20 churches in England formed into four presbyteries, in connection with the Established Church of Scotland.

— The Earl of Derby appeared in public for the first time as a Liberal at a banquet given in his honour by the Liverpool Reform Club, and in response to the toast of his health, explained his change of political connection, whilst vindicating the consistency of his opinions.

5. Sir John Holker, who had been Attorney-General in the previous Government, appointed a Lord Justice of Appeal.

6. Isaac Brooks on his death-bed confessed that his accusation against two neighbouring farmers, Samuel Clowes and Henry Johnson, on which they were two years previously condemned to ten years' penal servitude, was wholly false. It appears that in December, 1879, the three farmers were present with others at a rent audit at Rushton, near Leek, in Staffordshire, and all were friendly together at the village inn. As Brooks was leaving his home, about ten o'clock, he was, he alleged at the trial, set upon by three men, two of whom blindfolded him and held him, while the third drew a knife from his pocket and mutilated him barbarously. Brooks declared positively that he identified Clowes and Johnson, but he was doubtful about one Sherratt, whom he also accused. Sherratt, who had been committed for trial, was discharged; and both Sherratt and his son swore that they saw Clowes and Johnson go home, and that it was impossible that the crime could have been committed by them. Three witnesses spoke highly of the accused as honourable men and good neighbours. After a trial of four hours' length, the jury, in ten minutes, found Clowes and Johnson guilty; and, after an interval of two or three days, the sentence of ten years' penal servitude was pronounced. Since the trial in January, 1880, Brooks constantly "went downhill." He seemed oppressed by some mental trouble. Brooks denied that this was the cause, but his health steadily declined, until finding his end approaching, he made a written declaration of the innocence of the two men: who were subsequently released, and to whom a grant of public money was ultimately made.

7. The sixth and concluding representation of a modern "miracle play" took place at the village of Rouslench, Worcestershire. The idea of the oratorio, as it was called, was suggested to the rector, Mr. Chafy, by the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play. The performance consisted of a series of *tableaux vivants* illustrating the early life of our Lord, and the performers,

who were fifty-two in number, were all parishioners. Their ages varied from the eighty-two years of the impersonator of the aged Anna in the Temple to the four years of one of the little ones worshipping the Cross. The rector himself took the part of Choragus. The *tableaux*, fourteen in number, were for the most part the well-known incidents relating to the Incarnation ; but the first, representing the Expulsion from Paradise, was treated to some extent after Michael Angelo's fresco on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome. Eve came first with her face buried in her hands in an agony of mind ; then followed Adam with his hands stretched out imploringly, and the Angel came behind in snowy white apparel, and a fiery sword in his hand. The serpent lay on the ground. During this *tableau* Cardinal Newman's hymn, "Praise to the Holiest in the height," was rendered by the choir. The second *tableau* was taken partly from the German picture, "Christus Consolator," partly from Ammergau, and partly was original. A large cross stood in the midst, and around it, grouped with much taste, were representatives of mankind from every nation and every age, directing their ardent gaze and stretching their eager arms to the symbol of their salvation. Sankey's hymn, "There is life for a look at the Crucified One," was sung during this representation. The third *tableau* was entirely original, and represented the legendary vision of "Ara Coeli," as described in the Golden Legend. According to this story, on the day of the nativity of the Lord, when Octavian was taking counsel with the Sibyl whether any should be born into the world greater than himself, there appeared at mid-day a golden ring round the sun, and in the midst of it a beauteous maiden standing upon an altar, bearing a man-child in her bosom. The Sibyl pointed it to Cæsar, and he, marvelling greatly at the vision, heard a voice saying to him : "This is the altar of the God of heaven ;" and the Sibyl said, "This Boy is greater than thee ; therefore worship thou Him." And the Emperor, perceiving this Boy to be greater than himself, offered incense to Him, and refused to allow himself to be called God. Handel's "Behold, a Virgin" and Gounod's "Benedictus" were sung during this representation. The whole of the *tableaux*, which were fourteen in number, included "The Annunciation," "The Dream of Joseph," "The Visit of Mary to Elizabeth" (after Albertinelli at Florence), "The Vision of Angels to the Shepherds," "The Stable at Bethlehem," "The Presentation," "The Magi," "The Flight into Egypt," "The Finding Jesus in the Temple" (after Holman Hunt), and "The Carpenter's Workshop at Nazareth." The concluding *tableau* was allegorical and entirely original, and intended to give the key to our Lord's life on earth. Elevated above His fellows stood the young Jesus, with hands and eyes uplifted to heaven, absorbed in prayer. Nearest to Him of all stood His mother extending her hands towards Him : at His feet knelt St. John the Baptist, conventionally attired in his camel's hair and leathern girdle, and holding his little cross in one hand, whilst the other stretches forth all that mankind had to offer Him—a crown of thorns ; behind Him the golden sun is obscured by the cross, which caused it to go down while it was "yet day." Joseph and Octavian, and the Sibyl, Simeon and Anna, Elizabeth, the High Priest and the Doctors, the Shepherds and Wise Men, "Christian" and Slave, Angels, Saints, and Children, were all grouped around Him in awe and devout contemplation. Farthest from Him stood Adam and Eve, stretching forth their hands towards Him. Unconscious of all, the Boy Jesus is rapt in communion with the Father, whilst above Him stood the Angel of God's Presence, holding over His head

the crown of glory which His unfaltering obedience was destined to merit at the hand of God.

9. The following are the official returns of outrages, of all kinds, in the three preceding years in Ireland issued :—

	1879	1880	1881
Ulster	774	945	1,002
Leinster	697	1,032	1,573
Connaught	1,084	1,780	1,975
Munster	950	1,912	3,238
	3,505	5,669	7,788

10. In recognition of the gallantry displayed during the retreat to Candahar, the Horse Guards conferred a commission as Lieutenant on Sergeant Algernon M. Caulfield, of the (late 66th) Berkshire Regiment. Lieutenant Caulfield, aged only twenty-three, was present at the battle of Maiwand, and in the fearful retreat on Candahar, though wounded in the leg, he rendered such assistance to an officer of his regiment as to be the means of saving his life.

11. Lord Polwarth elected a representative peer for Scotland in the room of the late Earl of Airlie. The usual protests were entered by the supporters of the gentleman who claimed to be Earl of Mar, against allowing the Earl of Kellie to answer for that dignity. A claim of Mr. W. S. J. Fulton to the answer of Earl of Eglintoun was made, but was passed over without notice.

— During the year 1881 the boats of the National Lifeboat Institution were instrumental in saving 966 lives and 33 vessels. In addition to these services, the institution granted rewards for saving 155 shipwrecked persons by fishing boats and other means, making a grand total of 1,121 lives rescued during the year.

13. A terrible railway accident took place in the suburbs of New York in consequence of a disarrangement of the air-brake. The brakesman's duty was to run back half a mile and signal the local train, which was known to be following. He went a few yards only, when the following train swept round the curve at full speed, raised the rear car of the first train and dashed clean through it. The first train carried a large part of the members of the New York Legislature returning from Albany. When the cars were overturned the stoves set fire to the wreck, which was totally consumed. A remarkable feature was the dreadful fierceness and rapidity of the fire. Several passengers caught among the *débris* were actually burned alive within sight, hearing, and touch of the horrified bystanders, who were only able to pile on snow. A couple in the train were on their bridal trip; one was caught in the wreck, the other was free, but refused to leave, and both were burned. Perhaps the most tragic incident is the death of Senator Wagner, the inventor of the parlour cars known and used everywhere. He started back to see that the real danger signals were properly displayed, and literally walked into the jaws of death.

14. The German Parliament decided, without opposition, that the Social Democrat member, Herr Dietz, who had been arrested in Stuttgart by the police on some frivolous charge, should be immediately released. Further, a large majority passed a vote that all the official papers concerning his arrest should be laid before the house, and in future that all matters respecting the arrest of a member should first be communicated to the Chancellor of the Empire.

15. The beatification of Alfonso di Orozco, the confessor and intimate adviser, first of the Emperor Charles V. and afterwards of Philip II. of Spain, and through whose counsel it was that Charles V. abdicated and retired into the monastery of San Yuste, celebrated at Rome with all the accustomed pomp in the great hall above the vestibule of St. Peter by the Pope's Sacristan, Monsignor Marinelli, assisted by twelve Cardinals and a number of Bishops and prelates.

16. Lord Derby, in opening the Liverpool University College, congratulated the citizens on possessing six University chairs, each endowed with 10,000*l.*, and upon beginning free from debt. Though they lived in changing times, democracy appreciated science and education, and, whatever happened, a scientific foundation would not be disendowed. The new University would supply evidence that commerce and culture were not antagonistic. The cheapening of education at Oxford and Cambridge would not render local universities unnecessary, for many parents were opposed to sending their sons at a critical time of life a distance from home exempt from domestic influences and restraints.

— A telegram from Vienna announced the breaking out of a serious insurrection in southern Dalmatia and south-western Herzegovina; and large bodies of Austrian troops were at once ordered to the disturbed districts.

17. In London the atmospheric pressure, reduced to sea level, usually ranging between 28·7 inches and 30·7 inches, rose to the abnormal value of 30·932 inches. The only occasion within the last half-century in which the pressure has risen to nearly this value was at 9 p.m. on February 11, 1849, when, according to the records of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, the sea-level pressure must have been about 30·895 inches, or 0·037 inch lower than to-day. Rather more than a century since Sir George Shuckburgh (a remarkably accurate observer) is stated to have observed, in 1778, "the barometer in London at 30·935 inches, which he believed to be the greatest elevation ever seen." Belville gives a table of extreme pressures at Greenwich (not at the Royal Observatory) from 1811 to 1848, and from it, applying all necessary corrections, it appears that on January 9, 1825, the sea-level pressure rose to 30·958 inches, or 0·026 inch above the present extreme. These high barometrical readings throughout the country were attended by frequent and severe fogs.

18. Mr. Henry Woods, painter, and Mr. G. F. Bodley, architect, elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

20. The Hammersmith Station of the Metropolitan District Railway entirely destroyed by fire. The origin of the fire was supposed to be some act of carelessness in the porters' room, where the flames were first observed. The buildings, as well as the platform, being almost wholly of wood, were rapidly in a blaze.

21. Garibaldi arrived on a visit to Naples. He was taken on shore in an invalid chair, on which he lay stretched in a half-sitting posture, unable to turn his head. In his left hand he held a white handkerchief, which he sometimes feebly moved in answer to the cheers by which he was greeted. On being welcomed to Naples by the Syndic, Garibaldi said he required rest and quiet, and begged that no visits might be paid to him, not even by his personal friends.

24. The North Riding election resulted in the return of the Conservative

candidate, Hon. Guy Dawnay, by 8,135 votes, against 7,749 given to Mr. Samuel Rowlandson, the Liberal and tenant-farmers' candidate. Since 1868 there had been no contest in the North Riding.

25. At Hornsey, on the Great Northern line, a train standing in the station was run into by another, arriving from London. Two persons were killed instantaneously, and nearly twenty others more or less injured. A dense fog prevailed at the time.

— A mysterious tragedy brought to light at Brussels by a letter addressed to the Procureur du Roi bearing the Basle postmark, written in English, and signed "Vaughan," in which it was stated that, having seen in the Belgian papers that no news had been received of M. Bernays, an *avocat* of Antwerp, who had been missing since the 7th, he thought it right to mention that M. Bernays had called on him at his house, 159 Rue de la Loi; and that, being a collector of firearms, he had introduced the subject in conversation with his visitor, and that in handling a pistol he had accidentally shot him. On the police proceeding to the house in question, into which they had to force an entrance by lifting a shutter and breaking a pane of glass, the blacksmith having been unable to pick the lock, they found in a small room off the drawing-room the dead body of M. Bernays lying in an arm-chair, to which it appears to have been removed after the accident or crime. The body was in an advanced stage of decomposition, but the Procureur du Roi and a neighbour, who accompanied the police, and had known M. Bernays intimately, had no difficulty in recognising him. The gas had been left alight, and was still burning. On the table was an envelope addressed "To the Coroner of the City of Brussels," and containing a letter, also in English, and signed "Vaughan," explaining how the accident occurred. It was written in a bold hand, betraying neither hurry nor agitation. At the foot of the table, on which were several revolvers, lying on the carpet, was an American pistol. In front of the desk, placed next the wall, was a pool of blood. Of Mr. Vaughan all that could be learnt was that towards the end of last December he called on the owner of the house, for which he signed a lease, giving the name of "'Vaughan,' shipowner, Richmond." He asked his landlord to undertake furnishing the house, on which he intended to spend 40,000 fr., and having given a reference to his banker, which proved satisfactory, the upholsterers set to work. On Friday, January 6, the small room being completed, and curtains having been placed to all the windows looking on the street, Vaughan said to the workmen, "Now, you will not come back till Tuesday or Wednesday." A man in good position named Peltzer was subsequently arrested at Cologne, being the original "Vaughan," and with his brother, who was also taken into custody, charged with the murder, and committed for trial.

— The trial of Charles Guiteau for the assassination of President Garfield, after lasting many weeks, concluded. The judge's charge lasted only an hour and a half. The jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of "Guilty," and Guiteau was sentenced to be hanged on June 30.

27. Mr. Robert Alfred Herman, of Trinity College, declared Senior Wrangler in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos—the last occasion on which this distinctive honour was awarded. In future the Mathematical Tripos examination is to consist of three parts, Parts I. and II. being held in June, and Part III. in January. Those who pass in Part I. so as to deserve

honours will be admitted to Part II., and by the result of these two parts the list of Wranglers, Senior Optimes, and Junior Optimes will be determined. Part III. will only be open to the Wranglers, and those who are successful in this part will be grouped alphabetically in three divisions.

28. Another disastrous collision on the North London Railway, by which five passengers—a man, three women, and an infant—lost their lives, took place between Old Ford Station and the Fairfield Road Bridge, the line there being on an incline downward to the north. Whilst a train of light trucks was travelling southward on the down line, a draw-bar snapped; this, striking one of the sleepers, threw several of the trucks off the metals, blocking the way of an up passenger train which had only a minute or two previously left the station. The effect was to throw the engine of the passenger train against the masonry of the wall which supports the bridge at Fairfield Road. The luggage van was pulled over, and the succeeding carriage was telescoped by the one behind.

30. The directors of the Bank of England, in consequence of the withdrawal of 920,000*l.* in gold for export to France, raised their rate of discount from 5 to 6 per cent. It had stood at the former rates since October 6, 1881.

— The French Financial Society, L'Union Générale, managed by M. Bontoux, suspended payment, causing a severe commercial crisis throughout France, and in many Continental towns.

FEBRUARY.

1. A meeting held at the Mansion House under the presidency of the Lord Mayor to protest against the treatment of the Jews in Russia. Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, and Professor Bryce, M.P., were the principal speakers.

2. The *Nonconformist* newspaper published the results of its attempt to take a religious census in various towns of the United Kingdom, where the population exceeded 20,000. According to this the aggregate attendances distinguishing churches from chapels of all denominations, compared with that of thirty years previously, were—

	Sittings.		Attendances M. and E.	
	Church.	All others.	Church.	All others.
1881 . . .	318,057	522,626	317,752	552,551
1851 . . .	230,265	280,337	227,471	345,498
Increase . .	87,792	242,289	90,281	207,053

The ratio of Church attendance to sittings had improved from 98·7 to 99·9 per cent., whereas that of Dissent had declined from 123·2 per cent. to 105·5. The attendance (morning, afternoon, and evening) compared with sittings in places of 20,000 inhabitants and upwards is shown in the following table:—

	Sittings.		Attendances.	
	Church	Nonconformists—	Church	Nonconformists—
Church . . .	451,989		503,556	or 51,567 more.
Nonconformists—				
Congregational . .	122,922		118,175	or 4,747 fewer.
Baptist . . .	115,811		114,032	„ 1,779 „
Wesleyan . . .	168,157		159,487	„ 8,670 „
Other Methodists . .	174,860		139,340	„ 35,520 „
Presbyterian . . .	26,471		20,578	„ 5,893 „
	608,221		551,612	or 56,609 fewer.

	Sittings.	Attendances.
Roman Catholic	61,259	85,731 or 24,472 more.
Salvation Army	34,600	72,387 „ 37,787 „
Various	86,821	88,724 „ 1,903 „
	182,680	246,842 or 64,162 more.

— In Scotland, statistics relating to over forty of the principal towns, with an aggregate population of 1,602,247, showed that the attendances at public worship were about 21 per cent. of the population, or 5 per cent. between them in England. From a denominational point of view it appeared that of the whole attendances about 30 per cent. were at services of the Church of Scotland; 27 per cent. at those of the Free Church; nearly 19 per cent. at the United Presbyterian; 5 per cent. at the Episcopal; $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at the Roman Catholic; and $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Congregational.

3. The copies of *United Ireland*, a Home-rule organ, previously suppressed in Dublin, seized at a printing office in Liverpool and confiscated.

— The Queen's University, Ireland, came to an end. At the final meeting of the Senate, the Chancellor, the Duke of Leinster, conferred a few degrees, and announced the absorption of the Queen's into the newly established Royal Irish University. In the evening the students at Queen's College Belfast, solemnly interred the hoods, caps, and gowns of a Bachelor and Master of Arts of the Queen's University.

4. The Empress of Austria, travelling as the Countess of Hohenembs, arrived in England, and took up her residence at Combermere Abbey for the hunting season.

7. The third Session of the tenth Parliament of the present reign opened by Commission.

— The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed the judgment of June, 1880, in which Lord Penzance refused to pass a sentence of deprivation on Mr. Mackonochie. The ground of his refusal was that Mr. Martin, by instituting a second suit, and not pressing the first suit to its consequences, had invited the Court to ignore its own solemn decree, and supersede it as nugatory by a further sentence addressed in great part to the same offences. Mr. Mackonochie was not represented by counsel, and the Lord Chancellor, when making known the conclusion at which the Committee had arrived, reserved their reasons.

— An interesting discovery made in part of the monastic buildings of Westminster Abbey. The large upper hall in the western range, once occupied by the cellarer, has in late years been divided up into rooms for a Canon's residence. In the course of some repairs the canvas lining in one of the rooms was stripped off; underneath, fine oak panelling—Jacobean in date—was discovered, and under the panelling the wall was found to be covered with a well-designed painting of the time of Henry VIII. This painting was in black and white, done in *tempera* on plaster, and the design drawn with great boldness and freedom of execution, strongly Holbeinesque in character.

9. The Budget of the London School Board for the year 1882-3 presented, showing the following probable expenditure, and an educational rate of 6d. in the pound voted—

Estimate for the ensu-
ing year to be ended
March 25, 1883.

Expenditure referable to—				
1. Maintenance of schools provided by board		£420,713	9	4
2. Additions to buildings and alterations, &c., not charge- able to capital account		20,000	0	0
3. Enforcement of compulsion, and board as local authority		32,389	0	0
4. Industrial schools		37,130	5	0
5. Office expenses		21,141	3	8
6. Interest and repayment of loans		227,828	4	8
7. Legal expenses (transfer of schools and general business)		2,500	0	0
8. Stamp duties on loans and charges of the Public Works Loan Commissioners, &c.		750	0	0
		£762,452	2	8
Less sundry receipts		3,000	0	0
		£759,452	2	8
Less surplus from previous year		79,856	6	9
Amount to be levied by precept		£679,595	15	11

11. An explosion, which caused the loss of six lives, took place at the Coedcae Colliery, Rhondda Valley, Glamorganshire. Its origin was attributed to the upsetting of some oil cans, from which the pitmen filled their lamps—some of the oil igniting and setting fire to the woodwork of the shaft.

13. According to an American publication, there were published in 1881 34,274 newspapers and periodicals, with a circulation of (in round numbers) 116,000,000 copies, the annual aggregate circulation reaching 10,592,000,000 copies, or about six and one-half papers per year to each inhabitant of the globe. Europe leads with 19,557, and North America follows with 12,400. Asia has 775; South America, 699; Australasia, 661; and Africa, 132. Of these journals 16,500 are printed in the English language, 7,800 in German, 3,850 in French, and over 1,600 in Spanish. There are 4,020 daily newspapers, 18,274 tri-weeklies and weeklies, and 8,508 issued less frequently. It appears that while the annual aggregate circulation of publications in the United States is 2,600,000,000, that of Great Britain and Ireland is 2,260,000,000.

16. The polling at Taunton resulted in the return of the Conservative candidate, Mr. C. Allsopp, by 1,144 votes against 917, given to Viscount Kilcoursie (Liberal).

25. The Electrical Exhibition at the Crystal Palace opened without ceremony by the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh.

27. The monument which Her Majesty commissioned Mr. R. C. Belt to prepare for the perpetuation of the memory of Lord Beaconsfield erected in Hughenden Church. The spot was selected by Her Majesty; and the monument is a touching record of that friendship which can so rarely exist between Sovereign and subject. The centre of the memorial is occupied by a profile portrait carved in low relief. Beneath, is a tablet bearing the following dedication penned by the Queen herself:—

To
the dear and honoured Memory
of Benjamin Earl of Beaconsfield,
This memorial is placed by
his grateful and affectionate
Sovereign and friend
Victoria R.I.
“Kings love him that
speaketh right.”—*Proverbs xvi. 13.*

February 27, 1882.

28. While Middle and Western Europe enjoyed a winter of unusual mildness, no snow falling even on the Swiss mountains, Greece experienced one of extraordinary rigour. In the streets of the village of Cephissia, at the foot of the Pentelikon, only a few miles from Athens, the snow was lying for days six feet deep. Even in Athens itself the streets were blocked with snow.

— A meeting presided over by the Prince of Wales, held in the Banqueting Hall, St. James's Palace, with the object of obtaining public support for the proposed Royal College of Music. The meeting was attended by the Dukes of Edinburgh, Albany, Cambridge, and Teck, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the leading members of both Houses of Parliament, the Corps Diplomatique, and the musical profession.

MARCH.

1. Mr. Shields, who had been recently experimenting on the property of oil in stilling waves, obtained a successful result at Peterhead. The sea at the entrance to the North Harbour was running high, but as soon as the oil apparatus (a force pump with 1,200ft. of lead and iron piping) was set to work, the fairway became quite smooth.

— The Swinton Park Estate, almost identical with the boundaries of Mashamshire, sold by private treaty to Mr. Samuel Cunliffe Lister, of Broughton Hall, Skipton-in-Craven, for the sum of 400,000*l.*, exclusive of the timber. This grand, historical estate, lying in the North Riding of Yorkshire, embraces an area of no less than 22,678 acres, the gross rental of the farms amounting to 12,095*l.*; the mansion, park (of 250 acres), and sporting over 9,600 acres of moors being in hand. It was owned at the Conquest by Earl Edwin, twin brother of Morcar, grandson of the great Leofric of Mercia and the Lady Godiva, and brother-in-law of the unfortunate Harold. The Conqueror confiscated it for the benefit of his nephew, the Earl of Bretagne and Richmond. In the reign of the first Edward it had passed to the Scropes, who were ennobled as Lords Scropes of Masham; and from the Scropes it came by marriage to the old Yorkshire family of the Danbys, whose descendants held it down to the present time.

2. As the Queen, accompanied by Princess Beatrice, was entering her carriage at Windsor Station, on returning from London, she was fired at by a man named Roderick Maclean, who was at once arrested. Neither her Majesty nor any one else was injured. Maclean, whose antecedents were respectable, though he had fallen into want, was subsequently committed on a charge of high treason.

— The Washington Census Bureau revised report of the United States population statistics showed on January 1, 1882, an area of 2,900,170 square miles. The population was 50,155,783, the number of families 9,945,916, and of dwellings 895,512, being an average of 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ persons to each square mile.

3. The twin monuments to the poet Keats and his artist friend, Mr. Severn, unveiled in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome, in the presence of a large number of English residents. In the absence of Lord Houghton the ceremony was presided over by Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope and Mr. Storey, the American sculptor.

4. The Council of the Zoological Society of London having decided to

dispose of its large African elephant Jumbo, and a purchaser at 2,000*l.* having been found in Mr. Barnum, public excitement against the animal's removal to New York took a very strong turn, which increased when the real or pretended unwillingness of the animal to enter his travelling cage became known. On the part of the Zoological Society, Mr. Sclater, the secretary, has written to the papers that the huge animal's temper had of late been a source of great anxiety, and that there was a probability of his soon becoming extremely dangerous. Mr. Tegetmeier makes a similar statement in the *Field*. The excuse did not, however, carry conviction to every mind. The malcontents were represented, amongst many others, by Mr. Ruskin. In consequence Mr. Barnum telegraphed: "Reconsidered. Will return Jumbo next December, if Zoological Society desires. Jumbo advertised here so extensively, loss and disappointment irreparable should he fail to arrive."

— Colonel Brine and Mr. Simmons made an attempt to cross the Channel in a balloon, starting from Canterbury. The wind, which had seemed favourable, proved to be only a surface current, and finding themselves drifting towards the North Sea, they resolved to descend and take their chance of being picked up. Accordingly they donned their cork jackets, and Mr. Simmons, having lifted the valve, the car struck the water with a force that nearly sent the Colonel into the sea. Happily they were observed by the mail packet "Foam," which was making for Dover, and Captain Jutelet went to their rescue. Thousands of people had assembled on the Admiralty Pier at Dover, and there was a scene of intense excitement when the steamer approached. Colonel Brine and Mr. Simmons stated that when they descended they had got about thirteen miles across the Channel, and that nothing but the fact of the wind having changed would have induced them to abandon the trip.

6. Servia proclaimed a kingdom; Prince Milan, a member of the family of Milosch Obrenovich, who obtained the semi-independence of Servia in 1816, assumed the title of Milan I.

— Five persons arrested in Brussels and one in London for complicity in the robbery of diamonds from the Hatton-garden Post-office in 1881. Jewellery to the value of 9,000*l.* recovered.

— Addresses moved and adopted unanimously in both Houses of Parliament, expressing horror and indignation at the attempt made on the Queen's person, and congratulations on her escape.

7. The election at Malmesbury decided in favour of Colonel Miles (Conservative) by 491 votes against 435 given to the Liberal candidate, Mr. Luce.

— A committee of the United States Senate reported in favour of Captain Ead's scheme for a ship railway across the Isthmus of Panama.

8. Extensive floods reported from the Mississippi Valley, by which 60,000 persons were rendered homeless, and enormous quantities of property destroyed.

— In the Chancery Division, Mr. Justice Chitty decided, with regard to the application as to the elephant Jumbo, that the Zoological Society had powers to sell any animal as incidental to the management.

11. Throughout the week a party of spiritualists from London, consisting of two ladies and two gentlemen, remained at Dunecht House prosecuting

their occult investigation for Lord Crauford's body. The stormy character of the weather interfered to some extent with their operations, the cold and snow rendering a prolonged stay in the policies a very trying occupation. They stated that in their trances they had distinctly seen the body being stolen from the tomb. The time of the year seemed to be earlier than May. Three men were engaged in the robbery. They carried the body, which was wrapped in a covering, to a house on the estate, and some time afterwards removed it to a field that slopes towards a wood. This is the exact locality fixed upon by a young man whose dream had previously been published.

13. Steamships arriving from North America reported that vast fields of ice were stretching south-east for two hundred miles from Newfoundland. From Cape Spear five powerful steamers were seen drifting helplessly amid the tremendous icepack. Between Cape Race and Bonavista one hundred and fifty icebergs were observed drifting southward at the rate of two and a quarter miles hourly, the wind being strong from the north-east. The entire Atlantic zone traversed by the ocean steamers would thus be studded with dangerous masses of ice.

14. George Henry Lamson found guilty at the Central Criminal Court of the murder of his brother-in-law, Percy Malcolm John, at Wimbledon, on December 3, and sentenced to death.

— The Queen left England on a visit to Mentone, travelling by way of Portsmouth, Cherbourg and Paris, but without making any halt.

15. A poll of St. Saviour's parish, Southwark, resulted in the acceptance of the offer of the Bishop of Rochester to purchase the advowson for 7,000*l.*, thus abolishing the church rate; the parish reverting to its ancient name of "St. Mary Overy."

21. According to the Naval Estimates presented to the French Chamber of Deputies, the navy of that country consisted of 26 ironclads of the first class, 15 of the second class, and seven ironclad coastguard turret ships. Nine other sea-going vessels and seven floating batteries make up the ironclad fleet. Of fort cruisers there are 14 of the first class, 21 of the second class for fort cruisers, and 19 of the third class. The remainder of the navy consists of the following vessels :—Sixteen first-class gunboats, 5 second-class gunboats, 42 transports, 19 despatch boats, 10 tenders, and 24 chaloupes and canonières. One floating ship and one floating workshop bring the practical list to a close. According to the same return Germany has five ironclad frigates, two tower ships, seven ironclad corvettes, 13 ironclad gunboats, two ditto for river service, and eight torpedo vessels. The French have nine, but do not publish any particulars about them. Austria has seven ironclad vessels, and two ironclad monitors on the Danube and Save. Turkey has 15 ironclads. Sweden has four ironclad ships and 10 ironclad gunboats. The ironclad fleet of Russia consists of 29 vessels all told. Portugal has but one; Italy 18; Holland 25; Spain 5; Denmark 2 ironclad frigates, 5 monitors, and 2 torpedo boats. Greece has one ironclad corvette and one central fort vessel.

22. After some weeks' delay, Jumbo was finally removed from the Gardens of the Zoological Society. A small iron chain was fixed round the elephant's trunk, so as to impede his movements should he grow angry, and then he was marched into his box, where he was secured by his fore feet. He

gave much trouble before his hind legs could also be made fast, and so great was the strength which he put forth that he snapped a rope four inches in circumference. The cage measured 13ft. by 6ft., and was 11ft. in height. About four o'clock in the morning, seven of Pickford's most powerful horses were attached to the cage—the team being afterwards increased to eight and then to ten. It was taken to St. Katharine's Docks, a distance of about four miles, accompanied by a considerable crowd. The dock gates were reached by five. Soon afterwards the cage was placed by means of a huge crane in a barge, in order to be transported to the "Assyrian Monarch." The next afternoon it was lifted into the ship, the whole process not occupying more than eight minutes.

23. In the House of Commons, on the Royal Message relating to the marriage of the Duke of Albany being read, Mr. Gladstone moved a grant to his Royal Highness of 10,000*l.* a year, in addition to his present income of 15,000*l.*, and fixing the allowance to the Princess Helen during widowhood at 6,000*l.* a year; Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Broadhurst, and others opposed; on a division the first proposal was carried by 387 to 42, and the second without division.

— Bank rate reduced from 4 to 3 per cent.

— Colonel Frederick Burnaby made an ascent from Dover, with the intention of crossing the Channel, in the "Eclipse" balloon. Taking with him about twenty bags of sand, a bundle of newspapers, and a rug, a packet of sandwiches and a bottle of Apollinaris water. At a quarter to ten o'clock he stepped into the car, and within five minutes afterwards made a capital ascent, passing over the hills towards the sea in beautiful weather, with wind north-north-east, at an altitude of about 2,000ft. The balloon disappeared forty minutes afterwards. For a time it was becalmed over the sea; but eventually a southerly current was found at a high altitude, and the Colonel descended at the Château de Montigny, near Caen, at about six o'clock, having made a journey of about 250 miles at the average rate of thirty miles an hour.

24. In the House of Lords, Lord Camperdown proposed the commencement of public business at four instead of five o'clock; Lord Granville suggested 4.15, which was ultimately agreed to.

27. The chapel in Tavistock-place was the scene of a new scandal—a prize fight; and the altar rails were used in the formation of the ring. Sergeant Rowan, on presenting himself at the door, was stopped by a demand of a guinea: but he refused to pay, and insisted on entering. He found the fight begun in earnest—kicking and other acts of brutality being resorted to. Rowan accordingly stepped forward and ordered the proceedings to cease, upon which a great tumult ensued. By this time Inspector Arscott had arrived with a few constables, and in the rush that was made to escape several of the latter were roughly treated. Superintendent Thomson, however, came up with additional aid. One of the combatants and twelve other persons were taken into custody. The affair had been promoted by the sporting fraternity in the East-end. The prisoners were brought up at Bow Street and eventually committed for trial.

28. Joseph McMahon, van driver, murdered in Dublin by members of a secret society; important arrests were made, resulting in the discovery of arms and treasonable documents.

— The election for the Carnarvon Borough, for which two Liberals stood, resulted in the return of Mr. Jones Parry by 1,441, his opponent Mr. Scorton Parry polling only 596 votes.

An International Heraldic Exhibition opened at Berlin under the presidency of Count Stillfried-Alcantara, Master of Ceremonies to the German Emperor.

29. The Baroness Burdett Coutts laid the foundation stone of a town-hall for Westminster. The site chosen was in Little Chapel Street, and the building, costing 25,000*l.*, was to be covered by the proceeds of sale of the Westminster workhouse at Kensington.

— At Mentone a balloon went up, with a south-west wind, which promised to carry it inland; but at a height of 1,000 mètres a cross-current blew it out over the sea. The two occupants were obliged to descend, though four kilomètres away from land; but three boats put off, and by dint of hard rowing came up with the balloon. The car was sinking, and the *aéronauts* up to their middle in water when rescued.

30. At Odessa General Strelnikoff, holding the position of Public Prosecutor at the Kieff Military Tribunal, shot in the neck by a revolver, while sitting on the boulevard. The ball penetrated upwards into the head, and came out through the forehead. The General expired within two minutes after being struck. Immediately after the shot was fired, two men were seen to leave the spot where the General had been sitting, and to run down the boulevard towards a *droschky*-stand. They jumped into one of those conveyances, but were stopped before they could drive off. The assassins violently resisted arrest, and, in the struggle which ensued, wounded three persons with revolver shots and poniard stabs. They were, however, finally overpowered and conveyed to the nearest police station under a strong guard.

— The steamboat "Golden City," from New Orleans for Cincinnati, on approaching Memphis about daylight, caught fire. She was headed for the wharf, and was moored within four minutes; but the line parted before many persons could get ashore, and the swift current swept the steamboat in one mass of flames down the river. She had forty passengers and a crew of sixty on board. About thirty-five, mostly women and children, were drowned or burned to death. All the officers but the second engineer escaped. This officer first discovered the fire in the cargo. He gave an alarm, and then remained manfully at his post till the fire prevented his escape. The entire cabin was in flames five minutes after the fire had been discovered. The burning steamboat set fire to a tug and also to some coal barges at the wharf. After floating several miles, she sank on the Tennessee shore.

— Mr. A. E. Herbert, of Killienheerna, county Kerry, a small landlord, and agent of an English landowner, was shot as he was returning from petty sessions.

APRIL.

1. The thirty-ninth boat-race, between Oxford and Cambridge, rowed, ending, according to general expectation, in a victory for Oxford. The morning was fine and bright, with a gentle breeze from the south-west, which increased as the hour for the race drew near, and subsequently changed to nearly due east. At 12.45 Cambridge went to the Middlesex station, and Oxford to that on the Surrey side. At three minutes past one the crews were despatched, and Cambridge, to the surprise of most people, obtained a slight lead at starting, but it did not last long. Oxford started rowing at 38, the Cambridge stroke setting his men 36. At the boathouse Cambridge still appeared to have a lead of a few feet, and were rowing well together; but Oxford, more in the tide, went up rapidly, and at Craven steps were about half a length to the good. At the Crabtree the Oxford stroke had slowed down to 36, but were going so surely in front that they were already two and a half lengths ahead. Hammersmith Bridge was reached by the Oxford crew in 7 minutes 40 seconds, and by the Cambridge crew twelve seconds later. At this point the sternmost crew seemed to have become demoralised, for they rolled about and splashed considerably. They then pulled themselves together a little, but fell off again at the Oil Mills, where the rowing in both boats was but indifferent, the time on the stroke side of the Oxford boat being anything but uniform. At Chiswick Eyot Cambridge were rowing 35 or a trifle over, but were six lengths or more behind the leaders. At Chiswick Church the time of the Oxford crew was 11 minutes 52 seconds, and that of Cambridge 12 minutes 11 seconds, or 19 seconds behind, the Oxford lead being now nearly seven lengths. In the Horse Reach the wind was against the boats, and though not dead ahead of them, was sufficiently so to add a little to the labour of rowing. Oxford went still more in front, and passed under Barnes Bridge 27 seconds ahead of Cambridge. After clearing the Bridge, the Cambridge stroke quickened up to 37 and 38, but the lead was not perceptibly diminished, and the Oxford crew passed the winning-post, about 120 yards above the Ship, in 20 minutes 12 seconds from the start, the Cambridge men being seven or eight lengths behind.

The crews were thus composed :—

OXFORD.		CAMBRIDGE.	
	st. lb.		st. lb.
1. G. C. Bourne, New (bow)	10 13	1. L. Jones, Jesus . (bow)	11 1
2. J. W. De Havilland, Corpus	11 1	2. S. M. Hutchinson, Jesus .	12 1½
3. G. S. Fort (Hertford)	12 3	3. J. W. Fellowes, First Trin.	12 7
4. A. R. Paterson, Trinity	12 12	4. P. W. Atkin, Jesus .	12 1½
5. R. S. Kindersley, Exeter	13 4½	5. E. Lambert, Pembroke	11 12
6. E. Buck, Hertford	12 0	6. S. Fairbairn, Jesus	13 0
7. D. Brown, Hertford	12 6	7. C. W. Moore, Christ's	11 7
A. H. Higgins, Magdalen		S. P. Smith, First Trinity	
(stroke)	9 6½	(stroke)	11 1
E. H. Lyon, Hertford (cox.)	7 12	P. L. Hunt, Cavendish (cox.)	7 5

The time of the race, as taken by Benson's chronograph, was 20 minutes 12 seconds.

— A collision took place off Cape Finisterre between the Royal Mail Company's steamer "Douro" and the Spanish steamer "Yrurac Bat." There was confusion in lowering the boats. The tackle of a boat fouled, and there

were no knives to cut it away. Ten minutes after striking, the "Douro" was sinking fast, stern first. Seven boats had got away safely. The total loss of life was seventeen on board the "Douro" and twenty-three on the Spanish ship.

— At the declaration of the poll for East Cornwall it was found that the Liberal candidate, Mr. C. T. D. Acland, eldest son of Sir T. D. Acland, M.P. for North Devon, had polled 3,720 votes against 3,519 given to Mr. Tremayne, the Conservative.

2. Mrs. H. J. Smythe, of Dublin, while driving home from church with her brother-in-law, Mr. W. B. Smythe, and Lady Harriet Monck, shot dead near Collinstown, Westmeath. On the same day an attempt was made to blow up the William Street Police Barracks, Limerick, by means of a bomb.

3. The convict Lamson respited to April 18, on the representation of President Arthur, through Mr. Lowell, that documents were on their way from New York which would throw new light on the case.

— Match for the Sculling Championship of the World and 1,000*l.*, rowed on the Tyne, and won by Hanlan, of Toronto, who beat Boyd, of Middlesborough, easily.

10. The Easter Volunteer Review held this year at Portsmouth, attended by about 22,000 volunteers and 3,000 regulars under arms. The Prince of Wales was present.

— Release of Mr. Parnell on parole for fourteen days, in consequence of the illness of a relative in Paris.

— Resignation of Prince Gortschakoff, as Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and appointment of M. de Giers as his successor.

— Naval and Submarine Exhibition opened at the Agricultural Hall, Islington.

12. Great Conservative Demonstration at Liverpool, lasting three days, inaugurated by the Marquess of Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, and other leaders of the party, and the foundation-stone of a New Conservative Club laid.

14. The Queen, on her return from Mentone, left Cherbourg at 10.30 A.M. on board the Royal yacht "Victoria and Albert." After a rough passage she reached Portsmouth at 4 P.M., and arrived at Windsor shortly before 7 P.M.

— The discovery of a great robbery at the Winter Palace at Peking announced. For years the Imperial bastions had been the lurking-place of a gang of thieves, who were protected and assisted by the Palace eunuchs. Lights were occasionally observed to flash and gleam from the cannon-holes and windows of these towers, an occurrence which seems to have caused the officers of the household to suspect that they must be inhabited. The eunuchs, on being questioned, confirmed the story of the lights, but explained the mystery by saying that the Hu Hsien, or Fox Fairy, was prostrating himself there with his lighted torch. Fox-myths are far from being extinct in China. The Imperial Palace, however, was found to be not the only public building where depredations had been carried on. In the great National Library of the Hanlin Yuen hundreds of the Imperial editions of standard works were found to have been subjected to the most remorseless

mutilation, all the broad margins of fine white paper having been cut off and sold by the custodians.

15. In Moscow eighty workmen employed in the cathedral in the preparations for the coronation of the Czar arrested, a mine having, it was stated, been discovered under the edifice. The Metropolitan of Moscow refused to perform certain ceremonies pertaining to the season on account of this discovery, and the police prohibited the Easter performances in the popular theatres on the same day. The Prefect of Police received as an anonymous letter a basket of eggs, several of which were found charged with dynamite. A little note said: "We have plenty more for the Czar's coronation." A concealed mine also discovered on the Nicolai Railway. The subterranean works were quite finished, and the wire communication with the rails was in its place, but the explosive matter and galvanic battery were not prepared. Several arrests of railway *employés* were made. A great razzia of Nihilists throughout Russia announced.

— At the Newmarket Craven Meeting the principal winners of the week were :—

The Biennial Stakes.—Mr. Radnall's b. c. Kingdom, 9 st., 1 min. 52 secs., R. M.

Newmarket Handicap.—Lord Cadogan's (4 yrs.) Spring Tide, 7 st. 9 lbs., 2 min. 48½ secs., 1½ mile.

Craven Stakes.—Mr. Craven's (3 yrs.) Laureate, 8 st. 5 lbs., 1 min. 55 secs., A. M.

International Handicap.—Baron A. Rothschild's (3 yrs.) Barbe-Bleue, 6 st. 10 lbs., 2 min. 20 secs.

19. Frederick Maclean tried at Reading Assizes for attempting to shoot the Queen at Windsor, on March 2, and found not guilty on the ground of insanity. Ordered to be confined during her Majesty's pleasure.

— A number of masked robbers in the night wrecked the eastward-bound passenger train on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad, in New Mexico, by obstructing the line with some trucks. The locomotive, baggage, and express cars were thrown from the track, the driver and stoker killed, and the express messenger wounded. The robbers desired to plunder the safe of 200,000 dollars in silver coming from Arizona. They entered the baggage car instead of the express car; and, before they could rectify their error, the passengers attacked them. Upon this the thieves fled without securing the plunder.

— At the Epsom Spring Meeting, the City and Suburban Handicap (1½ mile), won by Lord Rossmore's Passaic, 4 yrs., 6 st. 7 lbs.; time, 2 min. 11 secs. 14 started.

20. In the House of Commons, Mr. Redmond suspended by 207 to 12, for using expressions concerning Mr. Forster, which were ruled to be unparliamentary.

-- The action of Mr. C. H. Robarts, late City Remembrancer, against the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, contending that he had a right to hold the office of Remembrancer for life, dismissed. Notice given of appeal.

— At the London School Board, Miss Helen Taylor moved "that the Board petition Parliament to be allowed to open all its elementary schools free." The opponents of the resolution maintained that education was a

parental obligation, and that only in exceptional cases ought fees to be remitted; that children whose fees were remitted were those most irregular in their attendance. If free education were given out of Imperial taxation, it must necessarily embrace all the elementary schools of the country. To surrender the school fees of the country and the voluntary contributions would involve a sum of 2,200,000*l.*, and this sum would have to be made up out of the taxation of the country. The abolition of fees, moreover, would be fatal to the voluntary schools, which must either be closed or handed over to the Board, as public opinion was not yet ripe for this change. The "previous question" was carried, after a long debate, by 23 against 13.

22. A cyclone destroyed Monticello, Louisiana, leaving only three buildings on the outskirts standing. Ten persons were killed and many injured, twenty seriously. Of the 150 population few escaped without some injury.

25. Hanoi, the capital of Tonquin, captured by the French forces under the command of Colonel Rivière. The expedition left Saigon at the end of March, sailed up the river, and landed on French territory just outside the town. The Viceroy and Mandarins withdrew to the citadel, nearly four miles in circumference, and defended by 8,000 Annamite soldiers. At 8 A.M. the attack was commenced by three gunboats firing shot and shell. In the course of a couple of hours, flames were seen in various places; and the embrasures having been cleared by musketry fire, two attacking columns, commanded by Captain Berthe de Villers, forced their way through the Northern Gate. About 150 Annamites were killed, but not a single French soldier, although Captain de Villers and a few others were slightly wounded.

— The Princess Helen of Waldeck, accompanied by her parents, arrived in England, and was received by the Queen at Windsor.

— In the House of Commons, Mr. Leighton's resolution, that the State should have custody of all lunatics, negatived by 81 to 34.

— Mr. Spencer Walpole, for many years an Inspector of Fisheries, and a distinguished historian, gazetted Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man.

26. Arrival of the King and Queen of the Netherlands as guests of the Queen at Windsor. The Order of the Garter conferred upon the King.

— At Newmarket, the race for the Two Thousand Guineas won by the Duke of Westminster's Shotover.

27. Marriage of Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, and Princess Helen of Waldeck-Pyrmont solemnised at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

28. Announcement made of the resignation of Earl Cowper as Viceroy of Ireland, and the appointment of Earl Spencer to the post.

— George Henry Lamson hanged at Wandsworth Gaol for the murder of his brother-in-law, Percy Malcolm John, at Wimbledon, on December 3, 1881.

— At Newmarket, the race for the One Thousand Guineas won by Mr. W. S. Crawford's St. Marguerite.

29. Two infernal machines, containing half a pound of powder each, were discovered in the Post Office mails at New York. One exploded prematurely in the mail bag, while in transmission from the central to the branch office, tearing a hole in the bag. It was directed to Mr. William H.

Vanderbilt. The second package, identical with the first, was found addressed to Mr. Cyrus W. Field. A third explosive package was found on the previous night placed in the vestibule of a house which the perpetrators of the act supposed to be occupied by the superintendent of police. They were mistaken in the number, as he lived four doors farther along the street. The machine exploded, but caused only some slight damage. The general opinion was that the attempts were due to Socialists.

— A very remarkable and serious gale visited London and the southern counties of England, blowing with great force, and for some hours bringing the thermometer below freezing point. The damage done to the foliage of the chestnuts and limes was irreparable, and in the London parks and gardens the number of trees of all descriptions which were uprooted was greater than in any gale of previous years.

— At the Newmarket Spring Meeting the principal winner of the week was : Prince of Wales's Handicap, Count de Lagrange's Maskelyne (4 yrs.), 7 st. 4 lbs., 1 min. 53 secs., R. M.

MAY.

2. Release from Kilmainham Gaol of Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly.

— The Duke of Edinburgh opened an exhibition of ships' models in the Fishmongers' Hall.

— Colliery explosion at Baxterley Colliery, Warwickshire, by which nine men were killed, and twelve men afterwards lost their lives in trying to rescue them. Explosion at Morley, near Leeds : Seven persons killed.

3. Chester Cup won by Lord Roseberry's Prudhomme, 5 years, 8 st. 4 lbs., 4 min. 32 secs. $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

4. The first sod of the new canal dividing the Isthmus of Corinth turned by the King of the Hellenes, and the rock where Nero began cutting the isthmus blown to pieces by dynamite discharged by the Queen.

6. The Queen and Princess Beatrice went in state from Windsor to Epping Forest, where they were received by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, the Duke of Connaught (Ranger of the Forest), &c. After the presentation of the Address of the Corporation of London, the Queen declared the Forest dedicated to the use and enjoyment of the public for all time.

— Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Irish Secretary, and Mr. Thomas H. Burke, Under Secretary, stabbed to death while walking in Phoenix Park, Dublin. The assassins, who were four at least in number, drove off in a car and escaped detection.

8. Lord Granville in the House of Lords, and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, moved the adjournment as a mark of respect to the memory of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas H. Burke.

— From a return published the total cost of the Election Commissions at Boston was 2,760*l.*; Canterbury, 1,727*l.*; Chester, 3,352*l.*; Gloucester, 4,161*l.*; Knaresborough, 2,258*l.*; Macclesfield, 5,064*l.*; Oxford, 3,781*l.*; Sandwich, 2,139*l.*

9. In the House of Commons, leave given to the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms to plead in the action brought against him by Mr. Bradlaugh for assault, in removing him from the precincts of the House in August, 1881. The Speaker decided that Mr. Labouchere's resolution for legislation to enable every duly elected member to take his seat could not be put, as it was identical with one previously negatived.

12. At about nine o'clock in the evening a canister wrapped up in brown paper was found attached to the rails at the back of the Mansion House by a string, and it was said that a rag was discovered alight close by. The canister was of iron, having the appearance of being a paint or varnish can. It was filled with powder and rubbish, and was tightly soldered down. Through the lid had been pierced a hole, in which a fuse had been fastened. A reward of 500*l.* was offered for the apprehension of the persons concerned, but no arrests ensued.

16. Prosecution of the *Freiheit* newspaper undertaken by the Home Office for a "scandalous libel" respecting the assassinations in Dublin.

— A review of the troops by the Queen held at Aldershot.

— Thomas Fury, who had been convicted on his own confession of the murder of Maria Fitzsimmons, at Sunderland, in 1869, executed at Durham.

17. Steamers arriving at New York from the westward reported that icebergs were passed almost daily between May 7 and 17, in latitude 43°, longitude 47°. Many were of immense size, and were visible for forty miles. Arctic animals were seen upon them, some living and others skeletons. Ten waterspouts were observed, whirling in dangerous proximity to the "Alisa" from Aspinwall. They were rendered visible by the lightning. The captain of H.M.S. "Tenedos" reported that the ice was nearly solid from Cape Breton to Newfoundland.

18. The new Eddystone lighthouse lighted up for the first time by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, in his quality as Master of the Trinity House.

19. In the House of Commons, the opening of public museums and galleries on Sundays negatived by 208 to 83.

— Mr. Isaac Holden (Liberal) elected for the northern division of the West Riding by 9,892 against 7,865 votes given to the Hon. A. Gathorne-Hardy, the Conservative.

— The London, Chatham, and Dover Company's pier at Queenborough took fire, and in spite of every effort to arrest the flames it continued burning till the next morning. The pier and all the buildings connected with it; the steam cranes, the telegraph offices and instruments, and twelve trucks laden with merchandise—including, it is said, a large quantity of silver goods—were destroyed.

21. The Guion steamer "Alaska" arrived at New York, having made the passage from Queenstown to Sandy Hook in seven days four hours and forty-two minutes, the shortest time recorded.

22. The new bell, "Great Paul," for St. Paul's Cathedral, weighing seventeen tons, which was cast at Loughborough, arrived at its destination, after having been eleven days on the journey of 112 miles by road.

— The St. Gothard Railway opened.

26. The Select Committee on Electric Lighting recommended that the business of the Electric Lighting Companies should be secured to them for fifteen years, and at the expiration of that time their plant might be taken over by the local authorities without compensation for future profits.

— Albert Young, a railway clerk at Doncaster, sentenced at the Old Bailey to ten years' penal servitude for sending a letter to Sir Henry Ponsonby threatening to murder the Queen.

— Rev. Ernest Wilberforce, Vicar of Seaforth and Sub-Almoner to the Queen, appointed Bishop of the newly created see of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

27. The principal races of the Epsom Summer Meeting decided during the week were :—

Woodcote Stakes.—Lord Hastings's Beau Brummel, 2 yrs., 8 st. 12 lbs., 1 min. 15 secs., $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.

The Derby.—Duke of Westminster's Shotover (T. Cannon), 3 yrs., 8 st. 5 lbs., 2 min. 45 secs., $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Epsom Grand Prize.—Lord Bradford's Quicklime, 3 yrs., 8 st. 3 lbs., 2 min. 14 secs., $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile.

The Oaks.—Lord Stamford's Geheimniss (T. Cannon), 3 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs., 2 min. 49 secs., $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

— The fourteenth annual Co-operative Congress opened at Oxford under the presidency of Mr. G. J. Holyoake. Mr. Milburn (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said that co-operation in the northern section—Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and a small portion of the North Riding of Yorkshire—had raised a capital of 600,000*l.*; and it had done a trade last year amounting to 2,684,173*l.*, and they had made a profit of 344,774*l.* The progress of co-operation had been very marked. It took from 1836 to 1866 to raise the first million of capital, five more years to raise the second, a year and a half to raise the third, and to-day they had a capital of six millions, with a trade of upwards of twenty millions and a profit of two millions yearly.

31. A new steerable balloon, the invention of Herr Baumgarten and Dr. Wælfert, tried at Charlottenburg near Berlin. It was of huge size, having a capacity of about 473 cubic yards, ellipsoid in form, the longer diameter about fifty-eight feet. It differed in principle from all other aerostats in that, although inflated with hydrogen, it had no ascensional force; its total weight being about 2·1·5lb. above that of the air it displaces. The means of displacement, in the horizontal or the vertical direction, were a helical system of vanes actuated by machinery in the car. The first experiments were quite successful. The weather was exceptionally calm. In a second trial a slight accident ruptured the envelope of the balloon, and the car mechanism was also injured.

JUNE.

1. Dr. Busch, Surgeon-General of the Russian Fleet, convicted of having sold appointments to naval surgeons for sums varying from 200*l.* to 400*l.* He was condemned to banishment, being the fourth person of high official rank condemned for corruption since the beginning of the year.

— Mr. John Charles Day, Q.C., of the South-Eastern Circuit, appointed judge of the High Court of Justice in succession to Mr. Justice Bowen promoted.

1. Manchester Cup won by Lord Ellesmere's Wallenstein, 5 yrs., 8 st. 5 lbs., 3 min. 31½ secs.

2. Great strike of ironworkers in the United States: a train boarded, and negroes who were going to work attacked and beaten; Judge Pillsbury, of the Illinois Appellate Court, who was one of the passengers, shot dead.

— The Bath and West of England Show at Cardiff brought to a close. As compared with previous meetings this one was a great success, the total number of admissions amounting to 62,621, and the receipts to 5,066*l*.

— Extraordinary batting performance in a cricket match between M.C.C. and Ground v. Leicestershire at Lord's, Barnes and Midwinter for the M.C.C. scoring 266 and 187 respectively, the innings closing for 546.

4. The breech of a 25-pound gun on board H.M.S. "Swiftsure" broke off while firing a salute at Madeira; one man killed, and three injured.

5. Mr. Justice Bowen sworn in as a Lord Justice of Appeal in the place of Lord Justice Holker.

6. The Rev. H. Dodwell detained at Broadmoor Asylum for shooting at the Master of the Rolls, made a determined and murderous attack on Dr. Orange, the superintendent, his weapon being a large stone. Fortunately, he was overpowered before he could effect his purpose.

8. Mr. Walter Bourke, of Rahassan, county Galway, and Corporal Wallace, of the Dragoon Guards, who was acting as his escort, shot dead near Gort. A reward of 2,000*l*. was at once offered by the Government for the apprehension of the murderers.

— Garibaldi buried in the cemetery at Caprera. The procession was composed thus: A company of the Line, with its band playing a funeral march; the sailors of the ironclads; the bier, carried and accompanied by the survivors of the Thousand of Marsala; the other veterans of Garibaldi's battles; Prince Thomas, Duke of Genoa, with his suite; the Minister of War, with the generals and other officers of the Italian Army risen from Garibaldi's ranks; deputations from the Senate, Chamber of Deputies, the Roman Municipality, and from the army and navy, from numerous towns and public guilds; a number of persons carrying large funeral wreaths. At the grave short discourses were delivered by the Marchese Alfieri, for the Senate; Signor Farini, President of the Chamber of Deputies, for that body; Signor Zanardelli, Minister of Justice, for the Cabinet; General Ferrero, Minister of War, for the Army and Navy; and Signor Crispi for all Italy.

9. Ascot Races:—

Prince of Wales's Stakes.—Lord Bradford's Quicklime, 3 yrs., 9 st. 1 lb., 1 min. ½ sec.

Ascot Stakes.—Lord Bradford's Retreat, 5 yrs., 8 st. 5 lbs., 3 min. 49 secs., 2 miles.

Royal Hunt Cup.—Mr. Gerard's Sweetbread, 3 yrs., 6 st. 4 lbs. N. M.

Gold Cup.—Mr. J. R. Keene's Foxhall (T. Cannon), 4 yrs., 9 st., 4 min. 12 secs., 2½ miles.

Hardwiche Stakes.—Mr. J. Lefevre's Tristan, 4 yrs., 9 st. 10 lbs., 1½ miles.

10. An attempt made by Sir Claude de Crespigny, his sister, and M. J. Simmons, to cross from Maldon, Essex, to France. The weather being boisterous, Miss de Crespigny gave up the intention. The balloon having been inflated with about 40,000 cubic feet of gas, Sir Claude and Mr. Simmons

took their seats, and the order was given to let go ; but, in consequence of some of the men on one side holding the ropes too long, the car was jammed twice against a brick wall. A spectator was crushed against the wall, and sustained a fracture of the ribs. Sir Claude fell or threw himself backwards out of the car, and his leg was broken in two places, and Mr. Simmons suffered a severe wound on the head. When Sir Claude was out of the car the balloon rapidly shot up. The last seen of Mr. Simmons was that he was without a hat, and was waving his hand to the assembled crowd, but was soon lost among the low-lying clouds. His account was as follows :— In a few minutes after I started, I began to listen for the breakers and heard them. At 1.5 p.m. I came down, and had a peep at the sea ; the sound of the breakers I had now left behind me ; there was in a few minutes another similar sound ; I could just perceive a sandy coast line before me. I presume I must have at this moment been about midway over the sea, between Canterbury and Maldon, whence I started. When I again dipped below the clouds, I was over land. A few minutes later and I was just to the west of Deal, every house in it was very distinct—Dover just to the right of my course—shouts coming up from Deal. It was exceedingly difficult to keep low enough to be under the clouds with the object of seeing around me the coast line, and at the same time, being high enough to get a good sweep of it. At about 1.45 I was over the chalk cliffs between Dover and Deal ; a very few minutes later I was over the “ Calais-Douvres ” steamer, and could see the passengers waving to me. Twelve minutes only were occupied in passing from the English chalk cliffs to the French coast. I was near enough to Calais to see all its streets and objects of interest. I now took off my cork jacket, and began to look out for a suitable landing-place. There was nothing in my track that I could fix my grapnel to, so I went on looking out for hedges or ditches, till I thought I was nearly a hundred miles into France. Nothing was passed but fields merely divided by the crops. I now had a large city just before me, and came low enough to get a hearty greeting from the people, who rushed into the principal place or quadrangle. Some of them told me the place was called Arras. I passed over to the other side of the town, and determined to descend shortly after. The grapnel began to tug away at the standing crops, and at last the car had pushed its way enough to collect a mound in front of it sufficient to put a stop to the trip. By the help of the natives I was conveyed back to Arras, where the car was instantly recognised as that which had floated over the town so shortly before. After being hospitably entertained I took train to Calais, *via* Hazebrouck, and then steamer to Dover.

11. A rising of the Arab population against the Europeans took place at Alexandria, in the course of which four Englishmen were killed, the British Consul, Mr. Cookson, C.B., and the Italian and Greek Consuls wounded, and above 250 Europeans, chiefly Maltese and Greeks, reported to have been murdered.

12. In the House of Lords, the second reading of the bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister, introduced by the Earl of Dalhousie and opposed by the Bishop of Peterborough, was thrown out by 132 non-contents to 128 contents. The Royal Princes voted in its favour, but the Duke of Cambridge and the Archbishop of Canterbury left the House without voting.

— The Guion steamship “ Alaska ” surpassed her previous performance,

making the voyage from New York to Queenstown in six days and twenty-two hours.

16. The Council of the Society of Arts awarded the Albert Medal of the Society to M. Louis Pasteur, of the Institute of France, for "his researches in connection with fermentation, the preservation of wines, and the propagation of zymotic diseases in silkworms and domestic animals."

— A terrible tornado passed over some of the most thickly settled parts of the State of Iowa : its path extending over 150 miles, and averaging half a mile in width. Over 300 families had their homes totally destroyed ; sixty-nine persons were killed and more than 500 wounded, the majority of them severely, one half of the town of Grinnep being swept away. The storm, supposed to be of electric origin, took up cattle, houses, and trees in its spirals, carrying them long distances ; trains were blown off the rails and telegraphic lines interrupted. The amount of damage was estimated at over three million dollars. The States of Missouri, Illinois, and Kansas also suffered severely in loss of both life and property.

17. A seizure of arms and ammunition, far exceeding any made since the first outbreak of Fenianism, effected in Clerkenwell. In a stable were found 400 Snider rifles, twenty-five cases of revolvers, five barrels of ammunition, and a large supply of cartridges. Thomas Walsh, a carpet planner, was arrested on the charge of feloniously receiving and dealing in firearms, &c., believed to belong to her Majesty.

— The Prince of Wales unveiled the statue of Sir Rowland Hill, by Mr. Onslow Ford, erected by public subscription, at the Royal Exchange. The ceremony took place in the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and a large number of the Mayors and civic officials of the provincial towns, who were subsequently entertained at a grand banquet at the Mansion House.

— First day's sale at Messrs. Christie, Manson & Co., of the contents of Hamilton Palace. The eighty pictures offered fetched 43,200*l.* ; the highest price, 4,900 guineas, being given by Mr. Beckett Denison for Rubens' "Daniel in the Lions' Den."

19. Thomas Walsh, who had been arrested in connection with the seizure by the police in a stable in Rydon-crescent, Clerkenwell, of 400 stand of rifles, twenty-five cases of revolvers, several kegs of powder, and about 100,000 rounds of ammunition, charged at Clerkenwell Police Court with feloniously receiving and fraudulently dealing with certain rifles, bayonets, &c., believed to be the property of her Majesty's Government.

21. About forty Nihilists arrested in St. Petersburg ; a large quantity of dynamite found in their possession, and a plan of the Kremlin.

— The natives of Martio, near the Sherboro' River, having plundered a boat belonging to British subjects, and fired on the police, a party of blue-jackets and police were sent to the place. The British being fired on from the bush an encounter took place, and the natives retired with 200 said to have been killed.

23. The Prince and Princess of Wales, guests of Sir Titus Salt, at Saltaire, opened the new Technical Schools at Bradford, Yorkshire, erected at a cost of 30,000*l.*

24. The sale of the Italian pictures of the Hamilton Palace collection

102 in number, took place at Messrs. Christie, Manson & Co., realising a total of 26,802*l.* 10*s.* Many of the most important were hotly contested by the representatives of the Louvre and National Gallery.

— Archdeacon Blomfield consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Colchester in the Cathedral of St. Albans.

26. The Prince and Princess of Wales went to Hastings to open a public park of seventy-seven acres acquired by the town, and afterwards drove to St. Leonard's, where the Princess opened a Children's Home.

27. At the Auction Mart, Tokenhouse Yard, the advowson or next presentation to the living of Feckenham, Worcestershire, having been offered for sale, the President of the Curates' Alliance opposed the transaction with such effect that only a derisive bid of 1*s.* 6*d.* was obtained.

28. The Oxford and Cambridge cricket match ended in a victory for Cambridge by seven wickets. The following is the score :—

OXFORD.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. E. D. Shaw, st Wright, b Ramsay . . .	63	st Wright, b Ramsay . . .	4
Mr. A. O. Whiting, b C. T. Studd . . .	8	run out . . .	38
Mr. C. F. H. Leslie, c Gaddum, b Smith . . .	6	b Smith . . .	31
Mr. J. G. Walker, b Smith . . .	0	run out . . .	5
Mr. W. A. Thornton, c Gaddum, b C. T. Studd . . .	26	1-b-w, b Gaddum . . .	26
Mr. M. C. Kemp, c and b C. T. Studd . . .	4	c and b Gaddum . . .	82
Mr. E. Peake, b C. T. Studd . . .	27	b Lacey . . .	21
Mr. W. D. Hamilton, c De Paravicini, b C. T. Studd . . .	9	run out . . .	0
Mr. N. M'Lachlan, c Ramsay, b C. T. Studd . . .	2	b C. T. Studd . . .	16
Mr. J. Patterson, not out . . .	8	b C. T. Studd . . .	3
Mr. G. E. Robinson, b C. T. Studd . . .	2	not out . . .	9
Byes, 8; 1-b, 2 . . .	10	Byes, 10; 1-b, 11; w, 1 . . .	22
Total . . .	165	Total . . .	257

CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. G. B. Studd, c Hamilton, b Peake . . .	120	b Peake . . .	5
Mr. J. E. K. Studd, b Peake . . .	14	c M'Lachlan, b Peake . . .	30
Hon. M. B. Hawke, c Whiting, b Patterson . . .	15	not out . . .	39
Mr. F. E. Lacy, c M'Lachlan, b Peake . . .	6	c Kemp, b Shaw . . .	69
Mr. C. T. Studd, c Whiting, b Robinson . . .	0	not out . . .	1
Mr. C. W. Wright, b Robinson . . .	17		
Mr. R. C. Ramsay, b Peake . . .	8		
Mr. P. J. T. Henery, 1-b-w, b Thornton . . .	61		
Mr. P. J. De Paravicini, not out . . .	9		
Mr. C. A. Smith, c Kemp, b Peake . . .	14		
Mr. F. D. Gaddum, run out . . .	0		
Byes, 8; 1-b, 3 . . .	11	Byes, 4 . . .	4
Total . . .	275	Total . . .	148

Umpires—West and Wheeler.

29. Three more murders reported from Ireland. Mr. J. H. Blake, agent to the Marquis of Clanricarde, and his servant, Keane, shot dead on a car near Loughrea. John McCausland, of Belfast, attacked while on a car, killed with a scythe, his servant being seriously injured.

— The annual match between Eton and Winchester concluded on the grounds of the latter College, with the following result :—

WINCHESTER.—First Innings.

Mr. T. R. Cobb, b Brownlow	19
Mr. H. G. Saunders Davies, c Pemberton, b Jardine	0
Mr. F. M. Ingram, b Jardine	1
Mr. H. G. Ruggles-Brise, b Brownlow	22
Mr. G. W. Ricketts, b Richards	3
Mr. F. W. Montagu, b Brownlow	5
Mr. E. B. Hills, b Brownlow	10
Mr. J. M. F. Fuller, c Pemberton, b Brownlow	46
Mr. P. Humphry, c Richards, b Brownlow	22
Mr. B. E. Nicholls, c Knatchbull-Hugessen, b Brownlow	11
Mr. J. M. Swayne, not out	0
Byes, 11; 1-b, 2; w, 1; n-b, 4	18
Total	157

ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. R. J. Lucas, c Humphry, b Nicholls	0	b Ruggles-Brise	14
Mr. R. H. Pemberton, c Fuller, b Nicholls	14	c and b Nicholls	7
Mr. W. F. Cave, c Humphry, b Nicholls	0	b Nicholls	2
Mr. A. H. Studd, b Nicholls	0	b Nicholls	18
Mr. H. W. Bainbridge, c Cobb, b Nicholls	8	c Ricketts, b Ruggles-Brise	2
Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, b Swayne	6	not out	19
Mr. F. Marchant, c Hills, b Nicholls	8	c Nicholls, b Swayne	4
Mr. A. C. Richards, c Nicholls, b Swayne	9	c Fuller, b Swayne	0
Mr. C. Bogle-Smith, b Nicholls	5	c Humphry, b Nicholls	0
Hon. J. A. Brownlow, not out	1	c and b Nicholls	11
Mr. I. F. Jardine, c Ingram, b Nicholls	5	c Nicholls, b Swayne	1
Leg-bye, 1	1	Byes, 1; 1-b, 1	2
Total	57	Total	80

Umpires—Thoms and Lück.

30. Charles Guiteau hanged at Washington for the murder of President Garfield.

— At the Old Bailey Frederick Schwalm, found guilty of publishing in the *Freiheit* a scandalous libel on the late Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Bourke, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

— In an action for libel brought by Mr. Thomas Scrutton against Miss Helen Taylor (both members of the London School Board) with reference to the alleged mismanagement of St. Paul's Industrial School, a verdict by consent given for the plaintiff for 1,000*l.*, including costs.

JULY.

1. A Royal Charter raising Newcastle to the rank of a city granted.

— First railway in Newfoundland, running from St. John's, the capital, to Topsail, opened for public traffic.

— The following Civil List Pensions were granted during the year ending June 30 :—Dr. William Alexander Greenhill, in consideration of his services to medical literature and sanitary improvement, 50*l.* per annum ; Dr. Charles Wells, in recognition of his services in connection with Oriental languages and literature, 50*l.* per annum ; Mr. Charles Patrick O'Connor, in consideration of his merit as a poet, and of his narrow means of subsistence, 50*l.* per annum ; Professor Thomas Wharton Jones, in recognition of his services to medical science, 150*l.* per annum ; the Rev. John Jones, in consideration of

his literary services in Wales, 50*l.* per annum ; Mrs. Anne Lucy, in consideration of the services rendered to art by her late husband, Mr. Charles Lucy, 70*l.* per annum ; Mrs. Katherine Burton, in consideration of the valuable contributions to literature of her late husband, Dr. John Hill Burton, especially in connection with the history of Scotland, 80*l.* per annum ; Miss Marianne Alice Aline Burke, in consideration of the high character and distinguished services of her brother, Mr. T. H. Burke, and in view of all the circumstances of the case, 400*l.* per annum ; Maria Fairman Lady Cole, in recognition of the great services rendered by her late husband, Sir Henry Cole, in the advancement of science and art in the country, 150*l.* per annum ; Mr. Edwin Waugh, in consideration of his literary merit, 90*l.* per annum ; Mrs. Alice Callaghan, in recognition of the excellent public service of her late husband, Mr. J. F. Callaghan, C.M.G., Governor of the Bahamas, and of her narrow circumstances, 50*l.* per annum.

3. In the House of Commons, the Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett) announced that the Committee of Railway Managers had assented to his scheme for a Parcels Post, whereby forty-five per cent. of the proceeds would be given to the Post Office, and fifty-five per cent. to the railway companies.

— Dalton Hall, a house of residence for students at Owen's College, built by the Quakers at a cost of 12,000*l.*, opened by the Bishop of Manchester.

5. Inaugural meeting of the Property and Liberty Defence League held, at Westminster Palace Hotel, under the presidency of Lord Elcho. The motto chosen by the League was 'Self-help *versus* State Interference.'

6. Mr. Justice Kay gave judgment in the case of the Channel Tunnel, directing that an inspection of the works under the bed of the sea should be carried out by the Board of Trade, and that the works should not be pushed farther.

7. At the Henley Regatta, the final heats were decided as follows :—

Grand Challenge Cup	Exeter College, Oxford.
Diamond Sculls	J. Lowndes.
Visitors' Challenge Cup	Brasenose College, Oxford.
Town Challenge Cup	Reading Rowing Club.
Public Schools Challenge Cup (Four oars)	Magdalen College School, Oxford.
Challenge Goblets	Lowndes and Brown, Hertford College, Oxford.
Ladies' Challenge Plate	Eton.
Coyfold Challenge Cup	Jesus College, Cambridge.
Thames Challenge Cup	Royal Chester.
Stewards' Challenge Cup	Hertford College, Oxford.

8. The Lawn-tennis Championship brought to a conclusion at Wimbledon by the victory of Mr. W. Renshaw over his brother, Mr. E. Renshaw. The latter had won the All-comers Gold Prize by his careful and at the same time brilliant play all through the preceding week, in the course of which he had met and defeated the pick of the players, amongst whom were Mr. E. de S. Browne (the Irish player), Mr. H. F. Lawford (the winner of the Gold Prize in 1880), and Mr. R. T. Richardson (the famous Northern champion). It was only natural that he should next challenge the champion of the preceding year, and a close contest was expected. Mr. E. Renshaw began by playing very well, and placed two out of the first three sets to his credit. At this point, however, his play seemed to fall off, and the champion picking up very rapidly eventually won by three sets to two.

10. The steamship "Floors Castle," from Hankow for London, went ashore near Cape Guardafui, on the north-east coast of Africa. The ship struck heavily, and the next sea threw her broadside on the beach. On the 27th the shipwrecked men were rescued by a passing steamer.

11. The twenty-four hours' grace having expired, Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour opened fire at 7 A.M. on the forts of Alexandria, with the fleet under his command. The fire was returned by the forts, and the bombardment was continued for several hours, by which time the forts were nearly all silenced. A landing party blew up the guns in Fort Mexs. British loss, five killed and twenty-seven wounded. Several of the ships hit, but none disabled.

12. During the night Alexandria was seen from the fleet to be in flames; in the morning the forts and town were found to be almost deserted. The convicts had been set free, and, with Bedouins, had fired and pillaged the town and massacred all the Europeans they could find. Arabi had retired with his forces, and the bulk of the inhabitants of the town. Parties of marines and bluejackets landed, and blew up some of the guns in the forts and cleared the streets of looters.

13. The city of Siena visited by a series of earthquake-shocks, of which the twelfth, occurring at 6 P.M., was very violent and occasioned great alarm.

— A passenger train containing 217 persons ran off the rails between the Tcherny and Bastijeur Stations, on the Moscow-Kursk line. Thirty-nine of the passengers were extricated from the *débris* in a more or less injured state, but the remaining 178 lost their lives.

— Mr. Justice Chitty pronounced invalid the objections made to the sentence of deprivation passed in the Prestbury case by Lord Penzance on Mr. De La Bere. The sentence, he maintained, had not been pronounced without jurisdiction, or in an improper place, and he remarked incidentally that the counsel of Mr. De La Bere were certainly not deficient in boldness.

15. At Lord's cricket-ground there was a greater crowd than ever to witness the match between Eton and Harrow, more than 13,000 spectators being present. Unfortunately the game could not be finished. Each school had previously won twenty-five matches, seven having been drawn. At the close of the first day one innings had been played by each eleven, Harrow being ahead by 47. The match was drawn, in consequence of the rain, but much in favour of Harrow, as will be seen from the following score:—

HARROW.

First innings.		Second innings.	
Hon. E. W. H. Ward, b Brownlow	. . . . . 25	c Richard, b Brownlow	16
Mr. R. Moncreiffe, c Richards, b Jardine	. . . . . 4	b Jardine	44
Mr. D. G. Spiro, c Richards, b Brownlow	. . . . . 24	run out	21
Mr. H. E. Crawley, c and b Jardine	. . . . . 9	not out	22
Mr. H. T. Hewett, b Jardine	. . . . . 6	c Studd, b Brownlow	0
Mr. W. C. Staveley, b Jardine	. . . . . 1	c Lucas, b Jardine	5
Mr. T. Greatorex, c Brownlow, b Richards	. . . . . 48	c Richards, b Jardine	0
Hon. C. Anson, c Marchant, b Jardine	. . . . . 7	c and b Studd	14
Lord Athlumney, c and b Hugessen	. . . . . 21	c Richards, b Studd	5
Mr. H. Stewart-Brown, c Cave, b Richards	. . . . . 26	b Jardine	0
Mr. L. Sanderson, not out	. . . . . 7	run out	2
Byes, 6; 1-b, 2; w, 1	. . . . . 9	Byes, 2; 1-b, 3; w, 6; n-b, 12	
Total	. . . . . 187	Total	141

ETON.

First innings.		Second innings.	
Mr. H. W. Bainbridge, b Moncreiffe	32	b Moncreiffe	0
Mr. R. J. Lucas, b Moncreiffe	4	c Hewett, b Sanderson	6
Mr. R. H. Pemberton, b Sanderson	14	b Sanderson	9
Mr. A. H. Studd, b Moncreiffe	31	b Sanderson	6
Mr. W. F. Cave, b Sanderson	9	b Hewett	49
Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Huggessen, b Moncreiffe	4	c Sanderson, b Hewett	16
Mr. J. Hargreaves, not out	13	c and b Ward	25
Mr. A. C. Richards, c and b Sanderson	0	not out	5
Mr. F. Marchant, c Sanderson, b Brown	19	not out	10
Hon. J. Brownlow, st Ward, b Sanderson	6		
Mr. I. F. Jardine, c Staveley, b Moncreiffe	3		
Byes, 3; 1-b, 2	5	Byes, 4; 1-b, 2	6
Total	140	Total	132

— Mr. Bright resigned his seat in the Cabinet.

— A St. Gothard train was saved from what might have been a serious disaster by an act of rare courage and devotion on the part of a workman. As the noise of the train was heard in the distance, a large stone fell from the rocks above, at the outlet of the Polmengo Tunnel. A way guard who was on the spot succeeded by a great effort in pushing the obstacle aside, but only by the sacrifice of his life, for at the same instant the train came up, and before he could get out of the way he was caught by the locomotive and cut to pieces.

17. At Washington, the House of Representatives confirmed the election of Mr. Smalls, a negro, to a seat for South Carolina.

18. The body of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, which had been stolen from the tomb at Dunecht in May, 1881, found concealed in the grounds near the spot whence it had been removed. It was discovered two feet below the surface in a thicket in the woods. It was thickly wrapped in blankets, which were much decayed, and it could not be ascertained whether the preserving effect of the embalming of the body has been neutralised by such prolonged contact with moist earth. The discovery was made through one Charles Suter, who stated that shortly after midnight on the date of the theft he was poaching on the wooded "policies" of Dunecht, and that during his peregrinations in the semi-darkness he came upon a party of four men who were engaged in burying the body. Upon their observing the intruder the men set upon him, threw him down, and, presenting a revolver close to his head, swore him to keep the matter secret, with the alternative of certain dreadful penalties. Subsequently Suter was charged with being an accessory to the deed, was arrested and tried, and having been found guilty, was sentenced to five years' penal servitude.

— Professor F. M. Balfour, accompanied by a guide from the Valley of Gaas, left Courmayeur, with the intention of making the ascent of the Aiguille Blanche, a virgin peak of Mont Blanc, from Penteret, and returning afterwards to Courmayeur. When, however, several days elapsed, and they did not reappear, fears were entertained as to their safety, and a telegram was despatched to Chamounix, asking if they had been seen on that side of the mountain. The answer being in the negative, a party was forthwith organised at Courmayeur to go in search of them. After a long and perilous journey the bodies of Mr. Balfour and his guide were found side by side, the

rope by which they had been attached to each other being still intact ; but the place where they lay was so difficult of access, and their removal would have been attended with such difficulty and danger, that no attempt was made to take them away ; and they remained for some days where they fell, on the Fresnay glacier at the foot of the Penteret, from which it was evident they had been precipitated. Mr. Balfour was so much impressed with the perilous nature of the undertaking he was about to attempt, that before leaving Courmayeur, he made his will and insured an ample provision for the family of the guide who risked and lost his life in his service.

20. In the House of Lords, the motion by Lord Salisbury for an address praying her Majesty not to assent to the proposed statutes for the University of Oxford concerning the nomination of examiners negatived by 70 to 57.

— Sale of the Hamilton Palace collection of pictures, works of art and *virtu*, including the Beckford Library, concluded, having lasted seventeen days. The amount realised was over 428,000*l*.

21. In the House of Commons, the President of the Board of Trade, in his description of the proceedings of the Submarine Railway Company, stated that, in spite of the repeated orders of the Board of Trade, the promise of the secretary of the company, and the personal assurance of Sir Edward Watkin himself, the substantial work of boring, which had been wholly unnecessary for protecting life and securing ventilation, had been carried forward to a distance of more than 600 yards beyond low-water mark. In his judgment, the acts of the company amounted to so flagrant a breach of faith that no further works should be allowed to be executed except after compliance with the strictest legal conditions.

— The editor and publisher of the *Freethinker*, and Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., committed for trial by the Lord Mayor on the charge of blasphemous libel, preferred by Sir Henry Tylor.

22. The Wimbledon meeting closed after a fortnight of very variable but generally unfavourable weather.

The following were the winners of the principal prizes :—

	Points	Highest possible score
With the Martini-Henry rifle :—		
¹ Queen's Prize, First Stage, Part I.—Colour-Sergeant W. H. O. Smith, 6th Surrey	93	105
Queen's Prize, First Stage, Part II.—Colour-Sergeant W. H. O. Smith	174	205
Queen's Prize, Second Stage.—Sergeant Lawrence, 1st Dumbarton	65	105
Alexandra.—Sergeant James Black, 1st Cumberland	63	70
Army and Navy Challenge Cup, First Stage. S. I. M. Quick, 2nd Battalion, H.L.I.	59	70
Army and Navy Challenge Cup, Second Stage.—Sergeant Pratrinton, 30th Regiment, Durham	29	35

¹ Under the new conditions which came into effect this year, the completion of the shooting at the 600 yards range in the First Stage of the Queen's neither ended the contest for the Silver Medal, nor determined the sixty entitled to shoot for the Gold Medal in the Second Stage. An intermediate Stage, composed of the 300 best aggregate scores at 200, 500, or 600 yards was introduced, each competitor to fire ten shots at 500 and 600 yards ranges.

	Points	Highest possible score
With the Snider rifle:—		
St. George's Challenge Vase.—Lieutenant Stevens, } 15th Middlesex	33 . . .	35
(After firing off a tie with Captain Mellish, 2nd Notts, and winning by one point on eleven shots.)		
Windmill.—Private Smith, 1st Gloucester . . .	35 . . .	35
Prince of Wales's.—Lieutenant Mitchell, Canada . . .	85 . . .	105
Snider Association Cup.—Corporal Tayler, 5th Stirling . . .	35 . . .	35
(After shooting off ties with Colour-Sergeant W. H. O. Smith and Captain McAlister.)		
Snider Wimbledon Cup.—Captain Earl Waldegrave, } 1st London	36 . . .	50
(After shooting off a tie with Sergeant Pullman, 2nd Middlesex.)		
With any rifle:—		
Albert, First Stage.—Captain Godsall, 2nd Bucks . . .	119 . . .	125
Albert (Jewel), Second Stage.—Private Gibbs, 1st } Gloucester	67 . . .	75
Wimbledon Cup.—Major Young, 21st Middlesex . . .	65 . . .	75

Matches.

Snider:—		
Kolapore Challenge Cup.—Mother Country . . .	536 . . .	840
(Canada, Jersey and Guernsey competed.)		
China Cup.—1st Ayrshire . . .	366 . . .	500
Chancellor's (University) Plate { Oxford . . . 471 } Cambridge . . . 443 }	. . .	840
Ashburton (Public Schools) Shield.—Charter House	346 . . .	560
Martini-Henry:—		
United Service Challenge Cup.—Volunteers . . .	614 . . .	840
Any rifle:—		
Elcho Shield { England . . . 1,536 } Ireland . . . 1,505 } Scotland . . . 1,424 }	. . .	1,800
Vizianagram Cup { Lords . . . 534 } Commons . . . 511 }	. . .	600

— A fire broke out on the premises of Sir W. Rose, wholesale oil merchant, Vintry-wharf, Upper Thames Street, and, notwithstanding the efforts of fourteen steamers, six hydrants, and a floating engine, the building was burnt down.

— The yacht "Mayflower" run down and cut completely in two by the steamship "Valhalla" off Dungeness. The captain and three seamen were drowned.

24. An English steamer, the "Florence" from Hamburg for Havre, passed through a snowstorm, which lasted about ten minutes, twenty miles south-west of Dungeness.

— According to the *Revue Industrielle* the electric lines actually at work were those of Lichterfelde (about 2.6 kilometres in length), and that from the Spandauer Bock to Charlottenburg, near Berlin; another line, from Port Rush to Bush Mills, in the north of Ireland, was also open (length about ten kilometers); and also in Holland, one from Zandvoort to Kostverloren (length a little over two kilometres).

25. A Royal Proclamation issued, calling out Class I. of the Army Reserve on August 2.

— A man named O'Brien, *alias* Wingate, was arrested in Puerto Cabello,

Venezuela, on his own confession that he was one of four men who murdered Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in the Phoenix Park.

— Consecration at Durham of the Rev. E. R. Wilberforce as first Bishop of Newcastle.

26. The remains of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, which had been surreptitiously removed from the family vault at Dunecht, reinterred in the family vault at Wigan.

27. The "Dacca" sailed from Portsmouth with the first instalment of the British troops destined for Egypt, consisting of the Royal Marines and Royal Marine Artillery.

28. Canon Basil Wilberforce addressed a strong remonstrance to the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the large number of public-houses erected on Church property.

— The Chief Pilot Meiling, of the German Navy, brought to trial for selling naval plans to Russia, and condemned for high treason to six years' hard labour, and dismissal from the navy.

— The Goodwood meeting terminated ; the principal events of the week's racing having been won as follows :—

		yrs.	st.	lbs.	min.	secs.	miles
Goodwood Stakes .	Mr. T. Davis' Fortissimo . .	4	8	3	5	18	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sussex Stakes . .	Mr. C. I. Lefevre's Comte Alfred	3	0	10	1	51 $\frac{3}{4}$	1
Stewards' Cup . .	Earl of Ellesmere's Lowland						
	Chief	4	8	8	1	18 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{4}{5}$
Goodwood Cup . .	Duke of Hamilton's Friday .	5	7	11	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chesterfield Cup .	Duke of Hamilton's Vibration	3	5	12	2	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

29. Mr. Dudley de Chair, a midshipman of H.M.S. "Alexandra," who had been sent to Ramleh with despatches, made a prisoner by Arabi.

— 1st Battalion Scots Guards (about 700 strong), with the Duke of Connaught, embarked on board the steamer "Orient" in the Royal Albert Dock, for Egypt.

31. Pollok Castle, the Renfrewshire residence of Sir Hew Pollok, was totally destroyed by fire, nothing being saved but a few pictures and the family plate ; the damage being estimated at from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* The house was the most picturesque and ancient family seat in the west of Scotland.

— The report for 1881 of the Committee for Council on Education (England and Wales) showed that in the year ending August 21, 1881, the inspectors visited 18,062 day schools in England and Wales, to which annual grants were made, these furnishing accommodation for 4,389,633 scholars, or rather more than one-sixth of the population. There were on the registers the names of 4,045,362 children, of whom 1,268,250 were under seven years of age, 2,573,801 between seven and thirteen, 157,584 between thirteen and fourteen, and 45,727 above fourteen. The accommodation had increased in the year by 148,880 school places (or 3·51 per cent.), and the scholars on the registers by 149,538 (3·84 per cent.). The average attendance also had increased by 112,619 (4·09 per cent.), and the number of children individually examined by 91,465 (4·8 per cent.). The annual Government grants to elementary day schools rose in the year from 2,130,009*l.* to 2,247,507*l.*, or from 15*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* to 15*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* per scholar in average attendance ;

while the grant for the current financial year was estimated at 16s. per head. The number of voluntary schools was 14,370, with accommodation for 3,195,365, and an average attendance of 2,007,184; while the number of Board schools was 3,692, with accommodation for 1,194,268, and an average attendance of 856,351. The expenditure per scholar in average attendance was for the whole of England and Wales 1*l.* 14*s.* 11½*d.* in voluntary, and 2*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* in Board schools. Of the latter the highest was London (2*l.* 15*s.* 10½*d.*) and the lowest Hull (1*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*)—9½*d.* lower than the Roman Catholic, which are the lowest of the voluntary schools; while Bradford was 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, Liverpool 2*l.* 3*s.* 3¾*d.*, Manchester 1*l.* 19*s.* 0¼*d.*, Birmingham 1*l.* 18*s.* 1¾*d.*, and Leeds and Sheffield each 1*l.* 17*s.* 5½*d.*

AUGUST.

1. Wanstead Park formally opened to the public as an addition to Epping Forest.

— The Life Guards and Horse Guards embarked for Egypt at London in the “Calabria” and “North Holland” steamships.

2. The series of *fêtes* held at Trieste to celebrate the opening of an Exhibition and the fifth centenary of the Union of the district with Austria were seriously disturbed by a bomb being thrown from a house into a procession of veterans who were marching through the streets in honour of the Archduke Charles Louis. Twelve persons were wounded, including the editor of a newspaper, a prominent member of the Austrian party, and a waiter, named Forti, was killed. The next day a mob attacked the coffee-houses where the Irredentists usually meet, broke the windows at the offices of the Irredentist newspapers, and shouted against the Italians before the Italian Consulate.

— At the Central Criminal Court William Mertens, a compositor, was sentenced to three months’ imprisonment for his share in the publication of a libel in the *Freiheit* newspaper. The prosecution had been undertaken by the Crown.

3. Cetewayo, ex-King of the Zulus, arrived in England on a visit. Quarters were retained for him in Melbury Road, Holland Park, where he spent above three weeks.

— Mr. William Penhall, of Furnival’s Inn, and his guide, Andreas Maurer, lost their lives while attempting the ascent of the Wetterhorn. They had apparently been swept by an avalanche of fresh snow down one of the main gulleys of the higher part of the mountain, whilst crossing the ravine.

— Mr. B. Leigh Smith and the missing crew of the ship “Eira” found by Sir Allen Young, who had gone in a steam whale-ship, the “Hope,” of 500 tons, in search of the missing Arctic expedition. The “Eira” had left Peterhead on June 14, 1881, and reached Franz Josef’s Land on July 23. She left Bell Island on August 15, and, after an ineffectual effort to pass to the eastward of Barent’s Horn, she made fast to an ice-floe, but before many days had passed got nipped in the ice and sunk off Cape Flora before the crew could save many stores. Here they built a hut of turf and stones and wintered ten months, living on walrus and bear without symptoms of scurvy appear-

ing. They returned in boats through the ice to Matotchin Straits, in Nova Zembla, which they reached on August 2, and were found the next day by Sir Allen Young all well.

4. Return of H.M.S. "Bacchante" with the sons of the Prince of Wales on board, after an absence of two years.

5. Auriol, a priest, the *curé* of Nohedes, Pyrenées Orientales, after a trial lasting several days, found guilty of poisoning two ladies from whom he had obtained wills in his favour. He hastened to realise considerable sums from their estate, and sent 5,000 francs to a schoolmistress with whom he intended to elope and promised to marry. The jury found extenuating circumstances, only from unwillingness to send a priest to the guillotine, and he is sentenced to penal servitude for life.

7. Great dissatisfaction among the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, accompanied by meetings at Limerick, Waterford, Dublin, and elsewhere, and a general strike threatened. The cause of the dissatisfaction was said to be the non-distribution of a sum of 180,000*l.* voted by Parliament on account of the extra duties thrown upon the force.

— At a popular *fête* in the Tuileries Gardens an interesting apparatus for the utilisation of solar heat was exhibited. A moving reflector concentrated the sun's rays on a boiler which worked a steam-engine, which was used to set in motion a printing machine.

8. A shocking disaster reported from Grodno, in Russia. In a cellar underneath an elementary school a tradesman had unlawfully left a barrel of gunpowder, and suppressed the fact. An explosion accidentally took place at a time when the children and teachers were all in school. The building was reduced to a heap of ruins, and the inmates buried under the *débris*. The windows and doors of a church and other buildings in the neighbourhood were shattered. Nearly all the school children, most of whom were Jews, were killed.

9. Meeting of the Austrian and German Emperors at Ischl.

— The Lord Mayor entertained Her Majesty's Ministers at dinner at the Mansion House. Speeches by Lord Northbrook, Mr. Childers, Mr. Gladstone, and others.

— Thomas Walsh, arrested in connection with the seizure of arms in Clerkenwell, convicted at the Old Bailey of treason-felony, and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

— A most destructive fire reported from Stavropol, in the Caucasus. Owing to the heat the crops and all vegetation were in a very dry condition, and the grass having accidentally caught fire at one spot, the conflagration spread with great rapidity. The area of the crops destroyed was estimated at eighty square kilometres. The fire was only extinguished by a violent storm.

— The North German Lloyd's steamer "Mosel" ran ashore in a fog at Church Cove, on the coast of Cornwall. The ship struck stem first, and she was instantly lifted for her entire length on to the adjacent rocks. The passengers, crew, mails, and specie were all saved.

10. The agitation among the Irish constabulary temporarily suspended, on an understanding that their grievances would be removed.

— The Irish Ladies' Land League dissolved for the formation of a new organisation to oppose the Landlords' Land Corporation.

— The claim made by MM. Rothschild against the French Government for the value of bullion stolen by the manager of the Bordeaux Mint rejected by the Council of State. Several years before they deposited with M. Delebecque, manager of the Bordeaux Mint, bars of silver to the value of 1,300,000*f.* for the purpose of being coined. The Government affecting inability to coin the bars within twelve months, MM. Rothschild accepted the delay. A law was hurried through Parliament to relieve the Government from any such obligation, and M. Delebecque profited by the interval to sell the bars and substitute silvered copper ones. The Council of State decided that the manager of the Mint was at that time a simple contractor engaged by the owners of bullion, and personally responsible to them for the proper disposal of it.

11. An exciting scene was witnessed at Kingston-on-Thames, when the corporation of the borough, with the aid of a strong force of men, successfully resisted the efforts of the Thames Conservancy officers to remove the floating bath which had been recently opened there. Several notices had been served upon the corporation ordering them to remove the bath, which they refused to obey. At an early hour several Conservancy men arrived at the bath to remove the structure, but owing to the way they were met by the resisting force, who were armed with boat-hooks and poles, they withdrew. A conference was then held between the contending parties, when it was agreed that the Conservancy men should take up one or more of the bath's anchors as a mark of their authority. This they did, but immediately afterwards a punt loaded with Conservancy men attempted to unloose one of the chains by which the bath was held to the shore, whereupon resistance was again offered. By this time a large crowd had assembled, and after a short time the Conservancy men withdrew.

12. Mr. Gabbett, of the Durham University, who had left Zermatt on the previous day, and slept at the Stockje hut, lost his life in an attempt to ascend the Dent Blanche, and his two guides—J. M. Lochmatter and his son—perished with him. The remains of the three were found close together on the rocks to the right of the Col d'Hérens, with no indications to show how the accident was brought about.

— In the House of Commons, a Sunday Closing Bill for Cornwall read a second time by 41 to 8.

— A destructive fire broke out from some unexplained cause at the works of Messrs. Hill and Son, the well-known organ-builders, in York-road, Camden-town. In a few minutes the flames attained such a hold as to attract attention for miles round. Eleven steam and seven manual engines were soon on the spot, but some hours' strenuous exertions were needed to quell the conflagration. The valuable organ of Eton College Chapel, which had been removed during the erection of a new screen, an organ intended for Bolton parish church, one for Boston, and another for Rawtenstall, Lancashire, were destroyed. The organ from Lincoln's-inn Chapel was on the premises, but it escaped, though not without injury from water and other

CHRONICLE.

13. The Hamidie Theatre, in Constantinople, fell during the performance of a comedy called "Keuprula Dzezair." The house was full, all the galleries being crowded. Over 150 persons were injured. The audience was mostly

composed of soldiers and young men of good family. The building was badly constructed, and known to be dangerous; but the Turkish authorities had refused to sanction its reconstruction.

14. Capt. F. Harvey, R.N., and Capt. H. Whalley Nicholson (late 82nd Regiment), in order to prove the value of the Berthon life and safety boat, to which a gold medal had been awarded, offered to test its properties in a practical manner. When through the Bay of Biscay, the boat containing the above-mentioned officers, with four seamen, was launched from the R.M.S. "Essequibo," parting company at 10 A.M., the distance from Southampton being some 600 miles. They subsequently regained that port eight days afterwards, having thoroughly tested the capabilities of the boat during this unprecedented and hazardous voyage, under all sorts of difficulties incidental to tempestuous weather and heavy seas.

15. A great popular demonstration held at Dublin on the uncovering of Foley's statue of Daniel O'Connell, the "Liberator," and the simultaneous opening of the National Exhibition of Irish Arts and Manufactures.

— At Brünn, the Austrian Manchester, and capital of Moravia, a so-called rainspout burst, inundating the city and its environs, and doing an incalculable amount of damage. In the course of a few minutes all the streets were covered with a torrent of water 2ft. deep. The main sewers of the town burst, and all the basements and cellars in the place were filled. The furniture was swept out of many of the houses and carried down the streets.

16. The Ministerial Whitebait Dinner held at Greenwich.

— Mr. E. D. Gray, M.P., High Sheriff of Dublin, sentenced to three months' imprisonment, to pay a fine of 500*l.*, and to find security for 5,000*l.* for three months more, for the publication in the *Freeman's Journal* of a scandalous libel, calculated to defeat the course of justice in Ireland.

— Presentation of the freedom of the City of Dublin to Messrs. Parnell and Dillon.

— The Persian Cotton Mills, Bolton, damaged by fire to the amount of 60,000*l.* The building was four storeys high, and contained 50,000 spindles. The fire broke out in a spinning-room on the third floor, and was caused by the friction of a small pulley on a machine near to the staircase. The sparks fell amongst some fluff, which instantly ignited, and before the workpeople had time to apply the fire-extinguishing apparatus a large portion of the room was in flames. The operatives rushed to the staircase, and, unable to penetrate the stifling clouds of smoke, returned to the windows, and cried imploringly for help. They then commenced leaping from the window sills on to a shed on the south side of the mill. Five were so badly hurt that they had to be removed to the infirmary.

17. Bank rate of discount raised from 3 to 4 per cent.

— A most revolting and brutal murder committed in a solitary mountainous part of wild Connemara. One John Joyce, a peasant farmer, and his wife, aged mother, and young daughter, were found on Friday morning dead in their wretched cabin, and his two boys dangerously wounded. The boys, one of whom subsequently died, were just able to state that the family was attacked by three or four unknown men in the middle of the night and shot at with revolvers and beaten with bludgeons. Within two years there

had been four agrarian murders in the district, one of them being that of Lord Mountnorres ; and it was believed that the extermination of Joyce's family was due to their being suspected of giving some information as to one of these murders. They were tenants of Colonel Clements at a rental of 6*l.* a year ; but the landlord had collected no rent for three years. Near Kilkenny another farmer was dragged out of bed and shot.

— The Queen presented new colours to the 2nd Battalion Berkshire Regiment (the 66th) at Parkhurst, Isle of Wight. The regiment lost its old colours in the engagement with Ayoub Khan, at Maiwand, on July 24, 1880, when 370 of its officers and men were killed, including its commanding officer, Colonel Galbraith. Two of the companies wore the Afghan Cross, struck in memory of the march from Cabul to Candahar.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales received at Marlborough House the Maori Chiefs, who had come to this country. They were presented by Canon Liddon.

18. Royal assent having been given to eighty-eight bills, Parliament adjourned to October 24, for an autumn session.

— The Postmaster-General, in his annual report on the work of his department, stated that during the Christmas week nearly 12,500,000 letters and packets had been dealt with in the central office, which included 4½ tons of registered letters, against 11½ millions and 4 tons of registered letters in the previous year. The number of valentines despatched from the central office, which had in recent years shown a large falling off, increased to 1,634,000, whilst in 1880 the number was 534,000. In Dublin the valentines were reported to have been almost entirely discontinued. The total estimated number of letters, post-cards, book-packets, newspapers, &c., received in the United Kingdom from abroad during 1881-2 is roughly calculated at 69 millions ; while the number despatched from these shores was reckoned at about 87 millions. Europe sent us some 37 millions, America 22 millions, India 3 millions, China half a million, Australia and New Zealand 3¼ millions, and Africa 2½ millions ; on the other hand, the United Kingdom despatched about 44 millions to Europe, 22 millions to America, 7½ millions to India, 1¼ million to China, 6 millions to Australia, and about 6 millions to Africa. The number of telegraph messages was 31,345,861, being an increase of 1,933,879 over the previous year. Deducting from this number about 6,000,000 for Government and press messages, it appeared that the average number of private messages was about three for every four persons in the United Kingdom, and it further appeared that the proportion of telegrams to letters was as one to forty-four. Within the year no fewer than 4,462,920 postal orders were issued, amounting to 2,006,917*l.* The classes of orders most in demand were the 1*s.*, 5*s.*, 10*s.*, and 20*s.* The gross revenue for the year was upwards of 9,028,374*l.*, and the net revenue 3,100,475*l.*, being, notwithstanding a heavy increase of expenditure, an increase of 32,396*l.* on the previous year.

19. Instructions issued from the Royal Engineers Department for the removal of the ruins of Sandown Castle ; the masonry, amounting to about 600 tons, to be employed in the construction of a residence for the General Commanding the South-Eastern District, at Dover Castle. The castle was built in the 16th century by Henry VIII., at the same date as Deal Castle, the residence of Earl Sydney. The walls of Sandown Castle were found to

be about 20 feet thick at the foundation, gradually diminishing as they reached to the summit. During the reign of Charles II., Colonel Hutchinson, who had been a member of the Long Parliament and Governor of Nottingham Castle, was a prisoner within its walls, and died there in September, 1664.

20. Mr. Thomas George Dismore, solicitor, of Liverpool, killed by a fall down a precipice on Snowdon. At the inquest, his companion, who accompanied him from Capel Curig, said they diverted from the ordinary path to Llanberis. Seeing they were approaching a sharp declivity, he called out, and retraced his steps, thinking the deceased was following. Suddenly there was a slip, and, turning round, he saw the deceased falling over the edge of a precipice, his body dropping with a heavy thud on the loose stones below—a distance of fully 300ft.

— Arrival at Aberdeen of Mr. Leigh Smith, with the Arctic Search Expedition, which had rescued him after loss of his ship the "Eira."

— Three ex-officers of the Cuban insurrection, Celedonio Rodrigues, Rogelio Castillo, and José Maceo, a brother of Antonio Maceo, one of the prime leaders of the Cuban insurrection, under sentence of transportation in Spain, succeeded, after many trials, on the 15th, in escaping from Cadiz, where they were prisoners. They took refuge at Tangier, where they arrived on the 16th, and where they were not interfered with by the Moorish authorities. Wishing, however, to go to the United States, they proceeded by the "Hercules" to Gibraltar, where they arrived at about five o'clock in the same evening. When they presented themselves for permission to enter the town, they were brought before the head of the police. They declared whence they came and whither they intended going. The head of the police at once gave orders to two of his men to conduct them to the frontier line separating English from Spanish territory. The prisoners protested against so cruel a measure, but they were conveyed in a carriage to the frontier and there handed over to the Spanish police. At first guarded in the barracks of the gendarmerie, they were afterwards transferred to the barracks of the garrison, and sent the following day handcuffed to Algeiras, where Celedonio Rodrigues and Rogelio Castillo were at once put into prison.

21. In consequence of various vacancies by deaths and retirement of the original members, a new commission on Historical Manuscripts was constituted as follows:—Sir George Jessel, Lord Carlingford, the Marquis of Lothian, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Rosebery, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice, the Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Lord Houghton, Lord Acton, Sir George Webbe Dasent, and Mr. William Hardy.

— Amateur sculling championship of the Thames, won by Mr. Payne.

— The British Archæological Association opened its thirty-ninth Annual Congress at Plymouth.

— The Irish Labour and Industrial Union founded at Dublin under the auspices of the advanced Home Rule party.

22. At Gross Bedskerek, South Hungary, the trial commenced of Thekla Popov, a peasant woman, and over a hundred accomplices, charged with poisoning their husbands. The guilt of the prisoners said to have been already proved in thirty-five cases, and in thirty more strongly suspected.

— The result of the contest for the Haddington Burghs, vacant by the

resignation of Sir David Wedderburn, was the election of Mr. Craig Sellar (Liberal) by 833, over Mr. W. S. Seton Carr (Conservative), 544.

23. The annual gathering of the British Association inaugurated at Southampton by Dr. Siemens' presidential address.

24. Major-General George Dean-Pitt appointed Keeper of the Jewels in the Tower of London. He entered the army in 1839, and distinguished himself by a series of valuable services in the Australasian colonies. In 1859 he raised, organised, and trained the Victorian Volunteer Force, and on the renewal of the war in New Zealand in 1863, under commission for the Colonial Government, raised upwards of 2,000 men.

27. A daring robbery of jewellery took place at the premises of Mr. F. A. Bowler, jeweller, of 71 Piccadilly. Before the shop was closed, at five on the Saturday afternoon, the jewellery was taken out of the window and placed in a safe at the back of the shop. On Monday morning this safe was found open, and a number of empty jewel-cases were strewn about the floor. It was apparent that the thieves had entered from the front, for of the three locks by which the shop-door is secured, and which had been left secure on Saturday, two were found unfastened. When the safe was examined it was found that the whole of the jewellery had been taken from it. The value of the property was estimated at from 1,100*l.* to 1,200*l.*

30. Production at the Birmingham Musical Festival of Gounod's sacred trilogy "The Redemption."

— An alarming epidemic of dysentery reported from various parts of Sweden. In Malmoe there were about 1,000 sick, and the rate of mortality was very high. The schools were closed in consequence. Quarantine was immediately established in Copenhagen, and subsequently extended to the German seaports of the Baltic.

SEPTEMBER.

1. The agitation among the Dublin Metropolitan Police, which had been going on throughout the week, culminated in the dismissal of 234 men, who had attended meetings of the body after warning from the officials. In consequence of this step nearly all the remaining men (over 600) tendered their resignations, and only twenty-five superintendents and inspectors held their places. The city was patrolled by military, and more than one collision with the mob occurred. The majority of constables subsequently withdrew their resignations, and all those dismissed, with the exception of seventeen, were reinstated.

— A serious accident, involving the loss of three lives, occurred on the North British Railway. A goods train from Edinburgh had proceeded as far as Dunbar, when, owing to an unexpected circumstance, the boiler of the engine exploded, and a goods train coming up from the South dashed into the injured train, throwing both off the line. The force of the explosion was such that a part of the boiler of the engine was found 90 yards away.

2. According to a return of proceedings under the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, up to July 31, 1882, issued this day, the total number of applications to have fair rents fixed had been 79,455; the number of agreements to

fix fair rents having been 11,364, making a total of 91,819. Rents already fixed were 11,552; applications dismissed or struck out, 2,062; applications withdrawn, 1,331; agreements fixing fair rents, 11,364; making a total of fair rent cases decided (it being inferred that in cases of withdrawal the rent had been agreed upon), 26,309. The total number of applications to have leases declared void had been 1,509, the leases declared void being 99; the applications dismissed and struck out were 648; in addition to which 329 were withdrawn or compromised, making the total of lease cases disposed of 1,076. The miscellaneous originating notices as to sale of tenancies and resumption of holdings had been 150, of which 18 were disposed of. The appeals *in re* fair rent had been 2,970, the number heard 871, withdrawn 97, the total disposed of 968.

3. At the conclusion of the military manœuvres at Ishora, near St. Petersburg, the sappers threw a military bridge over a deep ravine, at the bottom of which ran a stream of water. The Emperor, Empress, and Cesarewitch passed over it safely, but immediately afterwards it gave way, and a number of persons fell into the ravine, among others the Grand Duke Michael, General Kostandi, and M. Wannowski, Minister of War. Subsequent investigations pointed to the conclusion that a torpedo-shell had been placed in the river with the view of destroying the Imperial party.

— Serious railway accident at Hugstetten, on the Baden State Railway, in which seventy-one persons were killed and many seriously injured, caused by an excursion train returning to Freiburg running off the line.

4. Duel at Paris between M. de Massas, editor of the *Combat*, and M. Dichard, a writer in *Le Petit Caporal*, in which the former was killed.

5. Annual conference of the Library Association of the United Kingdom opened at Cambridge. In the course of the proceedings the Conference refused to pass a resolution for or against the opening of public libraries and museums on Sundays.

— The Jubilee of the National Temperance movement celebrated with great enthusiasm at the Crystal Palace.

6. The Report issued by the Board of Trade showed the following statistics of railways in the United Kingdom during the year ended December 31, 1881:—

Mileage	18,175	Receipts per train mile from	<i>d.</i>
Double or more mileage	9,873	passenger and goods traffic	61.74
	£	Expenditure per train mile,	
Capital	745,528,162	exclusive of harbour, &c.,	
Capital per mile open	41,019	expenses	32.26
Ordinary capital	275,935,904	Net earnings per train mile	29.48
Receipts:—		Percentage of net earnings on	
Passenger	27,692,000	capital	4.33
Goods	36,801,000	Dividend paid on ordinary	
Miscellaneous	2,662,000	capital	4.66
Total	67,155,000		
Working expenditure	34,900,000		
Net earnings	32,255,000		

The increase of capital employed during the year was 17,211,000*l.*, but of this part was due to concessions. The proportions of the various kinds of

paid-up capital expended on the railway system up to the close of 1881 were :—

	Amount	Per Cent.
Ordinary stock	£275,936,000	37
Guaranteed and Preferential	284,965,000	38
Loans and Debenture Stock	184,627,000	25
Total	£745,528,000	100

As compared with the previous year, the passenger traffic receipts showed the following results :—

	1881 £	1880 £	Increase in 1881 £	Decrease in 1881 £
First Class	3,804,000	3,944,000	—	140,000
Second Class	3,445,000	3,530,000	—	85,000
Third Class and Parliamentary	15,377,000	14,830,000	547,000	—
Periodical Tickets	1,521,000	1,456,000	65,000	—
Excess Luggage, &c.	3,545,000	3,433,000	112,000	—
Total	27,692,000	27,193,000	499,000	—

— The Philharmonic Theatre, Islington, destroyed by fire.

— A man named Thomas Quin shot dead while driving along the high road near Edenderry, King's County.

— A desperate attempt to murder three people was made by a burglar at Highfield House, Stamford Hill. For some time previously attempts had been made to enter the house, and consequently the groom, Richard Howe, was set to watch. Shortly after ten o'clock he saw a man enter the grounds with a ladder, which he placed against one of the bedroom windows, and after looking round to see that he was not observed he opened the window by pushing back the latch with an old table-knife, which he took from his pocket. As soon as he had got through the window Howe gave notice to the occupants that a burglar was in the house, and some gentlemen who were playing billiards left their game, and after a short consultation removed the ladder. The police having been sent for they went upstairs to the room where the burglar was, and on opening the door found him busily engaged in ransacking the drawers and boxes, and placing the valuables ready to be taken away. The burglar, on seeing that he was detected, at once took out of his pocket a revolver, and said he would murder anyone who came near him, and directly afterwards he fired several times from that revolver and from another which he had in his pocket. One of the bullets entered the back of Howe, and others who attempted to seize the man had a very narrow escape. After a desperate struggle they succeeded in getting one of the revolvers out of his hand, and struck him a heavy blow on the head, rendering him partly insensible. The police-constable obtained the assistance of several other officers, and the prisoner was secured and taken to the Stoke Newington police-station, where he gave the name of John Saunders. He was charged with burglary and attempted murder, committed, and subsequently convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life. Howe ultimately recovered.

7. Forty persons who were in custody in various prisons in Ireland under the Coercion Act of 1881 released.

— An earthquake occurred at Panama, causing great damage to many of the largest buildings of that city, including the cathedral. The loss was estimated at several hundred thousand dollars, and it was reported that

several lives had been lost. Communication by rail and telegraph between Aspinwall and Panama was wholly interrupted, the bridges having been destroyed by the earthquake.

11. A new line of railway to a point at the mouth of the Medway, called Port Victoria, opened to the public, the South Eastern Railway Company having selected this spot for the construction of new docks, &c.

— Execution at Limerick of Thomas Hynes for the murder of a herd named Doloughy. Hynes was the first man tried under the Act authorising the removal of prisoners from the scene of their crimes, and their trial by Special Commission.

13. At Doncaster, the St. Leger Stakes won by Lord Falmouth's "Dutch Oven," 3 yrs., 8st. 6lbs., 3 min. 16 sec., $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile—a complete outsider beating the favourite, Lord Stamford's "Geheimniss," by a length and a half.

— Sir Garnet Wolseley, with 13,000 men and 60 guns, attacked Arabi's position at Tel-el-Kebir and captured it by assault. The Egyptians completely routed, with about 2,000 killed and wounded; 1,200 prisoners captured. Arabi fled. Our loss, 9 officers and 45 men killed, and 22 officers and 320 wounded.

14. Bank rate raised from 4 to 5 per cent.

— Sheriff Cate, of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and his deputy, were taking several prisoners by railway to Knoxville, among them two murderers chained together. When the train reached Sweetwater, forty miles from Knoxville, three men entered the car. As the train was starting they attacked the Deputy-Sheriff from behind and shot him dead. The Sheriff then fired at the rescuers. They fired back and killed him. They liberated the murderers, stopped the train, took Taylor (one of the murderers) to the locomotive, and compelled the driver to cut loose from the train and then take them twenty miles along the railway to Lenoir Station, where horses awaited them. They then galloped into the mountains of North Carolina.

15. The La Prairie Barracks at Montreal, which originally cost the Imperial Government 100,000*l.*, destroyed by fire.

— Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Cairo. Arabi and Toulba Pasha surrendered unconditionally, and 10,000 men laid down their arms.

— The British team won the International Rifle Match at Creedmore, with 1,975, against 1,805 scored by the Americans.

— Three persons killed at Dublin by the fall of a buttress at St. Patrick's Cathedral during excavations for drainage purposes.

— Four-oared race from Putney to Mortlake between a Thames Rowing Club crew and the Hillsdale Club of Michigan, U.S., resulted in the victory of the Thames crew by about four lengths. The Americans, whose claim to be regarded as amateurs had been certified by Yale College, started with a stroke of 50 to the minute, and at once attempted to bore the English crew. The latter gave way more than once, but at length fouled the Hillsdale boat, which then went away with a lead, which they retained as far as Chiswick Eyot. The Thames crew, which had been rowing a steady stroke of 38, now spurted, drew up level, and passed the Americans, who, in consequence of an accident, momentarily ceased rowing. The English boat finished 13 seconds in advance. Time of race, 20 min. 40 sec.

18. In a gale on Lake Huron the steamer "Asia" foundered, and 98 passengers were drowned.

— The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs left London on a state visit to Holland, where they were hospitably entertained by the King and civic authorities of the Hague, Amsterdam, Haarlem, &c.

22. A terrific explosion occurred on board the Russian war ship "Popoffka Novgorod," moored to the quay of the Korabelnaya (Naval) Creek, at Sebastopol. A torpedo exploded in the torpedo magazine, causing such damage to the vessel as to render it doubtful whether it will be fit to again venture out to sea. The accident caused the deaths of Lieutenant Koozeen, who was engaged doing something in his cabin at the time; second engineer Ivanoff, and 22 seamen. All the parts of the vessel above water were scattered in various directions, so that the two ponderous guns remained exposed without the least covering or protection. The deck itself presented a horrible spectacle, bodies and parts of bodies, more or less mutilated, pieces of broken furniture and fittings, being all mingled together.

— A fearful accident occurred in the tunnel just outside the Grand Central Depot at New York. The axle of an engine broke, and caused the engine to leave the rails, and the track was completely blocked. An express, which had not been stopped, entered the tunnel, the driver of which was unable to see the obstruction, in consequence of the exceptionally heavy state of the atmosphere preventing the smoke from rising. He dashed along at his usual speed, and ran with great force into the second car from the end of the train before him. The smoke and the steam which filled the tunnel, and the heaped-up *débris*, made a frightful scene; and the shrieks of the wounded and dying added to the horror. Four persons were killed and fifteen severely injured, besides a large number of smaller casualties.

23. The corner-stone of a block of buildings connected with the south-eastern side of the British Museum laid by Mr. E. A. Bond, Principal Librarian. Mr. Bond took advantage of the occasion to make known that the new buildings were being erected from funds bequeathed by Mr. William White, a gentleman who had resided in the neighbourhood, and who at his death, in the year 1823, left the reversion of a sum of 63,941*l.* to the trustees of the British Museum, to be used at their discretion, but with the expression of a hope that it would be expended on an extension of the museum buildings. The actual terms used by the testator were:—"The money and property so bequeathed to the British Museum I wish to be employed in building or improving upon the said institution; and that round the frieze of some part of such building, or, if this money is otherwise employed, then over or upon that which has so employed it, the words 'Gulielmus White Arm. Britannicæ dicavit 18—' be carved, or words to that import. It is a little vanity of no harm, and may tempt others to follow my example, in thinking more of the nation and less of themselves." The bequest fell in early in the year 1879. By payment of the legacy duty it was reduced to 57,572*l.* Of this sum about 11,000*l.* had been expended in the erection of a new gallery for Greek sculptures, between the Elgin and Assyrian galleries, and in other works connected with it. The remainder would be spent on the new block of buildings.

25. A serious railway accident near Esseg, in Hungary, in which twenty-five persons lost their lives, caused by the breakdown of a bridge over the Drave.

28. A convict named Lovett, under sentence for burglary in Millbank prison, effected his escape. The mode of his escape, as explained by himself, was by means of a piece of rope, which he lengthened by tearing his shirt into strips. He disguised his face and convict's clothes with soot. As he was lowering himself from the roof the rope gave way, and he fell some thirty feet and injured his hand by striking against some broken glass. He scaled the prison walls by means of two builder's planks, and passed several policemen without attracting any notice. He was recaptured a few days later, but not until after a severe struggle with the police.

— A train loaded with ammunition took fire at Cairo Station. The explosion set fire to the station, in which were stored large quantities of ammunition and other stores. A series of explosions followed, shells bursting at intervals, and the noise of the exploding cartridges resembling a general engagement. Several lives were lost.

— A farewell dinner given at the Criterion to the Australian cricketers, who during their stay in this country had played 38 matches, of which they won 23 and lost 4. The remaining 11 were drawn. Their defeats were by Cambridge University (four wickets), by the Players at the Oval (one innings and 34 runs), by Past and Present Cantabs at Portsmouth (20 runs), and by the North of England (ten wickets).

— Professor Sylvanus P. Thompson gave the following account of a trip on the Thames in a launch propelled by electricity :—" At half-past three this afternoon I found myself on board the little vessel 'Electricity,' lying at her mooring off the wharf of the works of the Electrical Power Storage Company at Millwall. The little craft is about 26 feet in length and about 5 feet in the beam, drawing about 2 feet of water, and fitted with a 22-inch propeller-screw. On board were stowed away under the flooring and seats, fore and aft, forty-five electric accumulators of the latest type as devised by Messrs. Sellon and Volckmar. Fully charged with electricity by wires leading from the dynamos or generators in the works, they were calculated to supply power for six hours at the rate of four horse-power. These storage cells were placed in electrical connection with two Siemens dynamos of the size known as D 3, furnished with proper reversing-gear and regulators, to serve as engines to drive the screw-propeller. Either or both of these motors could be 'switched' into circuit at will. After a few minutes' run down the river, and a trial of the powers of the boat to go forward, slacken, or go astern at will, her head was turned Citywards, and we sped silently along the southern shore, running about eight knots an hour against the tide. At thirty-seven minutes past four London Bridge was reached, where the head of the launch was put about, while a long line of onlookers from the parapets surveyed the strange craft that without steam or visible power—without even a visible steersman—made its way against wind and tide. Slipping down the ebb, the wharf at Millwall was gained at one minute past five, thus in twenty-four minutes terminating the trial-trip of the 'Electricity.' For the benefit of electricians I may add that the total electromotive force of the accumulators was 96 volts, and that during the whole of the long run the current through each machine was steadily maintained at 24 amperes. Calculations show that this corresponds to an expenditure of electric energy at the rate of $3\frac{1}{11}$ horse-power."

30. At the sitting of the Commission Court of Dublin Mr. Justice Lawson made an order to release Mr. E. D. Gray, M.P., High Sheriff of the city, who had been committed for contempt of Court on August 16.

OCTOBER.

2. Ten men committed for trial at Armagh for treason-felony in connection with a society called the Irish Patriotic Brotherhood, the objects of which were the organised assassination of landlords, agents, Government officials, and loyal people.

3. A Gallo-Roman town, described as quite a small Pompeii, discovered near Poitiers. It comprised a temple 114 mètres long by 70 broad, baths covering four acres (piscine, hypocausts, conduits, flooring, &c., complete), a theatre with a stage 90 mètres in width, and entire houses and streets, altogether covering 14 acres. Sculptures, apparently of the second century, and a host of iron and bronze articles and pottery were unearthed.

— The twenty-second Annual Church Congress opened at Derby, under the presidency of the Bishop of Lichfield.

— Mr. S. H. Butcher, Fellow and Lecturer of University College, Oxford, appointed Professor of Greek in Edinburgh University.

4. A plot among the convicts at Dartmoor to make a general escape was disclosed. A discovery was made of skeleton keys constructed out of the bones which the convicts found in their meat at meal times. Two convicts were found in a closet, after having unlocked and escaped from their cells, their evident intention being to secrete themselves there until the opportunity presented itself for getting away. It was believed that many of the convicts possessed themselves of these bone "keys," and it was even stated that some time previously a convict actually made an offer to one of the officers to unlock any door in the prison, while another was said to have informed the authorities that a general plan had been formed for breaking out of the prison. It was intended to make keys of bones to unlock the cells in one of the prisons, seize the warder in charge at night, and when the night watchman, who carried a pistol and some of the keys, went his rounds, to overpower him and throw open the other prisons.

5. Grand ceremony at Cairo in connection with the departure of the pilgrim party accompanying the Sacred Carpet to Mecca. A large portion of the British garrison was present, and the Indian troops headed the procession.

— Shortly after the doors of the Royal Opera House at Berlin were opened an accident occurred which produced an intense panic. The house was crowded. Suddenly the iron curtain by which, since the catastrophe at the Ring Theatre, Vienna, the stage of the Opera House has been divided from the auditorium, fell with a fearful crash among the footlights. The audience rushed to the doors panic-stricken, and in a few minutes the house was cleared. Many people were severely crushed, but no life lost, owing to the admirable way in which the police did their duty. The cause of the accident, it was afterwards ascertained, was the snapping of the chain by which the iron curtain was suspended.

7. In the *Irish World* (New York), the editor announced the close of the Land League Fund. The total received and forwarded to Mr. Egan during three years has been 342,548 dollars. The editor says he closes the fund because there is no longer a Land League in existence. He adds:—"From the day of the Kilmainham Treaty it has been doing nothing but going

backward. The quietus was put on the land agitation. The No-Rent manifesto was withdrawn. Public meetings were discountenanced. Thus repression has actively co-operated with coercion. If a quieting-down policy was stipulated in the treaty, then the stipulations of that treaty have been most faithfully observed. Reaction has set in. A halt has been given to the logic of the movement. The heel has been firmly put down on the principle of the land for the people. It must not even be discussed. The Parliamentary party have it all their own way."

8. The German steamer "Herder," from New York, for Hamburg, went ashore in a fog, near Cape Race, and became a total loss, the value of the ship and cargo being 500,000 dollars. The passengers and crew numbered 105. No lives were lost, and the mails were saved.

9. The cremation of the bodies of Lady Hanham, who had died in 1877, and of Mr. Hanham, who had died in 1876, carried out privately in the grounds of Dean's Court, Dorset.

10. Selwyn College, Cambridge, founded as a memorial to the late Bishop of Lichfield, formally opened. The buildings were designed to accommodate sixty-four students, of whom thirty entered upon residence. The Hon. and Rev. Arthur Lyttelton installed as Master.

— The skull of Guiteau, the murderer of President Garfield, stolen from the Medical Museum at Washington, where it was exhibited.

— Mr. John Pearson, Q.C., appointed Judge of the High Court of Chancery, in succession to Vice-Chancellor Hall, resigned.

11. Fires broke out simultaneously in several parts of the town of Bitlis, situated on the southern shore of the Lake of Van. The conflagration lasted eighteen hours, destroying every dwelling-house and store in the place. The Armenian inhabitants, on attempting to extinguish the flames, were received with a volley of Kurdish musketry, and driven back by Turkish bayonets. Several hundred Armenians were killed. The telegraph officials refused to forward messages to Van applying for assistance. The town was reduced to ruins, and the number of victims amounted to two or three hundred.

12. Ingestre Hall, near Stafford, one of the seats of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, almost destroyed by fire. The house, which was built in 1676, was a finely preserved specimen of the architecture of the period, containing a large number of pictures and other family heirlooms. The loss entailed was estimated at 100,000*l*.

13. The following balance-sheet of the Irish Land League published:—

TOTAL RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Relief Fund	59,178	14	3	Relief of Irish distress, '79-'80	50,000	0	0
Land League Fund to 3rd February, 1881	30,825	0	7	State Trials	15,000	0	0
Defence Fund, per Land League	6,563	8	5	"General Land League" (including Ladies' Land League and general organisation)	148,000	0	0
Do. per <i>Freeman</i>	14,514	0	0		213,000	0	0
Received by Egan in Paris, Feb. 3, 1881, to date	129,907	0	0	Balance in hands of Treasurer	31,900	0	0
Investments	2,582	0	0				
Profit sale of U. S. Bonds (4 p. c.)	1,250	0	0				
Total	£244,820	3	3	Total	£244,900	0	0

Since dissolution of Ladies' Land League, spent on relief of Irish tenants, 2,774*l*. 18*s*. 7*d*.

14. The second trial of the Fenayrous for the Pecq murder came to a close. On the first trial at Versailles, which was quashed on technical grounds, Martin Fenayrou had been sentenced to be guillotined, his wife to penal servitude for life, and Fenayrou's brother Lucien for seven years. The Paris jury, however, found extenuating circumstances for both husband and wife, and an absolute verdict of not guilty in regard to the brother. M. and Madame Fenayrou were sentenced to penal servitude for life.

16. Two steamers, the "Constantia" and "City of Antwerp," came into collision about twenty-five miles off the Eddystone. The "City of Antwerp" first went down, and Captain Walsh, two seamen, and one fireman jumped on board the "Constantia," fourteen men, forming the remainder of the crew, going down with the vessel. The "Constantia," which had been struck on the starboard bow, was kept afloat for a time, but she gradually sank by the head, and was eventually abandoned. The survivors, twenty-five in all, took to the boats, and were afterwards picked up by the French steamer "Jean," bound for Cardiff, where they were landed.

17. The agricultural returns of Great Britain published by the Board of Trade showed that the total quantity of land under cultivation in 1882, including all kinds of crops, bare fallow, and grass, amounts to 32,313,000 acres as compared with 32,211,000 in 1881; the chief portion of the increase being due to the reclamation of moor or mountain land. The crops were distributed as follows:—

	Acres		Acres
Wheat	3,004,000	Clover and rotation grasses .	4,327,000
Barley	2,255,000	Permanent pasture . . .	14,822,000
Oats	2,834,000	Orchards	187,000
Rye, Peas, and Beans . .	740,380	Market gardens	48,000
Potatoes	541,000	Hops	66,000
Turnips and other green crops	2,935,000	Flax	5,000

The farm stock was estimated to consist of 15,574,000 sheep, 2,510,000 pigs, 5,807,000 cattle, and 482,000 horses.

18. Ridley Theological Hall, erected by the Evangelical section of the Church of England at Cambridge, opened. Its cost amounted to 21,000*l*.

21. The Lady Mayoress distributed the prizes to the successful exhibitors at the Exhibition of the Horners' Company of articles into which horn entered as the chief component. The exhibition contained a few specimens of "horn books," formerly common, and many articles of toilette and other use, chiefly combs and cutlery, to which horn is at present applied.

22. The celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Pennsylvania by William Penn opened with religious services in the churches of Philadelphia. The festival continued throughout the week.

24. Destructive storms reported from various parts of England. At Bath the flood was said to be the highest and most disastrous since 1823, all the lower portions of the town being under water, and business greatly impeded. In Warwickshire the floods were very disastrous, the district around Nuneaton being said to resemble "an inland sea."

— In North Staffordshire the devastation caused by the floods was enormous. Nearly half the town of Stone and land for a distance of seven miles were submerged. At Burton the overflow of the river proved very disastrous.

Near Dorchester, and also near Hungerford, railway bridges were swept away, and the traffic on many lines seriously impeded.

26. The statue of Thomas Carlyle, by Mr. J. E. Boehm, A.R.A., erected on the Chelsea Embankment, nearly opposite Great Cheyne Row, where Carlyle lived for so many years, unveiled by Professor Tyndall. The statue represents Mr. Carlyle in a sitting position, the figure being executed in bronze and mounted upon a granite pedestal, which bears the following inscription :—"Thomas Carlyle, b. Dec. 4, 1795, at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire ; d. Feb. 5, 1881, at Great Cheyne Row, Chelsea."

27. A woman named Meakin and her two children, a boy and girl, residing in Kentish Town, murdered while asleep. The suspected murderer, the husband and father, Hiram Meakin, disappeared. The boy was aged five years and the girl two. The tragedy was first discovered by one of the lodgers in the house, who was surprised at not hearing the family about some time after their usual hour of rising, and went to the rooms occupied by them, and found them with their throats cut and quite dead. No one in the house heard any noise, and it was not known when the husband left home. Meakin was seen on the following morning to jump off one of the buttresses of London Bridge, and falling upon one of the abutments was killed.

— The village of Grindelwald in the Bernese Oberland devastated by a hurricane, which raged for four-and-twenty hours. The heaviest roof stones were blown off like chips ; lumps of rock weighing a hundred pounds apiece were sent spinning through the air like cannon balls in a battle. Inside the houses there was no safety, outside nobody could live. Windows were blown in, roofs carried away bodily, and many families fled in terror to their cellars. In the afternoon a few brave men, at the risk of their lives, went on the roofs and tried to repair damages. But it was impossible to do anything. As fast as they replaced the stones they were dislodged, and several of the men thrown to the ground. As night set in the storm raged still more fiercely. Shortly after twelve there came a lull, followed, at a short interval, by such a Föhn-rain as was never seen before. The winter provision of forage, already scattered by the wind, was completely drenched and spoiled past using.

28. High tides in the Thames, rising to two feet above the level of the embankment, caused serious injury. The Charing Cross boat pier was lifted completely out of its enormous girders and began to float away, but was secured by a tug. At Richmond the old City barge the "Maria Wood" sunk.

— At Margate a serious fire broke out, destroying the whole of the south side of Cecil Square. It originated in the Assembly Rooms, in which an electioneering meeting had been held. Flames were seen issuing from the Assembly Rooms roof, and quickly spread, a strong wind blowing at the time. The Royal Hotel adjoining and a large ladies' school, with four other large houses completing the square, one being the vicarage, were speedily in flames. The vicar and his family escaped only in night-dresses and overcoats.

29. Dr. J. T. Arthur, of the Government Medical Service in Ceylon, burned to death in a Pullman car, while travelling on the Midland line from St. Pancras to Aberdeen. The car, as appeared from evidence given at the inquest, was set on fire by the reading lamp of another passenger.

30. Rev. S. R. Driver, of New College, Oxford, appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew to that University, in succession to Dr. Pusey, deceased.

— Abbey's Park Theatre, New York, destroyed by fire, which began in the carpenters' workshops. No performance was going on, but the theatre was completely gutted, and two lives were lost.

— An interesting discovery made in the course of the excavations in the Forum at Rome. In removing the causeway passing across the area in front of the Arch of Septimius Severus, the remains of an ancient and forgotten church, subsequently recognised as that of Santa Maria in Foro, were found beneath the road. The church, of small size, was constructed within the western porticoes of the Basilica Julia and on the ancient level.

31. At the Guildhall the Lord Mayor formally unveiled busts of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, which had been executed for the Corporation of London.

— Announcement made that the Prussian Government had secured the greater and most valuable part of the Hamilton collection of manuscripts. It had been arranged that the papers should be publicly sold in London, but the Prussian Government privately managed to come to terms with their owner beforehand. Among them may be mentioned a psalter, dating from the seventh century, and a grand manuscript folio copy of Dante's great work, with illustrative drawings from the hand of Sandro Botticelli. Another valuable work is written in golden uncial letters on purple velvet, and dates from the seventh century—the copy of the Gospels in Latin presented to Henry VIII. by Leo X. on the occasion of conferring on him the title of Defender of the Faith.

NOVEMBER.

1. The Edinburgh election resulted in the return of Mr. Waddy, Q.C., by 8,455 votes, over Mr. Renton, who polled 7,718. Both candidates were Liberals.

— The Duke d'Aosta (the late King of Spain) entered the Company Della Misericordia, at Florence. This brotherhood, which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, is composed of members of all social conditions, forty of whom are always on duty ready to don cassock and cowl and succour the sick and injured.

— The Municipal Elections held throughout England and Wales were fought in many towns upon party lines, and the net result showed an increase of strength among the Conservatives.

2. Extraordinary tragedy in Kentucky; a mob, defeated in their attempt to lynch two murderers escorted by State militia, fired on the escort, who returned the fire, killing six persons and wounding many others.

— Public meeting held at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, for popularising the National Anthem in India.

3. Mr. Froude delivered the inaugural address of the session at the Midland Institute, Birmingham. He spoke upon government by party, and pointed out that the people were now the real sovereigns of this country. He said he distrusted all mere intellectual culture; such culture, to answer

its real purpose, must be taken as a complement to work, not as a substitute for it.

4. Lord Penzance sat in a committee-room of the House of Lords as Judge of the Chancery Court of York, to hear an application from the Bishop of Manchester for the release of the Rev. S. F. Green from Lancaster Castle. Mr. Christie, Q.C., Chancellor of the diocese of Manchester, made the application. After the disobedience by Mr. Green of the monition directing him to abstain from illegal practices in conducting divine service as vicar of St. John's, Miles Platting, an inhibition was issued on August 16, 1879, which was also disobeyed. On November 25, 1880, his contempt was signified to the Court of Chancery of the county palatine; on March 8, 1881, a writ was issued by that Court, and on March 19, 1881, Mr. Green was arrested and lodged in Lancaster Goal, where he had remained ever since. As more than three years had elapsed since the inhibition was issued, and the benefice had become void under the operation of the Public Worship Regulation Act, the Bishop, as the Ordinary of the diocese, now asked for an order relaxing the inhibition and directing the liberation of Mr. Green. The grounds of the application were that Mr. Green had received an adequate punishment by the deprivation of his living, in addition to his sixteen months' imprisonment; and also that the sentence had practically exhausted itself. Lord Penzance, in the course of a long judgment, and after expressing his surprise that the application had not been made sooner, declared that having exacted obedience to its decree, the Court was well satisfied to be able, by a reasonable interpretation of the statute, to put an end to an imprisonment which Mr. Green appeared so little anxious to put an end to himself. To obtain from him a recognition, however tardy, of the duty which he owed to his Sovereign and country, in rendering a willing compliance to the laws under which he lived, would involve a struggle with Mr. Green entirely beneath the dignity of the Court. He therefore pronounced Mr. Green to have satisfied his contempt; and he directed the officer of the Court to attach the seal of the Chancery Court of York to the writ of deliverance, in the form prescribed by the statute.

6. An almshouse at Halifax, Nova Scotia, caught fire when the inmates, chiefly blind and lame persons, were asleep. Nearly fifty occupants of the upper storeys were burned to death, no means to rescue them being available.

— A collision took place about 8 P.M. on the London and Brighton Railway near Wandsworth Common, between a North-Western train and an engine standing on the line. Thirty people were injured, one-third of them seriously.

7. A colliery explosion, resulting in the loss of thirty lives, occurred at Parkhouse Pit, belonging to the Clay Cross Company, about five miles from Chesterfield.

— Serious rioting took place at Neubau, a suburb of Vienna, the workmen storming the police station, and not dispersing until the military arrived.

8. A selected party of the officers and men from Indian regiments which had served in Egypt, arrived in this country on a visit, and were quartered in a house taken for them at Wimbledon.

9. The State procession from the City to Westminster for the purpose of presenting the Lord Mayor to the Judges, took place for the last time.

— Prince Polignac's son, a young man of twenty-five, set fire with petroleum to his father's chambers in the Rue de Miromesnil. In a few moments the flames invaded the whole suite, and the whole house would have been burned but for the prompt arrival of the fire brigade. Two pumps were at once set in action, and after an hour's hard work the fire was mastered.

11. At Bradford, Pennsylvania, a passenger train ran off the trestle-bridge, the cars falling a distance of 30 feet. The engineer, stoker, and baggage-master, together with several passengers, were killed, and others were seriously injured.

— Late at night a fire broke out at the Cattle Farm, Lismore Co., Waterford, the most extensive on the Duke of Devonshire's Irish estates. Nearly all the buildings, a large quantity of machinery and implements, and thirty head of valuable cattle were destroyed.

— Mr. Justice Lawson narrowly escaped assassination in the streets of Dublin. About half-past five, as he was walking through College Street, one of the army pensioners employed in protection duty observed a suspicious-looking man on the opposite side of the street. In Kildare Street the man, having got ahead of the party, crossed the road and turned back to meet the judge. The pensioner, who then saw a revolver projecting from the man's breast pocket, rushed forward and knocked him down. After a violent struggle the revolver was seized, and by the aid of the other men who always accompanied Mr. Justice Lawson for his safety, the would-be assassin was secured and removed to the station-house, where he admitted his name to be Patrick Delaney.

— The Orient Line steamer "Austral" foundered in Sydney harbour while coaling. When half the supply had been taken in the vessel overbalanced, and, the portholes being open, she sank. All on board were saved, with the exception of the purser and second engineer.

13. The steamship "Westphalia," belonging to the Hamburg-American Company, put into Portsmouth, cut down below the water-line, with a large hole in her port bow and other injuries. She had been in collision before daybreak off Beachy Head with a steamer unknown.

— The 113th anniversary of the Colston Charities celebrated at Bristol by the usual dinner. The Conservatives were represented by the Duke of Beaufort, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Mr. H. Cecil Raikes, &c., and the Liberals by the Earl of Ducie, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Lord Edward Fitzmaurice, &c.

— Detachments of the Foot Guards, about 800 strong, reached London on their return from Egypt, and were met at the Victoria Station by their comrades, horse and foot, the Crown Princess of Germany, and other members of the Royal Family, and welcomed by immense crowds.

— The Manchester Chamber of Commerce unanimously passed a resolution, asserting that the scheme for a ship canal ought to be carried out.

14. According to the final report of the liquidators of the Glasgow Bank, the total cost of liquidation amounted to 194,000*l.*, or 1½ per cent. of the

sum passing through the liquidator's hands. There were 1,300 shareholders when the bank stopped, of whom 360 were women, and 174 as trustees. The first call of 500*l.* per share produced one-half of the nominal amount, and entirely ruined one-third of the shareholders. The second call was 2,250*l.* per share, which was paid in full by only 176 shareholders.

— At the conclusion of the performance of the first act of "The Promise of May" at the Globe Theatre, the Marquis of Queensberry, rising from his stall, said in a loud voice, "These are the sentiments which a professing Christian (Mr. Tennyson) has put into the mouth of his imaginary free-thinker, and it is not the truth." "When the curtain fell at the end of the first act," wrote Lord Queensberry, "there were several good-natured cries and calls upon myself from different parts of the theatre to explain myself. I rose, and endeavoured to do so, as I was naturally most anxious that the motives of my interruption should not be misconstrued, either by those in the theatre or by the public who might hear of it outside. I was forcibly but kindly removed while endeavouring to explain myself, and protesting against Mr. Tennyson's misrepresentations of the sentiments of the secularists and freethinkers and so-called atheists of England."

16. The engineering works of Messrs. Horne & Co., at Millbank, Lambeth, destroyed by fire.

— Lord Northbrook presided at a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to discuss the formation of a National Liberal Club. Speeches were made by Lord Hartington, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Sir Wm. Harcourt, and others, and resolutions, including one for the formation of the Gladstone Library in connection with the Club, and as a permanent memorial of his connection with the party, were passed.

— Shortly before midnight a destructive fire broke out in the extensive premises of Mr. Whiteley, of Westbourne Grove. The fire originated in the toy and foreign department. Several engines were promptly on the spot; but the flames raged for nearly five hours, and were with difficulty got under, although the wind was not high. A block of buildings, extending from 43 to 55 Westbourne Grove, was partially destroyed; the upper portion by the flames, the lower part by water. The damage was roughly estimated at over 100,000*l.* The origin of the fire was not accounted for.

17. The students of the University of Kazan, irritated by the severity and harshness of the police regulations, broke out into actual disorder, and the university was consequently closed by the authorities. At the same time the curator of the St. Petersburg University issued such arbitrary and aggravating orders, that an active demonstration of the strong dissatisfaction of the students' was the consequence.

18. The Queen passed in review, in St. James's Park, about 8,000 troops of all arms recently returned from service in Egypt. After passing before Her Majesty the troops marched by way of Bird Cage Walk, Grosvenor Place, Piccadilly, and Pall Mall, where they were enthusiastically received by large crowds.

20. An election, arising out of Mr. Grenfell's acceptance of the post of Parliamentary Groom in Waiting, took place at Salisbury. Mr. Grenfell was defeated (852 votes) by Mr. C. Kennard, the Conservative, who polled 955.

— A banquet given at the Royal Aquarium, Westminster, to the non-commissioned officers and men of the Brigade of Guards returned from Egypt. The chair was taken by the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Fawcett explained the facilities offered to the public for posting letters in London on Sunday and other nights in the mail trains at the various railway stations.

21. The Queen distributed Egyptian war medals to the Generals and representatives of various branches of the services at Windsor, and delivered a brief address to those present.

— The *Gazette* officially notified the Peerages granted to Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Sir Garnet Wolseley—Baron Alcester and Baron Wolseley of Cairo.

— William Brookman convicted at the Central Criminal Court of sending a letter to Colonel Teesdale threatening the Prince of Wales, and sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

22. At Windsor the Queen bestowed upon a selected number of officers and men the medals conferred for service in Egypt.

— The announcement made that M. Soleillet, a well-known French traveller in Senegal, had taken possession of the Bay of Tajoura, lying on the east side of the Gulf of Aden, which had been ceded to him by the Sultan of Laita. M. Soleillet added that he had caused a wall to be erected around the newly-acquired territory.

23. A daring robbery committed at the Cathedral of St. Denis, Paris. In the absence of the watchman, the cathedral was entered by thieves, who, after scaling the balustrade at the entrance of the choir, broke through the three gates of the sacristy. An entrance was then effected into the small chamber containing the royal treasure. Having picked about sixty locks, the thieves secured and carried off thirty-five objects of great value. Among these were seven royal crowns and coronets, including those of Louis XVIII., of the Duc de Bourbon, and of the two daughters of Louis XV., also a number of sacramental vessels of beautiful workmanship. The intrinsic value of the articles stolen was estimated at 100,000 fr.

— The election at Preston, where two Conservatives only stood, resulted in the return of Mr. Tomlinson by 6,351 votes, against 4,167 given to Mr. Hanbury. The successful candidate was understood to have obtained a certain share of Liberal support.

— A man condemned to death executed in a provincial town of Denmark under revolting circumstances. A large crowd of persons from the surrounding districts had assembled round the spot, only one constable being present to keep order. When the usual formalities were gone through, the criminal laid his head on the block; but the eye and the hand of the executioner, who had been drinking heavily on the previous day, were uncertain, and the stroke fell over both shoulders, the criminal uttering a smothered cry of pain. The executioner wrenched the axe out of the wound, raised it again, and struck the criminal high up on the back of the head; again he wrenched the axe out of the wound, and succeeded at last in cutting the head off. The crowd rushed to the headless trunk, some to try to catch some drops of blood, which the peasants think has some kind of magical effect to

cure certain diseases, others to satisfy their morbid curiosity ; in fact, a horrible and disgusting scene took place, several men and women fainting.

24. The Queen held, at Windsor, an investiture of orders conferred on officers of the Army and Navy recently engaged in Egypt.

— Eight men working on a railway near Bromley buried whilst at breakfast under the ruins of a bridge they were engaged in removing.

— The triennial elections for the London School Board took place. The numbers voting and the results are thus shown :—

Voters.	1876.	1879.	1882.
City of London	31,264	23,589	28,920
Chelsea	52,507	38,286	42,063
Finsbury	80,395	73,826	86,641
Greenwich	66,567	No contest	51,782
Hackney	98,881	60,992	69,206
Lambeth	150,586	96,440	153,142
Marylebone	136,406	76,418	79,465
Southwark	34,680	34,889	35,135
Tower Hamlets	93,910	85,416	68,611
Westminster	40,073	28,999	39,509
Total	785,269	518,855	654,474

Members	Board Policy			Against Board Policy		
	1876	1879	1882	1876	1879	1882
City	3	3	2	1	1	2
Chelsea	3	3	3	1	1	2
Finsbury	4	4	4	2	2	2
Greenwich	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hackney	4	1	2	1	4	3
Lambeth	3	4	4	3	2	4
Marylebone	4	4	4	3	3	3
Southwark	2	2	2	2	2	2
Tower Hamlets	3	3	4	2	2	1
Westminster	3	3	2	2	2	3
	31	29	29	19	21	24

Among the opponents of the Board policy this year are included four members who claimed to represent an intermediate party.

25. An attack was made in Dublin by a body of men, supposed to be Fenians, on the detectives who were watching them. One of the constables was shot dead, and one of the assailants severely wounded. Sergeant Danvers, of the 1st Battalion King's Own Rifles, dashed through the crowd which was looking on and materially assisted the constables in arresting their assailants, two of whom were secured.

— The large shop of the North-Western carriage works at Wolverton burnt down ; damage to the amount of 100,000*l.* being done, and 1,500 workmen thrown temporarily out of employ.

26. At Monte Carlo (Monaco), while the saloons were crowded with excited players and others looking on, a bomb, which had been placed behind one of the doors, exploded with a terrific noise. A panic ensued, and affrighted men and women rushed into the street. When the panic subsided it was found that one person had been seriously injured ; the others had escaped almost by a miracle. At first it was supposed that the object of the perpetrators of the outrage was robbery, and in the excitement there was plenty

of opportunity for this, as in their flight many of the players forgot their stakes, but the bank servants secured their capital against pillage. After the explosion the police arrested an Italian, and it transpired that he had attended the tables regularly, and had lost all he had in the world at them.

27. Clevedon Court, near Bristol, the residence of Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, Bart., was destroyed by fire. The fire broke out in the red bedroom soon after seven o'clock, and, spreading with great rapidity, soon reached the library beneath. Thence it spread to the top bedroom and the drawing and dining rooms, which were soon burned out. Efforts were made to put out the fire, which continued to burn until about eleven o'clock, when a fire brigade arrived from Bristol, and the flames were got under; but the main portions of the building, with the kitchens and offices, were almost wholly destroyed. Some of the family paintings, works of art, a small portion of the library (which is said to be one of the most valuable in England), and some of the silver plate and furniture were saved.

— The Freedom of the City of Edinburgh conferred upon the Marquis of Salisbury in recognition of his services as a statesman and a man of letters.

— Mr. Denis Field, who had acted as foreman of the jury which found Michael Walsh guilty of the murder at Letterfrach, stabbed in Frederick Street, Dublin. The assassin escaped on a car which was waiting for him. About the same time an "Emergency" man, named Thomas Mallon, was attacked by three men whilst serving a process in Gardiner Street, and stabbed several times in the back and head.

— A mixed goods and passenger train on its way from Macduff to Aberdeen was crossing a bridge over the Turriff turnpike-road when the bridge gave way. The engine and guard's van had passed over the bridge in safety, but when the three goods waggons which formed part of the train were passing over the bridge it gave way, and the waggons, two third-class passenger carriages, and a van fell into the road. One of the passenger carriages hung on the brink for some time before falling. Only a first-class carriage remained on the line, owing mainly to the fact that the gap had been filled up with the other vehicles. Five persons were killed on the spot, and many very seriously injured.

— M. Gambetta shot himself through the hand whilst examining a loaded revolver which he supposed to be unloaded; the bullet traversed the palm of the hand diagonally and came out at the wrist.

28. Close of the five days' polling for the Cambridge University election, when it appeared that for Mr. C. Raikes (Conservative) 373 had voted in person and 3,118 by proxy papers: total, 3,491; and for Professor Stuart (Liberal) 212 in person and 1,089 by proxy: total, 1,301.

29. Sophocles' tragedy of "Ajax," in the original Greek, performed at St. Andrew's Hall for the first time by the Cambridge Undergraduates, under the direction of Professor Waldstein and other Hellenists of the University.

— A Hungarian peasant woman named Lyukas Kathi hanged at Steina-manger. She was charged with having committed twenty-six murders by selling poisoned cakes to persons who wished to get rid of their relatives. She confessed to six murders, two of which were of her own husbands. The court before which she was tried sentenced her to a long term of penal servi-

tude ; but the Crown appealed against this inadequate issue, and the Court of Appeal sentenced her to death. During her imprisonment Lyukas spent all her time praying, or receiving spiritual consolation from the priests, to whom she confessed. Upon the scaffold she blessed the bystanders with an air of great fervency.

DECEMBER.

1. George Cole, a constable in the N Division of the Metropolitan Police, was shot dead shortly before midnight at Dalston. While on his beat the constable's suspicions were excited by the conduct of a man whose movements he watched, and whom eventually he felt obliged to arrest. While in custody, and before assistance could be procured, the prisoner produced a revolver and shot the constable, who at once fell to the ground mortally wounded. The murderer immediately decamped. The wounded constable was picked up and conveyed to a place where he could receive medical attendance, but he was found to be dead.

2. The Wigan election resulted in the return of Hon. Algernon Egerton (Conservative) by 2,867 over Mr. W. Wren (Radical), 2,245.

— Parliament prorogued by Commission after the longest session of the present reign.

4. The Queen opened the New Law Courts, erected after the designs of Mr. G. E. Street, R.A. An imposing ceremonial was observed, Her Majesty being received in the Hall by the Judges and representatives of the Bar. On the occasion the Lord Chancellor (Selborne) was advanced to the rank of an earl, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon the treasurers of the various Inns of Court.

— The ruins of the Tuileries sold to a building contractor for 32,500 fr., the State reserving any works of art which might be found on clearing away the stone work.

— The Colonial Secretary and Chief Inspector of the Police at Gibraltar dismissed (by a telegram from the Secretary of the State for the Colonies) for their neglect of duty in the matter of the Cuban refugees handed over to the Spanish authorities.

5. Stanford Court, Worcestershire, an old Elizabethan mansion, the seat of Sir Thomas Winnington, almost wholly destroyed by fire. It had been in the possession of the Winnington family for four centuries, and contained many memorials and art treasures. The old library and its valuable manuscripts were altogether lost, but the family portraits and much of the antique furniture and curiosities were saved.

6. Heavy snowstorms prevailed throughout the greater part of the United Kingdom, extending from Aberdeen to Liverpool and the Channel Islands.

— In Germany many disastrous floods reported, especially in the Rhine and Main districts ; large tracts of country were completely covered. In France the Seine attained almost its greatest height during the century.

7. The "Alhambra" Theatre and Music Hall, originally erected in 1862 as the Panopticon, totally destroyed by fire. The performances of the previous night had terminated, and the building was in care of the usual firemen, by whom the first sign of fire was discovered at about 1 A.M. Seven firemen were injured, two of them so seriously that they subsequently died, seven or eight of the adjoining houses damaged, and property to the value of 100,000*l.* destroyed.

— A railway train consisting of an engine, tender, and four coaches lost for more than thirty hours in a snowdrift between Bala and Festiniog, in North Wales. The train left Bala at 6 P.M. on 6th, and after about eight miles the engine stuck in the snow, which drifted so rapidly that in a very short time the fires were extinguished and the train buried. Thirty hours elapsed before food could be conveyed to the passengers, but in spite of every effort three days elapsed before the train itself was extricated and the line cleared.

8. A fire broke out in Wood Street, Cheapside, almost entirely consuming a block of buildings occupied by Messrs. Foster, Porter, & Co., Messrs. Rylands, and other large firms, and destroying property estimated at upwards of two millions sterling. Within forty minutes of the first alarm thirty steam engines and many hand engines were on the spot, but in spite of their efforts it was found impossible to do more than prevent the flames from spreading to the adjacent blocks and streets.

— The Archbishop of Canterbury interred in the churchyard of Addington, the funeral being attended by the Dukes of Connaught and Albany, the majority of the English bishops, large numbers of friends, and several Nonconformist ministers and representatives of all shades of religious belief.

— A fresh outbreak of fire occurred in a warehouse contiguous to the scene of the Wood Street conflagration. All danger of its spreading or reviving had been thought to be past, but in the course of the second evening, in a building apparently uninjured on the previous day, the fire blazed out afresh and destroyed completely a packing warehouse of four storeys.

10. At Plymouth, shortly before the morning service, the Presbyterian Church and schools attached destroyed by fire, which was supposed to have been caused by overheating.

11. The correspondence between the late Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Mackonochie published, by which the latter placed in the Primate's hands his resignation of the incumbency of St. Alban's, Holborn.

12. In the midst of a severe snowstorn, a fire broke out in the Ministry of War at Madrid. Before it could be extinguished the library and part of the archives were destroyed, and upwards of a score of persons were injured.

— The new buildings on the Thames Embankment, erected at the expense of the Corporation for the City of London School (formerly in Milk Street, Cheapside), opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

— A Parliamentary Return issued showing the number of tramways in the United Kingdom to be 135, extending over 564 miles. (Of the lines at work 26 belonged to local authorities.) The number of cars employed was 2,352, to draw which 18,130 horses and 76 locomotive engines were used, and in twelve months to June 30, 1882, the number of passengers carried was 257,760,060.

13. Mr. Gladstone's political jubilee celebrated in every part of the country, and congratulatory telegrams sent to him from all parts of the world. Mr. Gladstone's first return to House of Commons for the borough of Newark occurred on Dec. 13, 1832.

— A fire which commenced on the evening of December 11, at Kingston, Jamaica, was at last extinguished, having destroyed 600 houses and wharves and ravaged nearly 40 acres of ground.

14. A fire broke out in the north-east corner of Hampton Court Palace in a suite of apartments occupied by one of the lady pensioners. In consequence of the proximity of the picture gallery, the utmost efforts were used to prevent the fire extending, and after three or four hours' hard work, and thanks to a plentiful supply of water, the fire was got under. The damage done, however, both by fire and water, especially to the wainscoting, carved woodwork, and furniture was very considerable.

15. Three members of the Joyce family, convicted of having taken part in the Maamtrasna murders, executed at Galway Gaol. Five others had pleaded guilty and been condemned, but were reprieved.

16. The police authorities of the metropolis issued special orders to the force in consequence of a rumour that attempts would be made to set on fire public and other buildings in various parts of London, as a mode of retaliating for the executions in Galway.

17. A fire broke out on board the Orient steamship "Cotopaxi" lying in the Royal Albert Docks, and obtained such a hold on the ship that upwards of 20,000*l.* worth of damage was done before the flames were extinguished.

— A storm lasting two days raged round the coast of Newfoundland, in the course of which thirty-five ships were wrecked; on the coast, towns and fishing villages were frightfully devastated, and many lives lost.

18. Gunton Hall, near North Walsham, Norfolk, the seat of Lord Suffield, partially destroyed by fire. The pictures were saved, but much valuable furniture was lost, the total damage to the building being estimated at 30,000*l.* The origin of the fire was undiscovered.

19. The Director of Criminal Investigation, supported by a number of philanthropic friends, presided at a supper given in the St. Giles' Mission House to 200 convicted criminals, all of whom had shown a wish to reform by remaining in honest employment.

— Baron William von Pawel-Ramingen, connected with many noble and princely houses of Germany, condemned at Innsbruck to seven years' imprisonment for obtaining money under false pretences.

20. M. Bontoux, the principal director, and M. Feder, the manager of the Union Générale, a French financial association which stopped payment on January 28, condemned by the Paris Court to a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment or a fine of 3,000 francs each.

— The appointment of Dr. Edward White Benson, Bishop of Truro, to the Primacy announced.

23. The sale of the second portion of the Beckford Library (Duke of Hamilton's) concluded, having realised in the twelve days 22,340*l.*, which, together with the portion previously sold, made up the total to 53,800*l.* The concluding portion was reserved for the following year.

— After a very painful and perilous illness, Mr. Fawcett, the Postmaster-General, pronounced to be convalescent.

25. A serious riot took place between the men of the Inniskillings and Buffs, quartered at Canterbury, upwards of 200 men being stated to have been engaged. At Limerick also there was an encounter between the civilians and the military.

26. Another fire broke out on the premises of Mr. Whiteley, "the universal provider," in Westbourne Grove. It was chiefly confined to the manufacturing department and stables; but property to the value of over 20,000*l.* was destroyed.

— William Westgate, who, on his own confession, had been brought home from Caracas, as concerned in the Phoenix Park murders, discharged at Dublin, it having been conclusively proved that on May 6 he had sailed from Dublin to Swansea some hours previous to the assassination.

27. At Liverpool the heavy rains had the effect of bringing down several tons of rock near the mouth of the Central Station.

— By the fall of a chimney connected with Sir H. Ripley's mills at Bradford forty persons, chiefly women, were killed, and upwards of fifty seriously injured. The accident took place just after a number of the hands had left for breakfast.

— Grand fêtes held at Vienna in celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the advent to the Austrian throne of the House of Hapsburg.

— The Belt libel case, which had occupied the Exchequer Division of the High Court of Justice for ten days of Trinity Term, the whole of the Michaelmas Term, besides extra sittings (in all forty-three days), concluded in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 5,000*l.* damages. The libel complained of stated that certain busts and pieces of sculpture attributed to Mr. Belt, and claimed by him, were executed by other persons in his employ. Baron Huddleston was the judge. With this case the sittings of the Law Courts at Westminster ceased.

30. Woodbastwick Hall, Suffolk, the residence of Mr. Albemarle Cator, reduced almost to a wreck. The fire broke out in the chimney of the laundry, and extended rapidly, destroying the great hall and much valuable furniture and other property valued at 25,000*l.*

— Count Wimpffen, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Paris, in a fit of mental depression, shot himself in a kiosk on one of the outer Boulevards.

31. According to a return, no less than forty-one theatres were destroyed by fire in the course of the year 1882, thus distributed: United States, 17; England, 7; Russia, 5; Germany, 4; France, 2; Spain, 2; Belgium, Sweden, Bulgaria, Roumania, each 1.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1882.

LITERATURE.

HISTORICAL sympathy, so far as it is retrospective, seems just at present to centre in the eighteenth century; just as in the days of Lamb and Hazlitt it was directed almost exclusively to the Elizabethan period. Mr. Lecky's **History of England in the Eighteenth Century** (Longmans), of which the third and fourth volumes have been issued during the past year, forms an excellent counterpart to Mr. Leslie Stephen's "History of Thought in the Eighteenth Century." These two volumes deal with politics, from the accession of George III. to the Premiership of the Duke of Portland, in 1783; and the next two decades will hardly, we imagine, be concluded in less than two more. Since history has grown to have a method of its own, and to be treated as a science built up on the most elaborate and careful research, the tendency has been more and more towards specialisation. It no doubt offers great advantages both to author and student, inasmuch as each is able to devote himself exclusively to that age for which he has most intellectual affinity. Yet since the amount of leisure possible is always decreasing when considered in relation to the growing amount of literature, it is somewhat depressing to feel that our domestic history during a single century cannot be adequately treated in less than six octavo volumes. Though lengthy, however, Mr. Lecky's work is essentially a readable one. The style is clear and simple, at the same time that it is forcible; and although the book covers much the same ground already well worked by Burton and Stanhope, the point of view chosen in giving especial prominence to the inner working of politics gives it a position of its own.

The stimulus to Irish affairs, by the renewal of English struggles and discomfiture, has called forth several contributions to the history of that country, and its relationship to England. There is some difficulty in determining the point of view from which a history of Ireland should be written. Is it to be that of the natives, or that of the governing country? Mr. Walpole's **Kingdom of Ireland to the Union** (Kegan Paul) escapes in great measure this difficulty by not attempting to assign any reasons for the facts of Irish history. Certainly in no country has historical sequence taken so undramatic a form; a form in which there is so little of decisive action, or individual struggle, or personal interest. And the best way to attract the reader to Ireland's past would seem to be a treatment of the material at disposal with a view to arriving at some knowledge of the causes that have differentiated its progressiveness so much from that of other countries. But, failing this, there remains what Mr. Walpole has done, and succeeded in

doing, to present a narrative of events in a readable and popular form, without effort after picturesque descriptions, though the headings of the chapters decidedly imply a desire for sensational effect. The earlier period is dealt with in less detail than that subsequent to the Union, which Mr. Walpole endeavours, with fair success, to treat with a judicial mind. The spirit of party, however, appears when he comes to speak of England's wrongs to Ireland; and there is an underlying assumption, which vitiates much based on it, that the Irish could have evolved government and civilisation without interference from without; an assumption founded on want of recognition in the Irish character of absence of energy, self-restraint, and power of co-operation—of those virtues, in fact, which make self-government possible. The maps throughout the book are an important adjunct, and show a recognition of the importance of the geographical side of history.

Mr. Freeman contributes to historical literature two large volumes on the reign of **William Rufus** (Oxford, Clarendon Press), enlarged from the single chapter on the same subject in his former book. Mr. Freeman's writing has the ease and vividness of the best narrative style, and reminds one of no author so surely as of Livy. But it is essentially narrative, and those who go to him for the philosophy of history will be disappointed. He is, however, unsurpassed for accumulation and mastery of detail and minute acquaintance with the documentary evidence of facts, which he presents with picturesqueness and a warm enthusiasm for his subject, that here, as in his '*Norman Conquest*,' never fails to communicate itself to his readers. Mr. Green, in his ***Making of England*** (Macmillan), pursues the same line as in his '*History of the English People*;' and what that line is is suggested in the titles of his books. It is enthusiasm for the English race that prompts Mr. Green to be an historian and gives him his chief qualification; but, though he tries to be impartial, it makes it difficult for him to estimate rightly the modifications of the race introduced by the Danes and Normans, and leads him to assume, without sufficient evidence, the purely German character of our race and institutions. Mr. Green's pictorial treatment of the legendary part of English history is a drawback to the sober impressions he would have us obtain, but it makes his work very readable, and there is no logical ground for assuming that it is less trustworthy because it is picturesque. As in his earlier books, so in this, he insists on utilising geography to a large extent for illustrating English conquest, and the maps are an important feature. It is impossible to do justice in a few words of notice to such histories as these and Mr. Gardiner's ***Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*** (Longmans), a work of which the first two volumes have been issued after many years of labour. No one who knows Mr. Gardiner's other writings dealing with a period from James I. downwards, and which have been the necessary approach by successive steps to this his great work on the Civil War, can require anything said of praise as to his finely balanced judgment on doubtful historical points, and the excellent style in which he presents his decisions to his readers. The degree of Puritan influence in bringing about the War, the view of Strafford's conduct, the character of Charles I.—points about which opinions are most in conflict—all gain permanently from his steadfast adherence to historical accuracy. We feel that he is constructive, and that such a work must take rank as a standard book of the first importance. ***The Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739*** (Wyman and Sons), are

an interesting and in many respects a valuable contribution to the history of social life in the times of Queen Anne ; but, although the writer of these familiar letters was a personage of some importance, his communications with his friends and relatives are of so discreet a nature that we are spared any fresh views of political events. On a few of the intrigues of the time they throw some new light, but not of a sort to force us to reconsider any of our established views on the characters of the day. The principal writers in this selection of the Wentworth historical letters are Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, and afterwards Earl of Strafford, a trusted agent of William III. in his negotiations with Prussia and other countries ; his mother, Lady Wentworth, and his brother, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, and Pope's friend, Lord Bathurst. The editor of this correspondence, Mr. J. J. Cartwright, has shown no small tact and taste in the selection of the letters now published, and one can only regret that he should have so much effaced himself behind those whom he introduces to the world. Lady Bloomfield's **Reminiscences of Court and Diplomatic Life** (Kegan Paul), are no great contribution to politics or history, but pleasant enough from an anecdotal point of view. As Miss Liddell, youngest child of Baron Ravensworth, she became maid of honour to the Queen at an early age, and three years after married Mr. Bloomfield, Envoy and Minister at St. Petersburg. From thence she went to Berlin, where she stayed nine years, at the end of which time she settled at Vienna. Lady Bloomfield records her experiences in an unaffected way, and knows how to tell a story. Mr. Thornton's **Third Volume of Foreign Secretaries of the Nineteenth Century** (Allen and Co.), brings his work down to the fall of Lord Beaconsfield. It is rather an instance of book-making than any solid contribution to historical reminiscence, and the arrangement by which it proceeds chronologically, rather than biographically, does not help to a consecutive impression of the separate Secretaries.

Passing from the History of our own to that of distant countries, we greet with pleasure Mr. Doyle, who, in his **English in America** (Longmans), has the satisfaction of treading comparatively unworn ground. It is the first instalment of a complete history of the English Colonies in North America, and deals with Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas up to the eighteenth century. Another will treat of New England, and a third the remaining colonies and the history of the whole from the beginning of the eighteenth century down to the period of separation. The materials of the work have been found chiefly in the Calendar of Colonial Papers issued by the Record Office, which Mr. Doyle has utilised and verified with praiseworthy care. The history of colonies is a subject of peculiar interest, and the development of religious and political institutions in those of America, their social and economic life, evolved as these were from themselves and without help from the mother-country, are combined in an interesting narrative in the present book. Colonel Malleeson's **Life of Lord Clive** (Allen and Co.), is the first instalment of his "Founders of the Indian Empire," which will comprise as well the Lives of Warren Hastings and Wellesley. It wants a soldier to write the history of the man whom Macaulay considered to be only inferior to Napoleon in talent for war, and Colonel Malleeson has told of the military exploits of Clive in a way that the non-professional reader can fully understand and appreciate. His impartiality in discussing his country's action throughout the early risings of the Indian empire present in many points a necessarily supplementary picture to the brilliant one

given by Macaulay. On the other hand, Clive's want of moral sense is hardly analysed with sufficient subtlety by his present biographer—his character is summed up graphically enough in its war features, but the bluntness of his perceptions which admitted so strange a mingling of guilt and innocence, misdemeanour and rectitude, has not been treated with much refinement of scrutiny. Perhaps, after all, in that matter Macaulay has come nearer to the mean in his judgment than anyone else who has attempted a solution of the problem. Mr. Boulger issues the second volume of his **History of China** (Allen and Co.), bringing it down from the Expulsion of the Mongols in 1366 to the death of Keen Lung in 1785. **A Diplomatic Study on the Crimean War, 1852-1856** (Allen and Co.), is the work of the Russian Foreign Office, and sets forth the views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, entering on his duties at the end of the war, refused to take part in the Treaty of Paris, and spent his life in procuring the abrogation of those clauses which were hurtful to the interests of his country. These studies, prepared in 1863, have only been published since the Berlin Treaty. Inasmuch as the information they contain will not be accepted without the most careful investigation, they may prove of importance to subsequent historians of the war.

Foremost in importance among the many books which pour forth annually from the Press for students, is the **Handbook in Outline of the Political History of England**, by Messrs. Acland and Ransome (Rivingtons). It is the method of arrangement which entitles it to importance, and this justifies its claim to keep clearly before the reader the development of the English Constitution. As a text-book for lecturing and class-teaching these Outlines will prove invaluable; the following extract from the Preface shows the order in which they are set forth:—"The right-hand page alone of Part I. contains the continuous outline of events, arranged in chronological order. On the left is a selection of foreign and colonial events, as well as various notes and quotations, to the number of which the reader may add considerably in the blank spaces, by notes and observations of his own. 'The summaries contained in Part II. are collections of events arranged for clearness' sake, in their own connections under various selected heads, such as 'Parliament,' 'Ireland,' 'The Corn Laws.' With a few exceptions these events have been already mentioned in the general outline." In **Stories from English History** (Rivingtons) Mrs. Creighton adds another to her successful adaptations of history to the requirements of quite young children. Most of English history is given in these stories, which are told in so delightfully fresh a way that they must find a large juvenile audience.

Church history continues to have a considerable share of attention. In **the Gallican Church and the Revolution** (Kegan Paul), Mr. Jarvis gives a sequel to his "History of the Church of France," continuing it to 1817. This volume will interest many who may not have cared to study the Church of France throughout its development. For the French Revolution in all its bearings is inexhaustible, and though many have treated of its secular sides, its dealings with, and effects on, the national Church have not been thought equally worthy of attention. That the Assembly not only legislated with regard to the temporalities of the Church, but also interfered with its doctrine and constitution, as the apologists of the French Revolution deny, is inconsistent with fact, as shown by Mr. Jarvis in his examination of the

negotiations of 1801. Not less interesting is Napoleon's conduct towards the Church in his endeavours to make it, like everything else, administer to his power. That he restored Catholic worship in France there seems no doubt, but whether his motives for issuing the Concordat were other than those of enlightened self-interest will always be a matter of dispute. Mr. Molesworth's **History of the Church of England from 1660** (Kegan Paul), gives an account of the Church from the Restoration and Act of Uniformity down to 1860. It is written with a view to enable those interested in ecclesiastical matters to see how the Anglican Church has evolved herself into her present position with regard to the State and nonconforming communities, and to judge how many of the questions that now agitate her have been brought about. But Mr. Molesworth's position is an original one—he believes that the present Church dates only from the Parliament which passed the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He has a theory that it is the last of three successive churches, for which he has various names, and not always the same names, so that it makes it difficult to understand what he really means by the Church of England. The first was originated by St. Augustine, and overturned by the Great Rebellion; the second existed for a brief time during the Restoration, and on its ruins arose the present one. Certainly Mr. Molesworth is not impressed by the continuity of Church History, for he speaks of the two previous churches as being destroyed, and of the successive ones being erected on the ruins of the last. There is a want of evidence throughout to support his position, and a looseness of language that does not induce acceptance of it. Mr. Creighton's **History of the Papacy during the Reformation** (Longmans), of which the two present volumes are only about a third, is really an account of the Roman Curia—that is to say, it is a history of the Papacy within certain well-defined limits, which limits include neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation proper. The constitution of the Curia, the great councils, the theological disputes, the political intrigues and negotiations of the time, are given with the precision of detail which comes from a laborious study of the documents that bear upon the subject. But of the real causes that were at work during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—of the sociology of the time—we have hardly anything, and yet at no time in the world's history was the religious movement more wound up in the intellectual, political, and social conditions existing at the time. As a recital of facts—mostly those of ecclesiastical disputes—Mr. Creighton's history is excellent, but he has made the mistake of supposing we can understand an elaborate composition from the isolation of a few features. Very different is it, indeed, from the idea that has obtained of late with historians,—that of expending more time on the setting of the historical picture than on the details of fact that enter into it. Only one meagre chapter is devoted in the second volume to the revival of learning, and a work dealing with that feature of the time in its connection with the Papacy would be needed as a necessary supplement to the completeness of the picture.

Mr. R. S. Poole reprints a series of articles on the **Ancient Cities of Egypt** (Smith and Elder), which appeared in "The Day of Rest." The story of Memphis, Goshen, Alexandria, and other places less known are given with that acquaintance with Eastern thought in general, and knowledge of Egyptian history and religion in particular, which the author is known to

possess so largely. It seems a pity, however, that his account should be limited to those towns mentioned in the Bible, a limitation which prevents his book from becoming—what otherwise it would easily have become—an excellent guide to Egyptian travel.——A neat system of any kind, whether as an explanation of past events, or a prediction of future ones, stimulates at once a certain scepticism in unprejudiced minds, especially when the difficulties resolved by it are those concerning which most people think well to suspend their judgment. But Mr. Blunt is an optimist, and as such does not hesitate to draw up a definite plan for the final destination of Mohammedanism. Of so firm a faith is he in the speedy realisation of his dream that he apparently hurried the publication of his essays on the **Future of Islam** (Kegan Paul) in order that England might find a handbook ready for her guidance in the events he deemed rapidly approaching. There is something a little pathetic in such confidence, unshared as it is by most conversant with the state of affairs in the East. But Mr. Blunt considers that the Mohammedan people have a great future before them, not of temporal power, but of sacred functions in a new Caliphate, which will spring from the family of Mohammed. The power of the Sultan will cease to exist, and the new Caliph will modify the requirements of the old religion to the standards of modern civilisation. To him who is about to wear the mantle of the Prophet all Moslem nations will bow, while England will be the political head of Islam, and undertake as her mission “the utilisation of the greatest religious force in Asia for the purpose of humanity and progress.” There is much that is full of interest in the book, but the author’s theories are based on hypotheses—on hypotheses that he is almost alone in thinking of probable realisation.

The literature of travel continues to occupy a large space among the publications of the year. Everybody who goes out of Europe recounts his adventures with varying success, and a simple narrative of personal experience wants little else than the stamp of truth and an unpretentious style to find favour with the public. A more fascinating book of modern travel than Mr. Seebohm’s **Siberia in Asia** (John Murray), seldom issues from the press nowadays. Facilities of travel have vulgarised its incidents, and we look in vain for the freshness and raciness which meet us when we turn back to the stories of adventure which entranced our early days. Mr. Seebohm is no novice, either in the art of travel or in that of graphic writing, but there was nothing in his former estimable work “*Siberia in Europe*” which compares for thrilling interest with the search for the remains of the steam-yacht “*Thames*,” which had been left to pass the winter in the Arctic circle. The district with which Mr. Seebohm deals especially is the valley of the Yenesei, which traverses Eastern Siberia, and is said to be the third largest river in the world; the picture of the every-day life of the primitive people who inhabit its fertile banks, the cheapness of living, the cleanliness of the inhabitants, and lastly, but not least, the apparently unlimited supply of sport, will, we fear, soon attract some of the numerous tribes of “world-trotters,” whose “civilising” influence will speedily dispel the halo of romance and interest which Mr. Seebohm throws round the “*Paradise of the House Martins*.” Among the most important books of geography and travel, we may place the **New Oasis** (Smith and Elder), an account of five years spent east of the Caspian, by Mr. Edward O’Donovan, special correspondent to the *Daily News*, in which anecdote and personal adventure play a large

part. The first volume deals with the Russian settlements on the Caspian shores, and the border relations between Russians, Turcomans, and Persians; and the second with the author's five months' residence amongst the Tekkes of Merv, where he underwent many vicissitudes until his position as correspondent was understood. There is no doubt that one of the most important questions of to-day is the Central Asian one, and the attitude of Russia towards the races amongst whom Mr. O'Donovan spent so much time. His detailed information about everything concerning them, coming as it does from his own experience, will probably prove of great importance to the politician as well as of interest to lovers of travel. **Wanderings in Belochistan** (Allen and Co.) record an expedition of a semi-official nature, undertaken by Major-General Sir C. Macgregor, with a view to seeing how far the route inland from the Mekran coast could be carried on as a means of progress into Western Afghanistan. The journey was made in 1876, but no record of it has been hitherto published, from what would seem to be exaggerated caution on the part of the Government. The character of the country is such that the geographical interest is not large; but the enthusiasm of the author, his courage among the savage Baloch tribes, and the information he brings to bear on a discussion of their increasing sand deserts, carry the reader over the somewhat dry topographical details. The volume has a portrait of Captain Lockwood, his partner and friend throughout his wanderings, who died shortly after their conclusion. How England beyond the seas is progressing in her work of civilisation and self-development cannot be better studied than in two works, pitched in very different keys: Lady Florence Dixie's **In the Land of Misfortune** (Bentley), and Mr. William Delisle Hay's **Brighter Britain** (Bentley). The former recounts her impression of South Africa, where she seems to have found time, whilst nursing the sick and wounded of our own and the Colonists' soldiers, to have watched attentively the drift of native opinion in Zululand and the Transvaal. Her estimate of European influence in those districts is not very encouraging. On the other hand, Mr. Hay sees in the future of New Zealand—or at least of the Northern Island—signs of nothing but hopefulness for those who can assimilate themselves to an emigrant's life. Mr. Hay has authority to speak on this point. He started as a pioneer farmer in the northern part of the Northern Island, and had thus exceptional means of judging the Maories from daily intercourse, and his estimate of them is that they can be made useful helpers as well as pleasant neighbours, if treated with a little consideration. That New Zealand, from one end to the other, is in time destined to be British, to the exclusion of all other settlers, German, Chinese, and Malay, Mr. Hay has no doubt.

Mr. Stanford issues another volume of his "Compendium of Geography of Travel," based on Van Hellwald's comprehensive work, "Die Erde und seine Völker." **Asia** has been entrusted to Mr. Keane, whose ethnological acquirements and acquaintance with physiography place him in the foremost rank, the whole being revised by the editor, Sir R. Temple. Of the completeness of this work and its scientific arrangement, it would be difficult to speak too highly. The whole of Asia—her climate, creeds, culture, and industries—her political history and varied phases of civilisation, are given in an order that, notwithstanding all the mass of material, makes it possible to find any fact at a moment's notice. The book, moreover, is wholly wanting in the dryness that generally goes with so much information,

arranged with a view to the requirements of the student. The maps and illustrations contribute to this result, but it is chiefly attained by the literary qualities of the author, which are not often met with in a book of the kind. The same publisher issues a **School Physical and Descriptive Geography**, by Mr. Keith Johnston, being an abbreviated and cheaper edition of his larger work. In no direction was improvement more wanted than in the teaching of geography and means at the disposal of teachers in the shape of good books. The present one, from its clear arrangement and completeness, must become the standard work, not only in schools, but wherever the author's more extensive one does not penetrate. A small **Geography for Beginners**, by L. B. Lang (Rivingtons), is a very successful attempt to prepare children for what they will meet with in the more important works of Mr. Keith Johnston. It is the second of three little volumes dealing respectively with the British Empire, the Continent of Europe, and Asia, Africa, and America, edited by the Rev. M. Creighton. **A Lecture on the Euphrates Valley Route to India**, by Sir W. Andrew, is published by Messrs. Allen and Co., who seem to make questions of Asiatic travel their *spécialité*. Sir W. Andrew is well known as a persistent champion of Eastern railways, but his present scheme, which was submitted to Lord Palmerston so early as 1857, gains fresh importance from its bearings on the Central Asian and Egyptian questions. The rapidity with which the Russians, by means of their recent railways, can reach Persia, the ease with which the Suez Canal could be rendered useless, make some other and quicker means of communication between England and her dependencies a pressing necessity. How this may be achieved, and in what way such a railway as that contemplated by Sir W. Andrew would be made to pay, are set forth in the lecture, which is of much practical interest.

Since Stirling's "Secret of Hegel" there has been an impulse in the direction of Hegelianism, and in consequence, and as a preparation for the study of the master, the writings of Kant have met with fresh commentary and exposition. The philosophical publications of the year embrace a **Translation of the Critique of Pure Reason**, by Professor Max Müller (Macmillan); a **Text Book to Kant**, by T. H. Stirling (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd); and many other less important works, which show how large a place Kant continues to hold in English speculations, and to these Scotland, as of yore, contributes most largely, the weightiest of her contributions being Dr. Stirling's Text Book. Of English writers Mr. Wallace adds a volume on Kant to the series of **Philosophical Classics** (Blackwood), and Mr. W. L. Courtney collects together some **Studies in Philosophy, Ancient and Modern** (Rivingtons), the common feature of which is a vindication of the Kantian standpoint against what the author is pleased to call popular English philosophy on the one hand, by which he means the philosophy of science and experience of Mill, Lewes, and Spencer, and the German Transcendentalism of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel on the other. Mr. Courtney's position towards the former is seen in those of his Essays entitled "The New Psychology" and "The New Ethics," towards the latter in "Back to Kant," and "A Philosophy of Religion."

To the opposite school of scientific philosophy belongs Mr. Leslie Stephen, whose **Science of Ethics** (Smith and Elder) is in many ways the most important contribution to critical thought made for some time—not so much as a whole, for it lacks method and unity, but for its constituent parts. In his

preface Mr. Stephen disclaims originality, but his connection of material often approaches it, and his wide knowledge and frequently brilliant reflections make his work interesting and instructive. A great part of it deals with Psychology, and not with Ethics at all. Next comes the development of morality as a property of the social organism, while the criterion of right conduct occupies but a small space, and this variety of matter it is which introduces a certain perplexity of treatment that makes the thought as a whole difficult to follow. Mr. Stephen's object is "to lay down an ethical doctrine in harmony with the doctrine of evolution;" to apply to conduct the Darwinian theory that natural selection tends to produce in character as well as physical life the type of maximum efficiency for life under the conditions of given surroundings. And for this purpose he lays great stress on the fact that society is not a mere aggregate of individuals, but a tissue the laws of which can be studied apart from those of the individual unit. While following in the steps of Mr. Spencer in thus recognising the mutual interdependence of every part of the organism, he differs fundamentally from the individualistic psychology of Mill's school, which infers the properties of the whole from a study of the units separately. In making morality an affair of society it is certain that moral laws must depend for their data on sociology. A thing is good in so far as it attains its purposed end. That character is good that realises the conditions of maximum total efficiency—the capacity of holding its own replacing the condition of fitness for a fixed external end. Have we then any criterion of moral excellence? It is that, says Mr. Stephen, which fits a human being for the best possible society, viz., that society which thrives best as a society and the members of which are able to develop every kind of excellence. But is it not arguing in a circle to say that the individual is determined by the needs of society and society by the qualities of the individual, since moral excellence is a necessity of social well-being! But Mr. Stephen shows that this interaction elevates the standard of morality—common morality being above the practice of average individuals and below that of the best. Absolute criterion of morality there is none, for the standard of social well-being is not a fixed quantity; but it is precisely this capacity of change that constitutes the vitality of moral law, that shows it is part of an organic growth and must adapt itself to new conditions. But secular changes are of slow growth, and for any given generation the conditions are practically a constant quantity, though the problem is constantly shifting. Another and equally important question is, "Does the happiness of the individual and the preservation of social tissue necessarily coincide?" For Mr. Stephen seems to have presented both as ends of human conduct, and unless he can show that morality gives both individual happiness and social well-being he places himself in difficulties. Virtue and Prudence, he seems to say, do coincide approximately but not always, virtue often involving real sacrifices. But the altruistic motives and power of sympathy are real facts in human nature that account for much, and for the rest Mr. Stephen has the courage to say that a great deal cannot be proven, at least for the present, and to leave certain questions without attempt at solution. There is one difficulty, however, left untouched that seems a very important one. The preservation of social tissue, coincident as it is for the most part with happiness, is shown to be the ultimate criterion of conduct; but what constitutes the proof that it "ought" to be aimed at? This Mr. Stephen does not tell us.

The author of "Ecce Homo" gives in **Natural Religion** (Macmillan) a very clear and brilliant interpretation of the feeling of a large section of thinkers in the present day, as to the bearing of science in its recent developments on religion as hitherto conceived. It has seemed of late as if the strife between the Church and Science has been stilled; not through any reconciliation, but a recognition of the hopelessness of finding any common ground. Professor Seeley has found this ground in extending the term religion—hitherto unjustifiably restricted, in his opinion, to a particular form of religion—to art, science, and culture—in fact, everything that, as a great ideal, offers possibilities of enthusiasm and worship. That the substance of religion is culture, not supernaturalism, is the keynote of "Natural Religion." In Goethe's saying:—"Im ganzen, guten, schönen resolut zu leben," we get the Triad of God, Humanity, and Beauty, to which correspond Science, or the knowledge of Universal Law, Morality, and Art. It is in reality an application of the doctrine of evolution to a department of life hitherto supposed to be exempt from the laws of growth and change admitted elsewhere. Religion, too, now is seen to be no spontaneous emanation from a Deity, starting as Pallas from the head of Zeus, ready equipped for all ages, and crystallised in form, but rather something that grows and develops, and is modified by the course of ages—that has stages corresponding to the childhood and youth and maturity of the individual, and that has to adapt itself to its environment as everything else does that retains its vitality. We have had the Paganism of the race's childhood, the Ecclesiastical Christianity of its youth, and now we are to have the recognition of Law with its limitations, not as a depressing negation, but as a reality which conditions our activity, for the service of necessity may become freedom instead of bondage. One of the chief interests of the book lies in the success with which form is given to the latent feeling of the time, seen in its inarticulate strivings, discontents, and attempts to bring aspiration into accord with that advance of learning that has demolished many old needs and created many new ones. It contains, too, many brilliant thoughts, epigrammatic pregnant phrases, and is marked by an attitude of mind wholly suited to the end in view—reconciliation. It has, moreover, an originality of a certain kind—not so much of constructiveness as of placing things in new lights, of furnishing points of similarity and difference in the relationship of things and applying them in a novel and unexpected manner. Some will find fault with the new interpretation he gives to many terms that have hitherto had a distinct, though limited definition, such as his definition of God as Universal Law, Worship as Habitual Admiration, and Atheism as a want of adaptation to environment or a wilful disregard of necessity. But, inasmuch as the language of religion has unequalled power in connoting states of feeling that the author considers to belong equally to the other idealisms, his purpose would not be served by inventing a new vocabulary for what after all is only excluded from religion by a narrow and illiberal application of the word to the confined domain of the Church.

Of science, if we admit those works written especially for the student and the specialist, there is not much that falls within our scope. We may, however, notice **A Dictionary of Medicine**, by Dr. Quain (Longmans), which, though no doubt intended primarily for students of medicine, will probably find its way into many a household. It gives a liberal interpretation to medicine, and discusses subjects of General Pathology, Therapeutics, Hygiene,

with articles on Nursing, Hospitals, &c., for the non-professional reader. The various articles are written by specialists, and of each disease an account is given concerning its symptoms, diagnosis, treatment, and prevention, remedies being also fully discussed in their modes of action. As a dictionary its completeness and scientific arrangement make it highly valuable, but it does not pretend to the literary qualities of the late Dr. Thomas Watson's **Principles of Physic**. We should have thought that in the present state of medical science, when progress is so rapid and the theories of yesterday are almost forgotten in those of to-day, it would have seemed lost labour to men of science to stereotype the transitional state of much of their knowledge in the form of a Dictionary. The practice of issuing monographs on individual diseases, which can be superseded at any moment and at trifling cost, when scientific discovery necessitates a change in the point of view, might surely by this time have recommended itself to the faculty at home. How rapidly such revision of opinion is necessitated by the growth of material may be seen in the fact that Diphtheria was hardly known ten years since, and a few lines in Dr. Watson's Dictionary are all that is devoted to it. Even as it is, Dr. Quain's Dictionary is hardly brought down to date, as may be seen from the slight notice of Lister's treatment of wounds, Pasteur's investigations into parasitic diseases, and Koch's discovery of the *Bacillus of Tubercle*. In **Animal Intelligence**, the 41st volume of the International Scientific series (Kegan Paul), Mr. Romanes presents us with a Textbook of Comparative Psychology. Going through the animal kingdom from the Mollusca, he assigns—from generalisations based on the observations of men of science—the general level of intelligence attained by the different species in ascending order. But this work is only the necessary preliminary to the consideration of these facts in their relation to the theory of descent, which is to form a subsequent volume of the same series. This book, therefore, largely consists of anecdotes that supply and support the facts that form the analytical groundwork of future deductions, and as such will no doubt find a way to many outside the circle of those interested in purely scientific matters. The principles followed by Mr. Romanes in his selection of the facts—his systematic sifting and authentication of them, assure one of their acceptance; while his knowledge of biology and general psychology make his treatment of them of the highest value. The data grouped together in this important preparatory work form the first attempt to present in a single volume the results of the observations of intelligence in the Animal Kingdom. Sir John Lubbock's **Ants, Bees, and Wasps** forms another volume of the series, and another contribution to Animal Psychology. It records the experiments made on these creatures during ten years with a view to testing their mental condition and power of sense. The nervous system of the class is not dealt with by Sir John Lubbock. The facts given are only such as came under his own notice, and his power of observation and patience are too well known to need comment. The effort to make science easy and attractive meets us on all sides. Mr. Proctor labours again to render astronomy acceptable in his **Easy Star Lessons** (Chatto and Windus), in which the learner is clearly taught, by means of star maps, first the form of each constellation, and then what may be looked for at each month of the year. Mr. Frank Buckland, in **Notes and Jottings from Animal Life** (Smith and Elder), gives an account of his experiences with fish, monkeys, and other animals, the objects of his observation during a long life spent in

unceasing love of nature and labour in her service. He was a frequent contributor to *Land and Water*, and the substance of most of these papers appeared there with the illustrations reproduced in this book. In **Winners in Life's Race** (Stanford) Miss Buckley gives an account of Vertebrate Animals as a sequel to "Life and her Children," which dealt with Invertebrates. In the task of popularising science there is a large field open, and Miss Buckley's simple style and easy grasp of subject render her particularly successful in that direction. We know of no books so likely to interest children in natural science and so easy of comprehension as hers. The number of books on Cookery shows that practical philosophy is not neglected. Madame de Joncourt's **Wholesome Cookery** (Kegan Paul) consists of recipes from the best French cookery, intended to supplement the ordinary household cookery book, whilst **Cookery and Housekeeping**, by Mrs. Henry Reeve (Longmans), illustrated throughout, contains, besides recipes, chapters on utensils, expenditure, waiting, and all the refinements of a well-ordered household.

Literary interest during the past year, so far as it has been occupied with men and manners of our own age, has no doubt centred round Mr. Froude's **History of the First Forty Years of Carlyle's Life** (Longmans). The public who had read the 'Reminiscences,' and followed the controversy to which they gave rise as to the justice of accepting Carlyle's views of his contemporaries when his mind was clouded by illness and sorrow, looked eagerly to the promised account of Mr. Froude to dispel the somewhat painful impressions left by the Autobiography. It cannot be said that these expectations have been justified, though the volumes—edited as they are with perfect taste and skill—must always be of the highest psychological interest. They are nothing less than the history of a soul, the striking individuality of which remained unmodified by all the buffets of fortune, and less touched by human influence than any other on record. Whether Carlyle has contributed to the 'permanent spiritual inheritance of mankind,' it is perhaps too soon to speak positively of; at all events, the point is not decided by this Biography, though it leaves no doubt that he considered himself to have a prophetic mission, and that the consciousness of it, about which he never seemed to have a doubt, contributed to that lofty detachedness from men and circumstances that makes him stand out among his contemporaries in striking solitude, like a Scotch fir against a mountain sky. To many, the interest of the book will centre as much in the picture of his wife and her letters as in Carlyle himself. Something in her nature, and in the way she stands revealed to us indirectly through her letters, reminds us of another example of equally charming womanhood that our age has revealed to us in Mary Wollstonecroft. There is the same spirited way of meeting misfortune, the same kind of intellectual power—not too supreme, but as it were interpenetrated with feeling, giving a balance and harmony to the character of each that makes one associate them together. That each should have met with so strange a lack of appreciation seems to strengthen the link between them across the years. In **Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement** (Longmans), by Mr. Mozley, we have another book which might have been pregnant with personal interest had it had any consecution or even construction. But Mr. Mozley, connected though he has been with Newman from the earliest times, and having been, as one may say, a spectator on the cross

roads that lead in such different directions, has given us little but personal gossip of the men who shared in, or opposed, one of the greatest movements of our age. It is true that the author, in his Preface, somewhat disarms criticism, but it seems a pity that a subject wanting unusually careful treatment in balance of biographical and intellectual matter should meet with so trivial a record. The **Correspondence between Southey and Caroline Bowles** (Longmans), introduced by Mr. Dowden in an appreciative Preface, and published by the Dublin University Press, is not an important contribution to the literature of personal biography. Indeed, it is difficult to see why it should have been published, except for Southey's expressed wish on the subject. It seems to us that the publication of letters must be justified by one of three things: the interest that attaches to the personality of the correspondents, the importance of their judgments on the men and manners of their time, or some quality in their style of writing that entitles it to endure. With all due respect for Southey's ability, and for the flattering judgments passed on him by competent critics, which Mr. Dowden has admirably recorded, he was not one of those who illuminated what he touched, or whose judgment, as a rule, rose above commonplaceness. His life was that of a good man, and of a man of letters of a literary capacity not of a high order but of a wide range, which he laboriously extended by regular and assiduous exertion. It must be said, too, that on those few questions which are as the touchstones of a man's heart and intellect, the limitations of convention are shown as much in his approval as in his disapproval. Nor does his correspondent make up in interest of character. It is a faded type of character altogether, the interest of which, like that of the Portrait, seems to belong more to a book of beauty than to an age which is too eager in its joys and sorrows to stand aside and consider their sentimental aspect. The friendship of twenty years, which terminated in marriage when Southey was sixty-five, offers no excitement, either from the nature of the correspondents or their circumstances. The quiet life of each finds graceful, if rather colourless expression, as the style of Caroline Bowles's letters are decided by that tacit appeal to a conventional standard of taste which the nineteenth century had not as yet disused from its predecessor.

Miss Mitford's Friendships, edited by the Rev. A. G. L'Estrange (Hurst and Blackett), as seen in her Letters, is another addition to the literature of personal biography. Miss Mitford is one of the people whom it is unfair to judge of from a wholly modern standpoint. There is nothing strong about her life or her writings, but much that is fresh and simple, and that was certainly new to her generation of readers. Her estimates of people are not of much value. She was too true a woman for her critical power not to be under the sway of her emotions, and as her sympathies were warm and her susceptibility to kindness great, her contemporaries, who were related to her in friendships—as were so many—fared well, while for those who were not she had mostly narrow judgments and unappreciative criticism. But the pleasure of a book like the present one does not lie in its contribution to knowledge, but in its atmosphere of human kindness. Her warmheartedness speaks in every line of her easy, graceful letters, and her capacity for friendship is attested by the many names recurring in these pages. Mrs. De Morgan writes a memoir of her husband, **Augustus De Morgan** (Longmans), disclaiming any attempt at a scientific account of his life, but dealing with such material as would be out of the reach of other biographers. It is an

instance of how interesting a life of industry may be ; the facts of which—outside intellectual labours—were few and simple. De Morgan's career was marked by little else than his connection with University College, which terminated so unfortunately, his affiliation to learned societies, his intercourse with Herschel, Whewell, and other men of scientific note, and the publication of his works. He carried out his own saying that "a man should know everything of something, and something of everything," for, besides his writings on pure and applied mathematics, physical science, scientific biographies, and kindred subjects, he was an authority on most things. The interest of the memoir lies in the study of the man, whose uncompromising independence sprang from an ideal of truthfulness, and who led a life of untiring industry, ready at any moment to sacrifice worldly advancement for a firm adherence to his principles. The third volume of the **Life of Bishop Wilberforce**, edited by his son (Murray), eagerly awaited by the public, has at length made its appearance two years after the preceding one. It will neither disappoint those who take a malicious pleasure in seeing in how free and unreserved a manner a dignitary of the Church may express himself about his contemporaries in after-dinner gossip, nor those, on the other hand, who expected interesting matter on the subject of the great ecclesiastical questions of the day. The account of his life begins in this volume at 1861, and continues to his death. If the rapid movement of thought of the last twenty years has made the Irish Church and the "Essays and Reviews" controversies almost forgotten, "Ritual and Sisterhood" and Colenso are still with us. Without being of those who hesitate to disturb the public's ideal of a great man by the publication of autobiographical matter detrimental to the opinion they conceive of him, one may fairly condemn the bad taste that prompts the publication of a note-book which was the mere safety-valve of an enthusiastic and often irritable mind, and which contained the dinner chit-chat of a man who lived in the atmosphere of partisanship, and who would assuredly, had he not died prematurely, have destroyed the inaccuracies and toned down the language of much that is here thrust crudely before the public eye. Wilberforce's opinions on Palmerston, Disraeli, and many of his brother-bishops are certainly not such as he would wish to have been set forward as expressions of his mature judgment.

In **Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century** (Chatto and Windus). Mr. Ashton shows a stratum of the literature of the time ignored as a rule by those who explore its more cultivated depths. Throughout the preceding age the chapbooks, or penny books of 16 to 24 pages, carried in the pedlar's pack and hawked about, constituted the only mental food of the poorer classes. This collection, illustrated by characteristic woodcuts, contains many of the old stories and legends familiar to us from our youth as nursery rhymes and fairy tales, as Robin Hood, Reynard the Fox, Valentine and Orson, while the ignorance and superstition of the poor were appealed to in diabolical, legendary, and supernatural tales of a most extraordinary kind. Mr. Ashton, however, makes a more important contribution to the literature of the nineteenth century in his **Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne** (Chatto and Windus), and which he intends as a supplement to the picture given in the political histories of the reign. His work is, as he modestly says, nothing but a compilation of facts concerning the manners and customs of the age, taken from essays and descriptive sketches of the

time, and illustrated by facsimiles of contemporary prints. But the completeness of the record and arrangement, together with an unassuming style, will make it an important book of reference to anyone aiming at real knowledge of the age. Mr. Ashton has the satisfaction of producing a work that is certainly wanted. The eighteenth century had a literature which, though far inferior in original qualities to the great ages of creative thought, had yet a stamp of its own—a form and polish that has procured for it the name that designated the great age of Roman literature. Its political history, too, has equal importance as the fountain-head of modern political life, while as regards the domains of social life, our modern civilisation may be said to date from it. Some record of the nation's life in the preceding century in matters of education, domestic customs, trade, sport, science, religion, must be explanatory of much of its literature, as well as independently interesting. This record in Mr. Ashton's hands as a work of reference is wholly satisfactory. Authorities are given for the facts, the *Periodical Essay and Journal to Stella* providing by far the larger number. There is but one thing wanting—a good index, but it is an important omission in a work of this kind.

The taste for editions de luxe seems to have established itself here as well as in France, and as the last contribution to the Parchment Library—a kind of English Lemerre—we have a selection of the periodical **Essays of the Eighteenth Century** (Kegan Paul), edited by Mr. Austen Dobson, with an introductory essay not unworthy of the age of Anne; while Mr. Sidney Colvin has followed his appreciative “Life of Landor” in the Men of Letters Series by a selection from his works in the Golden Treasury Series (Macmillan). The fashion of selections that prevails just now is not wholly to be despised, for it means that classical literature reaches those to whom it would otherwise remain a sealed book, and these little volumes will accompany many who would never wade through the *Spectator* or the *Imaginary Conversations*. If there is a Zeit-Geist—to use a modern phrase—more foreign than another to the ruling genius of the nineteenth century, we should say it is that of the Augustan era; and yet in art and architecture, historical sympathy and literary taste, there seems to be a return to the eighteenth century. How is it, we would ask, that the age of reason, with its conventional morality, shallow criticism, meagre thought, and formal style, should meet with the approval of an age that worships brilliancy and colour in expression, pregnancy of meaning and extreme subtlety, in what Mr. Dobson calls the apparatus criticus? We do not pretend to find a sufficient answer to this problem, but something may, no doubt, be put down to that taste for antithesis which every critical age is subject to, and more, possibly, to a growing pleasure in the observation and minute record of small points of character and manners, to an attitude of mind which finds amusement in a humorous study of every-day life and pathos in the development of character through trivial things. Indeed, it seems to us that Steele's “Day's Ramble in London” gives indirectly a key to much of the appreciativeness of our age for one so different in every way as his, in his direct exhortation to that open mind in matters of observation, which our American writers in fiction know so well how to make use of, and have encouraged the taste for in their readers. Mr. Colvin's selections from Landor was a step as necessary as Mr. Dobson's, if Landor was ever to escape from the charmed circle of his few admirers and make his way with the public, inasmuch as his

Conversations, voluminous and not appealing to popular taste, have never been published in a cheap form. To those who do not mind, not only selected works, but selections from the selected works themselves, this little volume will give an excellent idea of those qualities of Landor's mind and workmanship that have ever made him the favourite of the few rather than the many. The Preface is altogether an admirable and discriminative piece of criticism, and contains an excellent descriptive definition of the classical and romantic in literature. That Landor will ever attain to popular appreciation seems little likely, notwithstanding the grandeur and eloquence of his prose style. It is a favourite subject of discussion among critics, why a writer, with such nobility of thought and power of expression, should remain so outside the appreciativeness of an age like ours that prides itself in a just recognition of genius. But a simpler explanation than those generally put forward seems to give a reason, though not a justification, of the neglect. Firstly, his choice of a remote past as material in which to work in his riches of imagination and thought, and in which, from his successful approximation in style to the *dramatis personæ* of his conversations, one may almost say he concealed his original contributions to the sum of thought on the great subjects of contemplation; and, secondly, in his absolute want of sympathy for, or interest in, personality, and consequent ignoring of individuality, in the reader. His interest in life was mainly intellectual, and that being so, he breathed a different atmosphere to those whose interests lie more in human nature, and it requires a bracing and isolation of the mind to ascend with him into the regions where he habitually dwelt. The same series contains as recent additions, Sir Thomas Browne's "*Religio Medici*," edited by Mr. Greenhill; the "*Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammed*," chosen and translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, and Addison's *Essays*, edited by Mr. T. R. Green.

There have been no less than seven contributions to the **Men of Letters Series** (Macmillan) during the past year. There is a certain unity throughout the series as regards method of presentment, but in the arrangement of facts and making them vital by a point of view, there is scope for considerable inequality of result. The level of the whole, however, is exceptionally high, and there are few instances in which the task to be done does not seem to have fallen to the most appropriate hands. **Lamb** has found a sympathetic chronicler in Mr. Ainger, who deals with his subject in the unassuming way that befits a biographer of that gentle humourist. His critical estimate is appreciative and sound without any overloading of effect that would have been out of keeping with his subject. Lamb's character—so human in its sorrows and infirmities, must always find loving appreciation while his writings, in which tears and laughter are never far apart, have a growing and particular charm in an utilitarian age in which the literature of leisure finds but little place. Professor Jebb's **Bentley** is an excellent contribution by a scholar to popular judgment of the man whom many claim as the founder of modern scientific scholarship. Bentley's rough, sturdy temperament and combative instincts meet with ample fair play at Mr. Jebb's hand, while the two great events of his life, the Phalaris Controversy, and his contest with the Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, are made interesting and amusing. The criticisms on Bentley's scholarship, it need hardly be said, carry conviction with them. Mr. Ward's **Dickens** is one of the few unsatisfactory volumes of the series. The opening sentences damp the

reader's expectations, for Mr. Ward announces himself "an admirer of John Forster and his Life." There is no definiteness about Mr. Ward's treatment throughout, the image is blurred, and the criticism, of which there is but little, halting and uncertain. Mr. Ward does not seem to have had what constitutes the first element of success in a biographer, a distinct image of the character he is about to present, and a tacit appeal to Mr. Forster's ill-constructed Life does not help the result. Mr. Gosse has been fortunate in having in **Gray** a subject that has not been exhausted. "Gray" has as yet found few biographers, and among them Mr. Gosse, from the excellent way in which he has performed his task, must rank as the most successful. Most people, we imagine, consider "Gray" as a refined and somewhat diletante writer, who never escaped the genteel conventionalism of the 18th century, but Mr. Gosse considers him a great poet stifled and repressed by 18th-century gentility, rather than one who in himself had the characteristics of the age. In this view he is supported by Mr. Arnold, whose championship is as enthusiastic as Mr. Gosse's. The friendship of Walpole for Gray, the criticism on the famous *Elegy*, and the metrical perfection of the poem, give admirable examples of Mr. Gosse's sympathy and critical insight. **Sterne** has fallen to the lot of Mr. H. D. Traill, and the task of making the character of the man attractive and his writings more fully appreciated has certainly come into good hands. The biographical details of Sterne's life are few, but the story of his domestic relations and struggles with ill-health are made by Mr. Traill to have their effect in any estimate of his work and character. Sterne was a humourist of a very different type to that one in our days to whom the title is most fitly assigned. In Lamb it was the heart and not the head that gave the perception of incongruities, while in Sterne the sentiment is more from the imagination. Indeed, we often feel doubtful whether the sensibility is genuine, and are convinced that it is at least more external to the man, and that egotism to a certain extent forbids spontaneity. Mr. Traill's account of Tristram Shandy is full of power, and is really a masterly criticism, and, together with the discussion on Sterne's plagiarism, forms the best part of the book. Mr. Leslie Stephen's versatility in literary matters comes in most appropriately as a biographer of **Swift**. For as a satirist, political writer, and man of letters, Swift needs one of varied attainments, though each successive writer will probably select one or other side for especial prominence. For Macaulay he was first and foremost the politician—for Mr. Stephen he is chiefly the satirist. Mr. Stephen devotes a considerable amount of space to the consideration of Swift's conduct to women, with the result that he is much more lenient in his judgment than his readers will naturally be from what he puts before them. It is impossible to think of Swift as ever having known love or as having done more in his relationships with women than consider his own vanity and personal ease. It is a pity in the case of a writer like Swift, so much of whose writings are unreadable from coarseness, that a biography like Mr. Stephen's should not be followed by a selection from Swift's letters and works. **Macaulay** is dealt with by Mr. J. C. Morison, who endeavours to hold the balance between the excessive praise and excessive blame that have ever fallen to the lot of that great writer. Strong and brilliant are words that naturally occur as descriptive of his personality as well as his writings; uncritical and full of party spirit, occur as readily as correctives. Is it wonderful that strife continues over the estimate of his

character and writings, although Mr. Trevelyan's *Life* has done much towards bringing about justness of feeling and commentary? Mr. Morison's contribution is a piece of very careful work, and fully supports the high character maintained with only occasional exceptions throughout the series.

It must often surprise those who watch supply and demand in literary matters to see with what readiness new wants are met when any fresh field is opened up, or public attention is drawn anew to any old subject. Classical art and archæology have not had such an impetus since the days of Winckelmann as that which has been given it by the success of recent explorations, and the persistency of detailed research among the Germans. Last year saw an important *History of Greek and Roman Art* by Mr. Murray, and a translation of a large German work by Mr. Sidney Colvin, which have been followed this year by one on **Greek and Roman Sculpture**, by Mr. Walter Perry (Longmans). With the increase of learning on the subject and the strict employment of the scientific method in matters relating to the assignment of works of ancient art to their respective periods, together with the legendary and historical knowledge which that involves, has come the necessity for presenting these results of the learned in a form attractive to the public. This is what Mr. Perry has done in his *Student's Guide*—a rather large guide by the way—to ancient art, which goes back to the earliest times, and is based on German research and criticism. The illustrations are an important feature; not that they have any artistic value, which would have been impossible from their number in a book intended for the use of students, but that nothing of importance is left without a design of some kind, sufficient to show the treatment of the subject in the original. The scope of the book has also limited the author as regards controversy and criticism; but in all doubtful points the different views of competent writers are set forth, and such criticism as the aim of the work admits is put in a sound and sympathetic way, and is based on an extensive knowledge of ancient art and its commentators, classical and modern. Dr. Dresser, in a very well got-up book, gives an account of **Japan, Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures** (Longmans). He visited the country as the bearer of specimen English manufactures to make up for what had been lost by the Japanese in a shipwreck, and which had been destined for a museum at Tokio in furtherance of native industry. Dr. Dresser is an enthusiast for Japanese ornaments of every kind, for the proportions of the architecture, the perfection of the workmanship, and originality of design. Even Japanese scenery, which he saw in the depth of winter, he compares with Swiss scenery, to the disadvantage of the latter. A practical specialist himself in art and architecture, he knew what to look for, and gained great facilities in the visiting of temples, museums, and collections, employing the best artists and photographers to take pictures for him. His remarks about religious influence on Buddhist art, and discussion as to the original or borrowed nature of the prevalent symbolism, are of much interest, while his accounts of the chief manufactures of the country—lacquer-ware, pottery, and metal—have the completeness that comes of a practical knowledge of art manufacture.

In Mr. Swinburne's latest poems we have his most mature poetic effort. The story of **Tristram of Lyonesse** (Chatto and Windus) is perhaps the most perfect of his achievements, not excepting his dramas, for it has all the best qualities of the dramatic soliloquy, dialogue, and episode, and though in a narrative form, is full of colour and action, and rarely obscure, except in the

prelude. For the story Mr. Swinburne has consulted all the French and English sources successfully, preferring what would conduce to the perfection of his verse. The love passages are unequalled in beauty, though sometimes overwrought in splendour, while in the descriptions of scenery we realise an acquaintance with nature in all her moods, thorough sympathy and minute observation, combined with command of language in their interpretation, which are a continual astonishment. The way in which the elements—by a descriptive power unrivalled in interpenetrating sound and sense—become suggestive of the personal moods of the lovers, may be seen in the fifth book; again when the heart of Isolde is stirred at daybreak on the water in the first book, and most of all, in Tristram's personal interpretation of nature in his soliloquy on the inevitableness of change. Such description as the combat between Tristram and Urgan is Homeric in its perfection of detail. The versification too is more varied than in most of Mr. Swinburne's former verse. He follows Dryden in introducing the Triplet and Alexandrine into his heroic couplets, and the elision of vowels, sometimes indeed carried beyond natural use, gives a great freedom to the verse. The volume contains further some charming poems on child life, a series of sonnets on the Elizabethan dramatists, and some other sonnets, in which we are well pleased to see Carlyle's view of his contemporaries characterised in language not less strong than that which Carlyle habitually used towards them. In **Helen of Troy** (Bell and Sons) we have the first original poem of any importance that Mr. Lang has given us, though as author of a prose rendering of Theocritus of great delicacy and beauty, and joint author with Mr. Butcher of the prose translation of the *Odyssey*, he has long held a first place in the department of critical scholarship. He has chosen for his narrative poem the decasyllabic stanza of eight verses, rhymed with peculiar skill and melody, and in this form the story moves throughout with ease and swiftness. There is none of the involved thought, or hardly-won expression, that much of modern poetry presents in its effort after novel effect and complexity of sensation. But the story flows on in clear and simple measure, and we are at the end long before we would. Occasionally, as in Helen's wrathful speech to Aphrodite, and Ænon's prophecy of Paris' doom, we are lifted above the narrative into the region of strong emotion—emotion wrought of pitiful regret at the powerlessness of mortals in their strife with the gods and Fate. For Mr. Lang's conception of Helen is that she was but the instrument of the gods, who alone were to blame for all the woe she brought upon the world, and as such our sympathies are wholly with that "fairest lady of immortal line," enlisted the more strongly from her struggles with her doom.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. THE FINE ARTS.

Archæological Discoveries.—The second series of excavations carried on at Pergamos did but complete the splendid results achieved by the works undertaken in 1880. At Athens, the clearing of the soil, which has been going on on the Acropolis, has yielded many inscriptions, and chance has brought to light, in the course of digging for the construction of sewers, various old graves, in which a few objects of art have been found bearing reliefs. The excavations at Epidauros have been recommenced; two statues of the Roman period, *Æsculapius* and *Hygieia*, have been discovered, four circular buildings, supposed to belong to the *Tholus*, of which Pausanias gives an account, and various fragments of sculpture and architecture of the best period have also been brought to light. At Corinth, a tomb adorned with frescoes of great interest has lately been found. Three walls of this tomb were unfortunately destroyed by workmen, but the fourth, which is on the northern side, has been preserved. It is divided into four compartments. The uppermost of these, divided into squares, contains pictures of grapes and birds. The third row contains three small niches; in the three spaces between the niches are three well-preserved figures. In the fourth and lowest division are various fruits in baskets, and birds which eat of the fruits or drink water out of the vessels close by. By far the most interesting compartment is the second, counting from the top. It comprises three different scenes, that in all probability were not separated by any lines or marks of division. The chief scene is that in the centre, which is the *Nekrodēipnon*, usually represented on reliefs belonging to tombs and vases. A table is in the centre, and round it are placed several persons. One of these appears to be a warrior; he has a helmet on his head, and is perhaps a *strategus*. He is lying upon the bed, and supports himself on his left elbow. His body is nude down to the hips. The rest is covered with a white cloth. At the foot of the couch stands another male figure, naked, and apparently taking no share in the feast. This last figure is not very well-preserved. The other figures are indistinct. Excavations at Delos, conducted at the expense of France, have also been continued, and other excavations have been commenced at Eleusis. At Rome, the enterprise of clearing the Pantheon from its unworthy surroundings, commenced in July, 1881, was carried through by Commendatore Bacelli, the Minister of Public Instruction, with such activity and determination that by the end of January, 1882, the last house which obstructed the view of the building, the Palazzo Vittori Bianchi, was demolished. The excavations of the Forum, begun on February 6, were also brought to a close in fifty-eight days. The lofty embankment of earth, which cut the Sacra Via and the adjoining monuments between the churches of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, and S. M. Liberatrix has disappeared; 284,000 cubic feet of rubbish have been carted away; 19,000 square feet of ancient ground have been uncovered, and on April 21, the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, the population was allowed, for the first time since the fall of the Empire, to walk over the

entire length of the Via Sacra, from its origin at the Coliseum to its end on the Capitol. In demolishing a mediæval wall at the northern end of the Porticus Margaritaria—the situation of which was also discovered during the current year—a fragment of the plan of Rome engraved on marble, A.D. 211, under Severus and Caracalla, was unexpectedly found, all previous fragments having been discovered in the garden of SS. Cosmo and Damiano. The new fragment shows the Via Nova, and a stairway connecting the Porta Romanula of the Palatine with the Forum. On the west side of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, an interesting relic of pre-historic Rome was discovered—the grave of a primitive settler on the seven hills. It was a kind of pit, six feet long, three wide, excavated in the soft, superficial bed of tufa known as *cappellaccio*, with the sides and cover made of rough irregular stones. No bones or ashes were found, but the *suppeller* showed that the deceased belonged to the transition period between the age of stone and the age of bronze. There were flint arrow-heads, bronze fibulæ ornamented with amber beads, and pottery made by hand and baked in the sun. Nor must we forget to mention that remains of the Thermæ Neroniano-Alexandrinæ were found on the north side of the churches of S. Luigi de' Francesi—a mosaic pavement of geometric pattern, with festoons on the border made with precious marbles. Many works of art and remains of buildings have also been found in cutting and levelling the new streets.

National Institutions.—The British Museum.—In the course of the year the new room between the Elgin and Egyptian galleries, the entrance to the Print Room, and the Central Hall in the British Museum, was nearly finished. It is to be filled with Hellenic sculptures and architectural fragments, including those taken from the mausoleum, some of which are already in their places, and will afford an opportunity for improving the arrangement of the antiquities in chronological order. The new room is about 150 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 30 feet high, and will serve as an ante-room to an extended display of Elgin and other Greek marbles. Miss Bewick in February made over to the Print Room her valuable collection of impressions from the blocks cut by her father, her uncle, and brother, together with the drawings by her father, which she had intended to bequeath to the nation. The acquisitions made in the department of Greek and Norman antiquities were very considerable, and included, 1, a number of reliefs, or fragments of reliefs, in terra-cotta, representing various types of Dionysos and of a female deity or priestess; these were all found by Professor Lenormant on the site of the Temple of Dionysos at Tarentum, and were probably the surplus deposit of votive offerings, buried, as at Cyprus and Cnidus, where similar deposits have been found. 2. Marble bust of the Emperor Caracalla partially restored. 3. Fictile cup of black ware, containing five hen's eggs and two knucklebones of some animal found in a tomb at Rhodes. 4. Marble head of a horse, nearly life-size, which has probably formed part of a group decorating a sepulchral monument or *heroon*, said to have been found in a well at Tarentum. 5. Two stone statuettes, a flute-player and Herakles, from Cyprus; ten gold earrings from Smyrna, and three gold ornaments from Athens. 6. A fictile cup, *mastos*, with paintings in black, purple, and white on a drab ground: on one side Hermes, on the reverse Apollo playing on the lyre. 7. Four fragments of the pavement of the Temple of Athene at Ægina, coloured on the upper surface a rich red. 8. Fragments of five inscriptions, Greek, on marble from excavations in Cyprus; the best preserved

is apparently a dedication to Serapis, Ptolemy, and Bereniké, by one Philinos, an Athenian. 9. Two marble statuettes representing Aphrodite at the bath and tying up her sandal, from Antarrados in Syria. 10. Four terra-cotta statuettes from Tanagra, representing a dancing Eros, Ægipan seated on a rock, and two grotesque figures, an old man and a woman. 11. Fictile oinochoè decorated with red figures: a draped Satyr and an *ephebos* confronted. 12. Marble statue of an athlete who is preparing to throw the *diskos*. This figure was formerly in the Campana collection; the original, of which this is a replica, was probably the work of an Athenian sculptor. 13. A fictile oinochoè decorated with red figures and gilt accessories on a black ground; a bearded figure (Midas?) in Asiatic costume rides on a dromedary, surrounded by a thiasos of male and female figures; from the Hamilton collection. 14. Fifteen vases, one handle of a vase decorated with heads in relief, three strainers, a needle, and a probe, all in bronze; all said to have been found at Galaxidi near Delphi. 15. An Iconic head, in stone from Palmyra; a marble torso of Aphrodite, from the Fayoum: a rude archaic figure in marble, from Amorgo, and eight archaic gems. 16. Lower part of a marble relief representing a female figure (Hekate?) seated between two lions, from Palmyra. 17. Eight marble weights, said to have been found together in Greece. 18. A fictile vase with floral patterns from Pergamon. 19. A tortoise, and a shell of the kind called *strombos*, both in marble, and from Athens.

The South Kensington Museum.—An exhibition of works of Scandinavian art was opened to the public in May. Some of the specimens belonged to the Museum, but a large proportion had been lent from public and private collections of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. The collection began with specimens of the work of the stone and bronze ages:—flint knives, celts, axe-hammers of deer's horn, whalebone, and stone, bronze shields, swords, lance-heads, collars, combs, fibulæ, a flagon and nine drinking vessels of gold, iron axes, two-edged swords, gold armlets, fibulæ, articles of silver inlaid with gold, and of iron inlaid with silver by hammering, a mark of silver, and many and various ornaments of gold. The textile fabrics were also of great interest; some large pieces of tapestry of the sixteenth century were very noteworthy; and the jewellery lent from the trustees of the Nordiska Museum at Stockholm: collars of silver and gold, buttons, breast ornaments, and belts and bridal crowns from Norway, attracted great attention. A very important bequest was made to this Museum in the course of the year by Mr. John Jones of 95 Piccadilly. His collection, which consisted of miscellaneous works of art, Sèvres porcelain, furniture, pictures, miniatures, &c., was estimated at not less than 250,000*l*. A second bequest, also of great importance, was made by Mr. Arthur Wells. This collection, of about four hundred pieces of carved jade and Oriental crystals, had been on view in the court where the Chinese and Japanese objects are exhibited. Some of the specimens are of the greatest rarity, and the whole cannot be valued at less than 30,000*l*.

The National Gallery.—The annual report of the Director, containing full particulars of the expenditure of the Government grant and of the trust funds, was issued early in the year. The principal purchases for 1882 have been made from the Hamilton sale. From this sale come—Luca Signorelli's signed picture on panel of the "Circumcision;" "The Last Supper;" a work possibly of the Sieneſe school, commonly attributed to Massaccio; an

"Allegory," by Pontormo ; a "Portrait of Ludovico Cornaro, Doge of Venice," attributed to Titian, but probably by "El Greco" one of Titian's best pupils ; Boticelli's "Assumption of the Virgin" and "Adoration of the Magi ;" "Upright Panels," by Mantegna ; "Portrait of a Gentleman in a black dress and cap," ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, but possibly not by his hand ; "Venus and Adonis," said to be by Giorgione, but possibly by Barbarelli ; the superb full-length portrait of Philip IV. by Velasquez ; "Interior of a House," by Steenwyck, with figures by F. Francks ; "Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet," by Tintoret ; and "St. Jerome," ascribed to De Bles. Amongst other additions recently made to this gallery, we must not forget to mention five pictures of "The Senses," by Gonzalez Coques, and Blake's extraordinary design, "The spiritual form of Pitt guiding Behemoth, described by Blake himself as representing 'that angel (Pitt), who, pleased to perform the Almighty's orders, rides in the whirlwind directing the storms of war. He is ordering the Reaper to reap the Vine of the Earth, and the Ploughmen to plough up the Cities and Towns.'"

The National Portrait Gallery.—Mr. Scharf signalled his deserved promotion to the Directorship of the National Portrait Gallery by acquiring at the Hamilton Palaces a picture, the subject of which is the ratification of the treaty of peace and commerce between England and Spain, at an assembly of plenipotentiaries held at Somerset House, August 18, 1604, English, Spanish, and Austrian representatives being present. The portraits include those of Thomas (Sackville), Earl of Dorset ; Charles (Howard), Earl of Nottingham, who defeated the Spanish Armada ; Charles (Courtney), Earl of Devonshire ; Henry (Howard) Earl of Northampton ; and Robert (Cecil), Viscount Cranborne. John de Velasco, Constable of Castille and Leon, appeared, with the following, for the foreign powers : John Baptista de Tassis, Count of Villa Mediana ; Alexander Rovidius, professor and senator of Milan ; Charles, Prince and Count of Arenberg ; John Richardot, Knight ; and Ludovic Verreiken, Knight. The scene is the interior of a chamber facing a window looking upon a court, and partly screened by a trailing plant of white roses. The tablets on the tapestries are dated 1560 ; the floor is strewn with rushes. Mr. Scharf thinks that this picture, hitherto ascribed to Pantoja delle Cruz, may with probability be assigned to Marc Gheeraerdt. Amongst other recent acquisitions made for this Gallery, is a portrait of James II., by Kneller, dated 1684 ; a cast, given by Mr. Boehm, from the head of his statue of Thomas Carlyle ; a statuette of Lord Beaconsfield, given by the author, Lord Ronald Gower ; a chalk drawing, by himself, of Sir F. Chantrey at the age of twenty-five, presented by his friend Mr. Overend ; a portrait of John King, Bishop of London, King James's King of Preachers ; a portrait of Bishop Berkeley, probably by Smibert, who went to the Bermudas with the bishop ; Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of Edmund Burke, and a portrait of Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, possibly by Riley.

The Royal Academy.—At the Winter Exhibition, the English, Flemish and Dutch, Spanish and Italian Schools were represented. Gainsborough's "Fourth Duke of Bedford" (from Blenheim) ; Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Lady Elizabeth Hamilton," "Lady Beauchamp," "Countess Cornwallis," "Lady Smyth and children," "Cartoons of Charity and Fortitude, designed for the windows of New College Chapel, Oxford," "Piping Boy," and "Girl with Lamb ;" Hogarth's "Graham Family ;" Harlow's "Trial of Queen Katherine," and "Kemble Family," were amongst the most noticeable

works by English masters. Rubens was represented by a "Young Lion" (lent by Lord Normanton); Vandyck, by "Time clipping the Wings of Love," a fine example of his later manner (Blenheim); Teniers, by a "Kermesse;" and a curious "Adoration of the Magi" was attributed to Quentin Matsys. By Franz Hals was a "Portrait of himself" (W. Mainwaring); by Rembrandt, "A Cook" and the famous "Christ and Mary Magdalene," lent by the Queen. By Claude, a pretty landscape, with a "Flight into Egypt," the figures of which were probably by F. Lauri; and by Poussin, "The Triumph of Pan," a masterwork of his best days. "Portrait of a man," by Alonso Cano, was a noticeable work of the Spanish School, and in the Italian division must be remembered Giorgione's "Portrait of a Lady of the Malipieri Family, with her son;" Sebastian del Piombo's "Fornarina;" the "Adoration of the Shepherds" by Mantegna; "Hephaestus and Thetis," by Paris Bordone; and by L. Costa, the "Virgin and St. Joseph." The Spring Exhibition of the Academy was remarkably rich in good portraits. Mr. Millais contributed no less than seven:—"Cardinal Newman," "Mrs. Stern," "Dorothy Thorpe," "Sir Henry Thompson," "Princess Marie," "Mrs. Budgett," and "Mr. Daniel Thwaites." Mr. Herkomer had a rather melodramatic, but robust "Archibald Forbes," and a very masterly rendering of the "Master of Trinity College, Cambridge," which was one of the finest—if not the finest—works of this class in the rooms. Mr. John Collier exhibited an effective, but rather loosely handled, "Darwin;" Mr. Oulless rendered "Professor Monier Williams" and "Sir Frederick Roberts," with his usual want of refinement, and with his usual force of commonplace fidelity; "Sir Arthur Hobhouse," by Mr. Holl, was an excellent and manly portrait; and, besides other works by the same artist, his "Sir C. J. Herries" was especially noticeable for breadth of treatment, and painted with great spirit and power; Mr. Alma Tadema also joined the ranks of the portrait painters with his "Sir J. Whichecord," as did Mr. Briton Rivière in his "Cupboard Love"—a portrait of Miss Kate Potter and her poodle dog; Mr. Watts also sent an attractive "Portrait of a Young Lady" dressed in black and saffron; a wonderfully charming work, equally sober, graceful, and refined. The President's "Phryne" was much discussed; it was a very considerable, but not wholly successful work. The background was not happily conceived in relation to the figure of Phryne herself, either in point of colour or design; the tawny glow of the flesh tints demanded fuller and deeper hues than were afforded by the portions of the colonnade by which the figure was supported on either side, and their two perpendicular shafts gave lines which seemed to narrow the play of the whole body and cause it to appear disproportionately long. Sir Frederick's other contributions were "Day Dreams," "Wedded," "Melittion," "Antigone," and a "Design for a portion of the decorations of the Dome of St. Paul's," a work which he is carrying out in co-operation with Mr. Poynter. The dome is to be divided into eight parts by upright architectural ribs. For each space between the ribs will be two round panels. The design exhibited by Sir Frederick was destined to fill one of these panels, and the general effect of the space as planned by Mr. Poynter could be judged of from the design exhibited by him and destined to receive Sir Frederick's panel. Mr. Poynter also exhibited "In the Tepidarium." Mr. Boughton sent a series of studies in Dutch life and character, "Muiden, North Holland," "Dutch Seaside Resort," "The

Burgomaster's Daughter—skating costume, eighteenth century," and "St. Ives Bay, Cornwall." Mr. Valentine Prinsep's "Phyllida," and "The Golden Gate." Mr. Philip Morris' not very thorough work "Sale of the Boat," and Mr. Edward Long's "Nouzatoul Âouadhat," and "Why tarry the wheels of his chariot," received much popular attention; and Mr. Marcus Stone's "Il y en a toujours un autre" received the honour of purchase from the Chantrey bequest. Amongst the works exhibited by foreign contributors we must not omit Heer Van Haanen's "Luncheon time in a Venetian Sartoria;" and Heer E. de Blaas' "Venetian Convent in the eighteenth century."

In sculpture we must notice in the first place the, to our mind, rather over-praised works of Mr. Hamo Thorneycroft, the bronze statue of "Teucer," purchased from the Chantrey bequest, and the "Artemis," which was decidedly superior to the "Teucer." The standard of attainment in this respect as in others is, however, purely relative, and measured by the rest of the works in the rooms, of the same class, Mr. Thorneycroft's "Artemis" took a very high place. Mr. Legros' series of bronze medals were full of interest. Mr. Woolner also had two workmanlike medallions, "Dorothy," and "Mr. J. Spedding;" Mr. Armstead's "Ariel," his memorial bust of "Mr. J. Heaton," and "Effigy of Antony Gibbs," were worth attention. Mr. Boehm's "Lord Lawrence," "Huxley," and "M. Bertrand," showed his usual deft cleverness and much artistic feeling. Miss Chaplin had some excellent portraits of the Queen's dogs, collies and others; nor must we forget Mr. Randolph Caldecott's "Scene from Spenser's *Astrophel*." On January 5, J. E. Hodgson, R.A., was elected Librarian to the Academy; Mr. H. Woods, painter, and Mr. G. F. Bodley, sculptor, were elected Associates; and on February 6, Mr. J. E. Boehm, A.R.A., was elected a full Academician.

The Grosvenor Gallery.—The winter exhibition showed a complete gathering of the works of Mr. Watts, a grand series of portraits, allegories, and poetical designs and landscapes. In sculpture the painter was represented only by his "Clytie." The May exhibition was also noticeable for some fine portraits by the same artist; Mr. Moore sent a fine study called "Acacias;" and Mr. Nettleship, "Death in the Desert," a powerfully conceived design showing a lion watching the agony of his wounded mate. Amongst his more pretentious works might be noticed a pretty portrait of Mrs. Luke Ionides, by Mr. Richmond. Mr. Holl contributed a remarkably forcible and masculine portrait of "Miss Tonks." A series of bronze medals of Mr. Legros were amongst the chief attractions in the field of sculpture, a bas-relief of a female figure called "La Source," and a group in the round of "Death and the Woodman," by the same artist, also attracted much attention. Nor must we omit to notice several graceful little works which bore the name of W. E. Britten.

The Society of Painters in Water Colours.—This venerable Society received permission this year to style itself Royal. It held, as usual, two exhibitions, one in May, another in December. To the first Herr Menzel sent one head, that of a knight, full of force and character; Mr. Carl Haag contributed no less than five studies of Eastern subjects; Mr. Hall two drawings entitled "Across the Moor," and "Light lingers in the West." Mr. Hunt, Mr. Marshall, Miss Montalba, and other familiar names were also represented. To the winter exhibition Herr Menzel was again a contributor. His "Pulpit in the Town Church, Innsbruck," was a vigorously painted

sombre interior, relieved only by the sparkle of light on gilded ornaments ; "Suspicion" showed the half-length figure of a knight on guard and grasping the handle of his sword. Mr. Hunt's "Warkworth Castle," and "Kinlock Ewe, Ross-shire," showed all the tenderness usual to this artist. We must also note some learned studies by Mr. Boyce, Mrs. Allingham's "Phoebe ;" Mr. Powell's "Armathwaite Bridge ;" and a number of drawings by the late Mr. Duncan, whose death on April 11 robbed the Society of an able member. The new Associates elected in the course of the year were Miss Constance Philott, Mr. Beavis, Mr. Hodson, Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Hardwick.

The Institute of Painters in Water Colours held its usual exhibition in the spring. The works of Mr. Gulleylove and Mr. Small, Mr. Caldecott's "Fancy Ball by Daylight," and "Burying Brothers ;" Mr. May's studies of sea under fog, were amongst the most noticeable features of the exhibition. In the course of the year this Society decided to remove from Pall Mall to Piccadilly, and consequently did not open a winter exhibition. The removal of the Royal Academy to Burlington House, and the opening of many art galleries in Bond Street, have taken visitors in that direction ; this, with the necessity for more space, led the Society to look out for a new home. A piece of ground was found in Piccadilly, nearly opposite Burlington House, and the Piccadilly Art Galleries Company was formed to construct the building which is now completed. The Institute will next spring receive pictures under new conditions, and will open its rooms about the beginning of May. Various works by past and present members, both in oil and water, including some of John Martin's pictures, were, however, on view during the early winter in the old rooms in Pall Mall. Mr. Keely Halswelle, Mr. J. Knight, Mr. J. MacWhirter, A.R.A., and Mr. Randolph Caldecott were elected members of the Institute during the current year.

The Dudley Gallery in March showed an exhibition of water-colour drawings, of which perhaps the most noteworthy were H. Moore's "Evening after Rain," and "Glen Dorhart ;" Mr. Ruskin's "Pass of Killiecrankie," Mr. Weedon's "The Marsh Mill ;" and Mr. Goodwin's two drawings "The Shrine of St. Francis" and "Old Houses at Assisi." This Society was in the course of the year transformed and has become the Dudley Art Gallery Society ; the tenancy of the premises, which had expired, has been renewed to the new Society, which consists of a hundred oil-colour painters, and a hundred water-colour, each paying four guineas a year, and severally invited to contribute to two annual exhibitions. The first exhibition under the new system was held early in November, and the most noteworthy works were by Mr. H. Moore, Mr. Val. Prinsep, Mr. P. J. Jansen, M. de Bréanskies, Mr. W. M. Loudan, M. Fantin, Miss J. Hayllar, and Mr. J. Davidson.

The Fine Art Gallery exhibited a remarkable collection of works by M. Costa.

Public Works.—The Courts of Justice were opened by the Queen on December 4. The proportions of the original plan by Mr. Street had been greatly reduced. The majestic Record Tower, which was a great feature of the first design, has been given up. The general plan of the structure as it at present exists may be said, broadly speaking, to embrace two quadrangles, and their surrounding buildings. The eastern quadrangle is an open courtyard, giving access for carriages to the offices on the ground floor and basement. The upper surrounding floors are accessible by staircases

opening from this quadrangle. The western quadrangle is devoted to the great hall, which forms the centre of the whole building, and is designed for the transaction of the ordinary business of lawyers and their clients. The courts proper surround the corridor which surrounds the central hall.

Legislation.—The estimates for the year ending March 31, 1883, show, amongst the sums voted by Parliament, 25,099*l.* to defray the expenses of new buildings and the maintenance thereof for the Department of Science and Art; for the British Museum and Natural History Museum Buildings, 7,247*l.*; for Science and Art Buildings, Dublin, 10,000*l.* The expenses of the Science and Art Department generally came to 351,000*l.*; much of this was for science teaching and institutions, but South Kensington and Bethnal Green Museums, 99,219*l.*, and direct payments to encourage instruction in art, 77,700*l.*, may be cited amongst the items special to art. The National Gallery required 17,878*l.*; the National Portrait Gallery, 2,585*l.*, and the National Gallery of Ireland, 2,339*l.*

II. THE DRAMA.

The original work produced during the year has been perhaps more remarkable for quantity than for quality. Still a certain number of the plays which have appeared may reasonably hope for a future. "The Squire," brought out at the St. James's at the close of 1881, kept the stage well, and won the good opinion both of the general public and of the critics. The credit of its success may fairly be divided between Mr. Pinero and the company who so admirably interpreted his work. Mrs. Kendal as Kate Verity attained to a very high standard of excellence, and Mr. Kendal as Lieut. Thorndyke showed earnestness and power. The part of the clergyman was made especially striking by the clever acting of Mr. Hare, and, rare to record of a performance on the English stage, the minor parts were satisfactorily filled without any exception. A regrettable incident in connection with this play was an altercation in the press between Mr. Pinero and Messrs. Hardy and Comyns Carr, as to the indebtedness of the first-named to Mr. Hardy's novel, "Far from the Madding Crowd" for the idea. The question was one more than usually important, as the novelist and his *collaborateur* had in view the production of a pastoral drama, retaining the name as well as the incidents of the story, which was produced at the Globe Theatre in May. The part of the heroine in this second play was generally admitted to be a finer conception than that of Mr. Pinero, and was well acted by Mrs. Bernard Beere; but the technical skill of the dramatist was more conspicuous in the "Squire," which, on the whole, bore off the palm of popular favour. Mr. Charles Kelly's acting as Gabriel Oak was impressive, and the parts of Lydia, Sergeant Troy, Joseph Poorgrass, and Jan Coggan were satisfactorily filled by Miss Leighton, Mr. Barnes, Mr. A. Wood, and Mr. Russell respectively. A three-act comedy by Mr. G. R. Sims, entitled "Mother-in-Law," after a successful run in the provinces, was brought out at the Opera Comique, where it met with a very fair reception. "The Cynic," a modern presentment of the legend of Faust, by Mr. Herman Merivale, produced at the "Globe" in January, though well acted by Mr. Vezin and Miss Litton, was only moderately successful.

At the Court Theatre, in April, appeared a comedy by Mr. S. W. Godfrey, "The Parvenu," somewhat in the style of the late Mr. Robertson—the plot slender, but the characters fresh and vivacious. Miss Marion Terry, as the heroine, was touching and graceful, and Messrs. Robertson, Clayton, Anson, and Kemble were all good in their respective parts. Mr. Robert Buchanan contributed two plays to the list, the "Shadow of the Sword" and "Lucy Brandon," neither of which achieved a striking success. The first-named, brought out at the Olympic, was badly mounted, and started without the necessary preparation, while the second, at the Imperial, appealed to a taste which may now be considered well-nigh extinct, being more or less founded on Lord Lytton's "Paul Clifford." The one point of interest was the acting of Mr. Odell, who succeeded in imparting to the character of Augustus Tomlinson a vast amount of fun. Mr. G. R. Sims fell somewhat short of his usual level in the five-act drama called "Romany Rye," which came out at the Princess's in June. Still the piece presented many good situations, which were made the most of by the stage management, and sufficed to gain for it a very favourable reception. Miss Eastlake and Mr. Wilson Barrett did all that could be done with parts that offered little scope for acting. Mr. Pinero too, to whom the public have come to look for good work, showed some falling off in "Girls and Boys," a piece produced at Toole's Theatre in the autumn, and saved mainly by the clever acting of the proprietor. The Laureate's rustic drama, "The Promise of May," brought out at the Globe in November, was a conspicuous failure. It lacked entirely the incident necessary for stage purposes, while the characters, however interesting subjectively, were wholly unsuited to dramatic exposition, and Mrs. Bernard Beere and Mr. Kelly struggled nobly, but in vain, to make anything of them. On the reopening of the Court Theatre for the winter season, on November 14, the "Parvenu" mentioned above, which realised its early promise, was preceded by a new and good *lever de rideau*, by Mr. Sturgis, called "Picking up the Pieces." At the same house, on December 19, Mr. B. C. Stephenson, in collaboration with Mr. Brandon Thomas, produced "Comrades," which, though the plot was wanting in dramatic purpose, presented many good situations. It was the good fortune of the piece to be presented by a singularly strong company, comprising Miss Carlotta Addison, and Messrs. Coghlan, Clayton, and Mackintosh. Another achievement of Mr. Stephenson was far more conspicuous. "Impulse," brought out by Messrs. Hare and Kendal at the St. James's when that theatre reopened in December, is said to be founded on a French play, "*La Maison du Mari*," but is more than a mere adaptation, and deserves to be reckoned among the most successful and meritorious productions of the year. Mr. Stephenson was again fortunate in the representatives of his characters. Mr. Wenman played the part of Colonel Macdonald with skill and taste; Miss Linda Dietz was tender and touching as Mrs. Macdonald, while the secondary but important part of the widow was admirably played by Mrs. Kendal. Mr. Dacre as Victor de Riel, the scoundrel of the piece, had a difficult task to perform, and got through it in the main creditably, while Mr. Kendal, as the good-hearted if frivolous friend, was exquisitely humorous, and struck an original note with power and success.

The perfection to which scenic display has been carried of late years enables melodrama to draw in a wonderful way. Several achievements in this field have to be chronicled. One in four acts, called "London Pride,"

appeared at the Philharmonic early in the year. "Pluck," the joint work of Messrs. H. Pettitt and Augustus Harris, produced at Drury Lane in August, owed such success as it achieved entirely to stage mechanism. "Drink," the adaptation of M. Zola's morbid but powerful "L'Assommoir," was revived at the Adelphi, and Messrs. Merritt and Conquest's "Mankind" at the Globe. A piece entitled "The Silver King," written by Messrs. H. Jones and H. Herman, came out at the Princess's in November, with Mr. Wilson Barrett and Miss Eastlake in the leading parts, and promised a striking success. A *reductio ad absurdum* of the sensational school, under the name of "More than Ever," created considerable amusement. Messrs. C. Reade and Henry Pettitt's new melodrama "Love and Money," which appeared at the Adelphi in November, is full of pathos, and appealed successfully to the emotions of the audience. Mr. Clynds and Miss Amy Roselle played the leading parts.

As usual, foreign work, and especially French, has been utilised to a considerable extent, not always with success. "The Manager," an adaptation by Mr. Burnand of MM. Meilhac and Halévy's "Le Mari de la Débutante," brought out at the Court in February, met with distinct hostility at the hands of the audience. A comedietta by Mr. E. Rose and Miss Garraway, avowedly a translation of Von Moser's "Versucherin," was more fortunate, and formed an amusing prelude to the highly successful comedy, "The Colonel," during a portion of the latter's long run at the Prince of Wales'. Mr. Byron, who has hitherto been looked upon as a pillar of the original drama, appeared as an adapter of "Un Voyage d'Agrément" by MM. Gondinet and Bisson. "Fourteen Days," the title under which the translation appeared, was very fairly successful at the Criterion in March, and in spite of its many improbable positions may be classed among the best specimens of similar borrowed work, Mr. Wyndham and his company showing it to the best advantage. M. Victorien Sardou's play "Odette" was presented in English at the Haymarket in April, Madame Modjeska taking the part of the heroine in her own graceful style, and the lesser parts being filled by Miss Grahame, Miss Measor, and Mrs. Bancroft herself. Simultaneously at the Royalty appeared a play by Mr. A. A'Becket, founded on the same story, entitled "Long Ago," in which Miss Hilda Hilton and Mr. Kyrle Bellew filled satisfactorily the leading parts. Works of fiction have not escaped the hands of the adapter. "Madcap Violet," brought out at Sadler's Wells in March, is a stage version of Mr. Black's novel of the same name by Miss Ella Stockton, an American actress, who herself filled the principal rôle in a sympathetic manner. But although the story is Black's, the character is Miss Stockton's, and must be judged by an American rather than an English gauge. Ouida's novel "Moths" was dramatised for the Globe in March by Mr. H. Hamilton, on the whole with considerable success. Although the adaptation had not apparently the co-operation or even the consent of the novelist, it adhered fairly closely to the original, and such modifications as were made were rather in the nature of improvements, the characters being at all events brought more into harmony with actual humanity. Miss Litton, Miss Carlotta Addison, and Miss Willes, with Messrs. Standing, Estcourt, and Kyrle Bellew, were the cast.

An adaptation from the French entitled "After Darkness—Dawn," produced at Toole's Theatre, served for the *début* in London of Mr. W. Farren, jun., the fourth direct transmitter of a name associated with many successes.

Though Mr. Farren's merits do not at present extend far beyond promise, it is fairly safe to predict that with time he will make a good actor.

A considerable amount of standard old work has been revived during the year. At the Lyceum Mr. Irving has, in concert with Miss Ellen Terry, effectually disposed of the reproach on Englishmen that Shakespeare's dramas will not now keep an audience during a prolonged run; "Romeo and Juliet" produced in March was a marvel of scenic display in its highest and most artistic form, and met with a very hearty reception. Miss E. Terry's Juliet, though far from the most successful of her Shakespearian rôles, was marked by much grace and intelligence. Mr. Irving's Romeo was variously judged, but on the whole it must be said that while the care and earnestness displayed were fully acknowledged on all hands, public opinion did not include it among his best interpretations. Mrs. Stirling as the Nurse, Mr. Howe as Capulet, and Mr. Terriss as Mercutio, were as competent as could be wished. The revival of "Much Ado About Nothing," which took place early in October, was more interesting because of the rare intervals at which any such attempt has been made, and more satisfactory because the principal parts were better suited to the artists assuming them. Mr. Irving's Benedick was generally pronounced to be, with the possible exception of Hamlet, the ablest of his Shakespearian impersonations. Miss E. Terry as Beatrice rose in parts to the level of a really great actress, and the remaining parts were filled in a satisfactory manner by Mr. Terriss as Don Pedro, Mr. Forbes Robertson (Claudio), Messrs. Glenny, Howe and Fernandez, and a *débutante*, Miss Millward, who played Hero with great promise. The genuine art which Mr. Irving has imported into the scenic display, and which has no doubt contributed so largely to the favourable reception his revivals have obtained, was fully as conspicuous as ever.

The revival at the Haymarket towards the end of January of Mr. Robertson's comedy "Ours," apart from the interest attaching to any performance by Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft of that writer's plays, with which their names are so closely associated, aroused exceptional curiosity owing to the *début* of Mrs. Langtry in the part of Blanche Haye. Few first appearances ever created so great an interest, and the lapse of a year has scarcely enabled the public to determine what portion of the success to which the actress has attained, is due to the possession of great personal beauty, and how much to histrionic talent. At all events, with criticism unusually on the alert, she obtained a hearty recall at the end of the second act. After a tour in the provinces, Mrs. Langtry reappeared at the Imperial in September as Hester Grazebrook in Tom Taylor's "Unequal Match," exhibiting marked improvement in her knowledge of stage technicalities. Finally, before leaving England for a tour in America she essayed the part of Rosalind in "As You Like It," in which she won something more than a *succès d'estime*. Unfortunately, with the exception of Miss Kate Hodson's Audrey and Mr. Taylor's Touchstone, the play was but poorly cast. Other welcome revivals took place at the Vaudeville, where a singularly good company was assembled. In "London Assurance," brought out in April, Miss A. Cavendish was an excellent Lady Gay, Miss A. Murray a charming Grace, and Miss Kate Phillips a very clever Pert, while the Sir Harcourt of Mr. Farren was singularly able. The "School for Scandal" appeared in February, when Mr. Farren as Sir Peter Teazle displayed extraordinary capacity, the other parts, though less striking, being filled in a manner far above the average by Miss Cavendish (Lady

Teazle), Mrs. A. Stirling (Mrs. Candour), Mr. Henry Neville (Charles), Mr. F. Archer (Joseph), and Mr. Lin Rayne (Sir Benjamin). Later on Lord Lytton's "Money" was revived at the same theatre. The Haymarket company in reviving in October the "Overland Route," a piece intimately connected with memories of Charles Mathews, Buckstone and Compton, exhibited an amount of courage which was justified by the reception accorded to the piece, a reception to which the admirable mounting no doubt largely conduced. In December the Vaudeville company revived "The Rivals," Mr. Thorne playing Bob Acres and Mr. Neville Captain Absolute. Lydia Languish was well played by Miss Emery, and Sir Anthony and Mrs. Malaprop were admirable in the hands of Mr. Farren and Mrs. Stirling. At the Criterion the ever-popular "Betsy" reappeared in December, replacing "Little Miss Muffet," which did not quite reach the point of favour usual at this house.

Messrs. Sullivan and Gilbert continue to work the vein which has proved so amply productive. After a prodigious run at the Savoy "Patience" was withdrawn, and on Saturday, November 25, a new piece "Iolanthe, or the Peer and the Peri," was presented in its place before a numerous and enthusiastic audience. This time it is the House of Lords which serves as the butt of Mr. Gilbert's humour. The music was generally pronounced as good, if not better than in the pieces which have preceded it; but like them it suffered from indifferent exposition on the part of some of the vocalists. Miss Bond as Iolanthe and Miss Leonora Braham as Phyllis were good, and Mr. Rutland Barrington's dry humour made full amends as heretofore for a very defective intonation. The mock gravity of Mr. Grossmith as the Lord Chancellor was also irresistibly comic. At the pretty Avenue Theatre, the "Manteaux Noirs," by Messrs. Parker and H. Paulton, with music by Bucalossi, had a very good run.

A season of French plays recommenced in the beginning of June at the Gaiety, Mdle. Sarah Bernhardt reappearing in the part of "Adrienne Lecouvreur," a part which is now, thanks mainly to her magnificent interpretations, well known to the London public. She was supported by a company in the main adequate. M. Guitry played Maurice de Saxe, and Madame Fromentin gave a superb rendering of the Princesse de Bouillon. As Gilberte in MM. Meilhac and Halévy's play "Frou-Frou," who is but a spoiled child, the great actress was as petulant and frivolous as in the foregoing character she was tender and womanly. Finally at the close of a too short engagement, she assumed the hazardous rôle of Blanche de Chelles in Octave Feuillet's "Le Sphinx," the death-scene in which is so closely associated with the remarkable acting of Mdle. Croizette. Though differing materially from her predecessors, Mdle. Bernhardt's impersonation was by general admission no less powerful or artistic. On the departure of Mdle. Bernhardt, a detachment of the Comédie Française led by M. Coquelin gave representations of some of the best specimens of the French Drama, including "L'Aventurière," "Le Mari à la Campagne," "Les Rantzaus," "Les Précieuses Ridicules," &c. M. Coquelin's impersonations were all that could be expected from that now unrivalled comedian. MM. Monnet-Sully, Febvre, and Sylvain were also excellent. Among the ladies, Mdle. Bartet and Mdle. Barretta sustained the high character of the institution; but the loss of such actresses as Mdle. Favart, Mdle. Croizette, and Mdle. Sarah Bernhardt made itself severely felt. Madame Chaumont in "Divorçons," the amusing comedy by M. Sardou and De Najac, afforded the plenitude of

amusement. Signor Rossi was associated with English supporters in "King Lear" at Her Majesty's Theatre during the month of June; but, though the talent of the actor was recognised, the transition from Italian to English, in which Signor Rossi is not at present proficient enough to play the whole of his part, marred the enjoyment of his performance. The Cordelia of Miss Lydia Cowell was satisfactory. Another great Italian, Madame Ristori, appeared in July at Drury Lane, and played in English, of which she showed an extraordinary mastery, the parts of Lady Macbeth and Queen Elizabeth in a translation of Giacometti's play. As a specimen of high art, her performances were eagerly welcomed by connoisseurs; but the support afforded to the great actress by the general public was but meagre. Mr. Edwin Booth, who appeared at the Adelphi in July in Tom Taylor's play "The Fool's Revenge," completes the list of distinguished foreign artists who have visited us this year.

In November, the Strand Theatre reopened, having been entirely renovated and greatly improved. The pieces chosen for the inauguration were "The Heir at Law," and a new farce by Messrs. Byron and Farnie, "Frolique," being a *réchauffé* of Mr. Planché's "Follies of a Night," with very pretty scenery and dresses, which was well received. In December, the new "Novelty" Theatre in Great Queen Street was opened, and in the same month the burning of the Alhambra threw many persons out of employment, a disaster which the generous sympathy of the profession did, as in similar cases it always does, a great deal to alleviate.

III. MUSIC.

One of the leading features of the year has been the striking advance of German, and especially of German dramatic music. On January 14 commenced the series of winter operas in English, to which the public have come to look forward as an annual event. The repertory included Wagner's operas, "Lohengrin," "Tannhäuser," "Rienzi," and the "Flying Dutchman," all of which were satisfactorily given and very favourably received. Mr. Ludwig achieved a remarkable success in the part of Vanderdecken in the last-named work. In "Mignon," which was produced with spoken dialogue as originally written, in place of the *recitativo* of the Italian stage, Mr. Barton McGuckin, who this season made his first appearance on the London operatic boards, found a congenial part as Wilhelm Meister, the melodious music receiving full justice from his fine voice. Frederic was taken by Miss Lilian La Rue, a *débutante*, who charmed by her fresh voice and pleasing stage presence, and who afterwards in the more exacting part of Carmen partially retained the good opinion she had won. English Opera proper was represented by "The Bohemian Girl," "Maritana," the "Lily of Killarney," and an opera by Balfe, "Moro, or the Painter of Antwerp," written some quarter of a century back, but only now produced in England—or so far as is known, anywhere else since its original *fiasco* in Trieste. Destitute of dramatic interest, being little more than a string of melodious songs, it served only to strengthen the conviction that Mr. Rosa's success is due rather to his careful production of Anglicised Foreign, and especially Wagnerian work, than to the inherent merits of the National Musical drama.

An important change signalised the arrangements for Italian Opera. Messrs. Gye and Mapleson, stimulated probably by the promised competition of two German companies, agreed to sink their long-standing rivalry, and to close their ranks. The entire conduct of Italian Opera was transferred to a limited liability company, Mr. Gye undertaking the office of manager in London, while Mr. Mapleson steered the enterprise in the United States. This combination of forces, if it did not produce all the results to be hoped for from an artistic point of view, certainly led to the collection at Covent Garden of a powerful "star" company. Mesdames Patti, Albani, and Sembrich were this year reinforced by Madame Pauline Lucca, who returned after ten years' absence to play the part of Carmen, in which she created a strong impression. This said, there remains little more to chronicle. M. Bouhy, a new French baritone, made a good impression as Mephistopheles, but could not atone for the absence of M. Faure and M. Lassalle. Mademoiselle Stahl, a new and pleasing mezzo, was greeted as a decided acquisition. Neither of the two new tenors, M. Massart and M. Letellier, showed themselves in the first rank, and the bulk of the tenor work fell to Signor Nicolini and M. Mierzwinsky. Madame Albani added the part of Violetta to her previous repertory, and when on July 11, Boito's "Mefistofele" was produced, wove into her wreath genuine new laurels in the double character of Marguerite and Helen of Troy. She was well seconded by Signor Mierzwinsky as Faust, notwithstanding certain drawbacks in vocalisation, while M. Gailhard, though inferior to Signor Nannetti, the original exponent of the part, made a satisfactory Mefistofele. "Fra Diavolo" was revived, and gave Madame Lucca an opportunity of reappearing in one of her best characters. Lenepveu's "Velleda," the only absolute novelty of the season—for the conditional promise of Massenet's "Herodiade" was not redeemed—was an unqualified failure, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Madame Patti to invest it with interest. The post of conductor was shared by Signor Bevnigani and Monsieur Dupont, and Signor Tagliafico retired from the office of stage manager which he had so long filled, being succeeded by M. Lapissida from Brussels.

To atone for the poverty of enterprise at Covent Garden, two great schemes for the production of German Opera were launched during the season. The one which had for its specific object to introduce to an English audience Wagner's great Trilogy, "The Niebelung's Ring," was under the management of Herr Angelo Neumann, and opened its career at Her Majesty's on May 5. The work, consisting of four parts, each of which occupied an entire evening, was performed in four cycles, commencing May 5, 12, 19, and 25 respectively. The chief artists, band, chorus, dresses, and scenery, were brought over at a heavy cost from Germany, and so far as the singers were concerned nothing was left to desire. On the first night, when the prologue, the "Rhinegold," was given, the parts were disposed as follow:—

<i>Wotan</i>	Herr Scaria.
<i>Loge</i>	Herr Vogl.
<i>Fricka</i>	Frau Reicher-Kinderman.
<i>Freia</i>	Fräulein Schreiber.

In the second, "The Walkyrie":—

<i>Brunhilde</i>	Frau Vogl.
<i>Sieglinde</i>	Frau Sachse-Hofmeister.

<i>Siegmond</i>	.	.	.	.	Herr Niemann.
<i>Hunding</i>	.	.	.	.	Herr Wiegand.

Fricka and Wotan as above.

"Siegfried," on the third night, was remarkable for the powerful delineations of the hero by Herr Vogl, and of *Mime* by Herr Schlösser. Finally, "Götterdämmerung" brought into light the fine qualities of the chorus. The enterprise, however interesting from an artistic point of view, cannot have been commercially successful, a result due, no doubt, to want of general sympathy with the subject, not to any fault in the performance, although those who had witnessed it at Bayreuth in 1876, detected certain deficiencies in the *mise-en-scène*, and still more in the orchestra, which, though it was said to have been brought from the Wagner Theatre in Berlin, was not altogether equal to its task.

At Drury Lane a series of German operas, under the direction of Herren Franke and Pollini, began on May 18. "Lohengrin," the opera selected to start with, brought forward an excellent Elsa in Frau Sucher, and an equally good knight in Herr Winkelmann, both of whom maintained their rapidly-acquired favour throughout the whole series in which they took part. The orchestra, recruited in London, was under the unrivalled conductorship of Herr Richter, while the chorus and stage management were of the high order of excellence peculiar to the German stage. Weber's "Euryanthe" was revived with some success, notwithstanding its dull *libretto*; but the most important novelties were Wagner's "Meistersinger" and "Tristan and Isolde." The former work was received with warm approval, even by those who have not accepted "Wagnerism" as a creed. It was admirably performed, Frau Sucher, Frau Schefsky, Herren Winkelmann, Gura, and Landau filling the chief parts. "Tristan and Isolde" belongs to the more advanced type of Wagner's work, and though enthusiastically welcomed by *connoisseurs* did not attain to the wide-spread popularity of its companion. Frau Sucher and Herr Winkelmann were equally fine as the hero and heroine, the other parts being filled by Fräulein Brandt (who came from Berlin to play Brangwaine), Dr. Kraus (the servant), Herr Gura (Marke), and Herren Wolff and Landau as Melot and the Shepherd. The highly successful series came to an end on June 30.

Over the proceedings of the Sacred Harmonic Society during the early part of the year, which saw its jubilee and its death, the illness of its veteran conductor, Sir M. Costa, threw a natural gloom. On February 24, when Gounod's "Messe Solennelle" was performed for the first time by this conservative Society, the *bâton* had to be entrusted to M. Sainton, under whose guidance the magnificent music was presented to an audience whom it profoundly affected; a new "Te Deum," by Mr. Cusins, which followed, being also well received. Fortunately, and almost unexpectedly, Sir M. Costa was able, on April 28, to lead the choir through their farewell performance, for which Handel's "Solomon" was chosen, when his appearance was the signal for a burst of cheering such as it has rarely been the lot of any conductor to evoke. This last effort of the Society was far from being its feeblest, the choruses being splendidly rendered. It may be hoped that a successor will arise to keep alive, in a measure, the traditions of this old society in the shape of Mr. Willing's choir, which began operations in December. One gratifying revival of an extinct society, that of Mr. Leslie's

choir, has already taken place, and one concert, under the leadership of Signor Randegger, has already been given with the countenance and support of its old chief. No change of policy or circumstances has to be noted with regard to the Popular Concerts. Herr Joachim and Madame Schumann appeared in the early part of the year, while the autumn season, in which the undertaking entered on its twenty-fifth year, was supported by Mlle. Janotha and Madame Norman-Neruda. The programmes comprised as usual good specimens of classical chamber music, tempered by new or hitherto neglected work. Among the latter may be mentioned an ottetto by the Swedish composer Johans Svendsen, fresh, melodious, and full of national colouring, given on January 23; Mr. A. C. Mackenzie's scholarly *larghetto* and *allegretto*, for violoncello and piano (Op. 10) on February 6, and Schumann's posthumous "Spanisches Liederspiel," for voices and piano. The Albert Hall Choral Society, under Mr. Barnby, continued its career of successes, foremost among which may be noticed Berlioz's "Faust," on March 22, and two magnificent performances of Gounod's "Redemption," in which the superb chorus achieved an extraordinary effect. The concerts of the Guildhall School of Music, under Mr. Weist Hill, showed distinct progress and a commendable spirit of enterprise, Handel's early and little-known work, "Esther," being given at the last. At the Bach Society Concert of February 16 Mr. Otto Goldschmidt produced Palestrina's "Missa Papæ Marcelli," which, notwithstanding the interest attaching to it as marking an epoch in church music, had never, so far as is known, been previously heard in London. The old "Philharmonic" has proceeded with great success on the lines it traced out for itself last year. Forsaking its too conservative traditions, it has gained new life from the introduction of modern music. An addition to its *personnel*, likely to prove of great utility, has been made in the shape of a choir which had an opportunity of showing its efficiency on February 9, in Beethoven's Choral Symphony. Liszt's 9th, or "Hungarian," Symphony, the title of which is a key to the composer's intention (February 23), Mr. Corder's overture "Ossian," and Mr. Villiers Stanford's overture to the "Veiled Prophet," conducted by himself (March 9), were among the novelties given; and on June 9 the series concluded with the production of Rubinstein's oratorio, "Paradise Lost," a work of unequal merit, constructed on a libretto which Milton would scarcely have recognised. This year a schism occurred in the management of the "Richter" Concerts. Messrs. Schulz-Curtius retired, taking with them the Beethoven choir, but losing the services of Herr Richter and of course the prestige of his name. They, however, gave an excellent series at St. James's Hall, having secured Mr. Charles Hallé as conductor and a first-rate orchestra. The most generally interesting feature of the series was Schumann's *Scenen* from "Faust," given in its entirety for the first time in London. Both societies gave Beethoven's Mass in D. In the autumn Herr Richter again appeared and conducted two concerts for a charitable object at St. James's Hall. The concerts of Herr Ganz opened in April, when a new and successful violinist, Herr Ondricek, appeared. Liszt's symphonic poem on the *Divina Commedia* was a novelty received with mixed feelings by the audience. The new choir, under Mr. Geaussent, attained to considerable prominence, the policy of supplementing the choral pieces by soloists of a high order vocal and instrumental—borrowed from Mr. Leslie—conducting greatly to success.

At the Crystal Palace, Mr. Manns' band maintains the high standard to

which it attained years ago. It is only possible to notice a few of the more novel features in the programmes, *e.g.* the overture and ballet music from the "Veiled Prophet" (February 18); Dvorak's symphony in D (Op. 60), a work which shows, in spite of its national colour, careful study of the old classical manner, given for the first time in April; Berlioz's "Symphonie Funèbre et Triomphale" (written to commemorate a political ceremony), which did not fully realise the expectations now invariably aroused by the composer's name; and a new symphony in D by Signor Sgambati, full of melody and skilful writing, played for the first time in June. At the conclusion of the season, Mr. Manms was presented with a handsome testimonial in recognition of his great services as conductor of the Palace orchestra. When in October the concerts were resumed, Brahms's Piano Concerto in B flat, Raff's Symphony in D, and the prelude to Wagner's new opera "Parsifal," were introduced.

The provinces have this year shared with London the credit attaching to an unusually interesting musical period. At Manchester Mr. Hallé's society brought out a cantata by Mr. E. Hecht, "Eric the Dane." At Cambridge the University Society gave the first performance of Dr. Garrett's cantata, "The Shunammite." The second of the Chester Musical Festivals was held in June; Mesdames Marie Roze, A. Marriott, M. Davies, Patey, and Mudie-Bolingbroke, Messrs. Maas, Guy, King, and Hilton, with a small but capable chorus, and a band led by Herr Straus, ensuring success.

The Birmingham Festival was one of the most important events of this or any year. It opened on August 29 with "Elijah," written for a former festival in the town, and conducted by Sir M. Costa, who was received with a loud burst of applause. Another veteran musician, Sir J. Benedict, appeared to conduct his own cantata, "Graziella," a work of dramatic character, Madame Marie Roze, Madame Patey, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. F. King contributing in their respective parts to a highly favourable reception. On the second day the great feature of the festival appeared, *viz.* M. Gounod's oratorio, or as he has more appropriately termed it, "sacred trilogy," "The Redemption." By whichever name known, it marks a new departure in sacred music, and it excited so great an interest in the public, both at Birmingham and in its subsequent career, that the high price said to have been paid for it (4,000*l.*), seemed fully justified. The libretto, written by the composer himself at Rome in the winter of 1867-8, at which time a small portion of the music was composed, is well constructed, and the English version by the Rev. J. Troutbeck is very satisfactory. The performances of the oratorio at Birmingham (contrary to custom it was repeated) were conducted by M. Gounod himself, and were worthy of the work. Mesdames Albani, Patey, Marie Roze, Messrs. Santley, Cummings, Lloyd, Foli, and F. King being the soloists, the chorus showing great power and precision, and the orchestra doing its arduous work in a highly creditable manner. Mr. Gaul's sacred cantata, "The Holy City," Niels Gade's cantata, "Psyche," Mr. Villiers Stanford's "Orchestral Serenade," a new symphony by Mr. Herbert Parry, and M. Gounod's "Nuptial March," written for the marriage of the Duke of Albany, all, except the first, under the *bâtons* of the respective composers, were the other novelties which contributed to one of the most remarkable musical festivals on record.

Close on the heels of Birmingham followed the Hereford Festival, where Madame Albani, Miss A. Williams, Madame Patey, Messrs. Lloyd, King, and

Santley, were the principal artists. Dr. Garrett's cantata, "The Shunamite," and a selection from Molique's "Abraham," were the most novel elements in the programme. At the Colston Hall, Bristol, the festival opened in October. The programme was highly interesting, comprising the "Redemption," Rossini's "Mosé in Egitto," Beethoven's Mass in D, and a new cantata, "Jason," by Mr. Mackenzie. The soloists were also very strong, Mesdames Albani, Trebelli, Patey, A. Williams, Messrs. Lloyd, Maas, and Santley being present, but the effect of the orchestral and choral work was somewhat marred by insufficient rehearsal.

The obituary of the year includes some well-known names. The Dowager Countess of Essex (Miss Stephens), who died on February 22, at the age of 88, was once deservedly popular as a tuneful and simple singer, though she was associated with a style of music now almost forgotten—to wit, "The Beggar's Opera," and kindred works. Madame Rudersdorff's spirited and conscientious singing, both on the Italian stage and in oratorio, is, on the contrary, fresh in the recollection of almost all. She died at Boston on February 26. Signor Gardoni, whose fine vocalisation and graceful acting placed him only second to Mario in popular favour, is also gone. Kullak, the pianist, who was born in 1818, and began his professional career at the age of 11, died in April; while Jaell, who was better known in England, died at the age of fifty. Mr. Turle, the ex-organist of Westminster Abbey, where he officiated during fifty-eight years, the friend of Mendelssohn and Spohr, died in June at the age of 81; Herr Carl Engel, the musical historian and great authority on musical instruments, at the age of 64; and two well-known composers, Kücken, born at Hanover in 1810, and Joachim Raff, whose music is now so high in favour, who died at Frankfurt-on-the-Main in June.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR 1882.

ASTRONOMY.

Comets.—The first comet whose appearance is recorded in the year 1882, was that discovered by Mr. Wells, at Boston, in the United States of America, on March 18; it was soon afterwards observed by all the astronomers in both continents. When first seen it was rapidly approaching the earth, and the calculated orbit, as well as the other circumstances of its appearance, led to the expectation that it would become very bright. As a matter of fact, however, it never became a conspicuous object in the heavens, and was only seen with the naked eye by practised observers who knew accurately where to look for it. The circumstance that this comet did not increase in brightness in the ratio which was predicted for it, has tended to invest its constitution with some mystery, especially as its examination under the spectroscope shows it to vary much in character from the similar members of the solar system which have appeared since the instrument was applied to the study of the heavenly bodies. All the spectroscopic observations agreed generally in showing that the nucleus gave a very bright and extended continuous spectrum with an excessively strong yellow line, of which the micrometrical measures proved the perfect identity with the yellow line of sodium, the D line of the solar spectrum; there was no trace of the three ordinary bands observed in the spectrum of other comets. As these results are altogether new in cometary spectroscopy, the knowledge of them has tended to increase the uncertainty as to the constitution of the comet already raised by its failure to become so bright as was expected from the early observations.

At the moment of totality during the solar eclipse of May 17, the observers of that event, who were stationed in Egypt, discovered a fine bright comet in close proximity to the sun; it was readily seen with the naked eye, and was well reproduced on the photograph of the eclipse taken at the time. It has not been seen since the eclipse, and owing to the very brief interval during which it was visible on that occasion, nothing could be ascertained of the direction or rate of its motion.

A circular issued in the middle of September, from Lord Lindsay's Observatory at Dunecht, announced the discovery, on September 11, of another comet (the great comet of 1882 as it is called); it was discovered by M. Cruls at Rio de Janeiro, though it seems from subsequent information to have been previously seen on September 8, by Mr. Finlay, Senior Assistant at the Government Observatory at the Cape of Good Hope. Soon afterwards it was seen with the naked eye in full daylight by many persons at different places in the South of Europe, but in more northern latitudes the comet was only visible for a short time before sunrise, on clear nights. During October and November it presented a superb spectacle in the early morning sky. According to the best observers, the spectrum of this comet, like that of Wells' comet, showed the sodium line very brilliantly, in combination, however, with three bands belonging to some hydrocarbon. The first computation of the elements of this comet seemed to indicate its path as a spiral, in describing which it would be brought into contact with the

sun. Subsequent observations, however, showed this conjecture to be a false one, as the comet will, as now thought probable, not return to our system for many generations.

Another smaller comet was discovered on September 10, by Mr. Barnard, at Nashville, in Tennessee; he describes it as being of the tenth magnitude, circular in shape, and about 2' in diameter, with central condensation.

Minor Planets.—During the year 1881 only one of these small members of our solar system was added to the list of those already known, and their number thus brought up to 220. In the subsequent year more activity in this direction has been developed; in the early part of the year six new planetoids were discovered, all by Dr. J. Palisa at Vienna, to the Observatory of which place he has now removed from Pola: the first of these, No. 221, he found on January 18; No. 222, on February 9; No. 223, on March 9; No. 224, on March 30; No. 225, on April 19; No. 226, on July 19. After this the turn for discovery fell to another astronomer. No. 227 was picked up by M. Paul Henry at the Paris Observatory on August 12. The discovery of Nos. 228 and 229 is again due to Dr. Palisa, the first on August 19, the other three days afterwards. On September 3 Dr. De Ball discovered No. 230 at Bothkamp, and on the 10th of the same month Herr Palisa detected another of these tiny bodies, which is therefore No. 231.

The Planet Mars.—During the opposition of the planet Mars, in 1877-78, Signor Schiaparelli, of Milan, had observed on the planet's surface, intersecting the so-called continents, a number of narrow dark streaks which, from their aspect, have been called "canals," though many of them are in reality as broad as our Red Sea. Similar lines have been previously seen by different observers, and as has been pointed out by Dr. Terby, of Louvain, represented from time to time in their drawings of the planet. From the great variations in these representations, it was supposed that the markings indicated no phenomena of a fixed and permanent character. At the succeeding opposition, however, in 1879-80, Schiaparelli recovered all but one of the streaks he had previously seen, and marked them on a map which he then laid down. In the beginning of the present year he again traced the whole of them, and found twenty of the number doubled by parallel dark lines at a greater or less distance, covering the whole of the equatorial regions of the planet with a gigantic network. No satisfactory explanation of these phenomena has been given, but they seem to show that the circumstances of the planet cannot, as has been supposed by some astronomers, be analogous to those of our earth.

Eclipse of the Sun.—Three parties of observers left England, France, and Italy respectively, to observe the eclipse of the sun on May 17, 1882. The first of these consisted of Mr. Norman Lockyer, Dr. Schuster, and their assistants; the second of Messrs. Thollon and Trepied; the third was under the charge of Professor Tacchini of Rome. All these parties agreed to select a place called Sohag on the Nile, in Upper Egypt, which is close to the central line of the eclipse, as the place for their united observations. The results of these observations are highly satisfactory; the corona of the sun was both observed and photographed with great accuracy and success, and the indications obtained have already led to important conclusions.

Reasoning on the photographs of the spectrum of the corona taken by Dr. Schuster at the eclipse, Dr. Huggins has been induced to take photographs of the corona without waiting for an eclipse to make it visible to

the eye. In the opinion of many competent authorities, Dr. Huggins's attempt has been attended with great success. His method consists in interposing a plate of violet-coloured glass between the object-glass of the telescope and the photographic plate, thus obtaining an ever-exposed map of the sun itself, with the structure of the corona distinctly traceable around it.

Sunspots.—Disturbances of enormous dimensions have made their appearance on the solar surface during the past year. On April 13, a magnificent sunspot, whose superficial area has been calculated at 2,050,000,000 square miles, appeared on the southern hemisphere of the sun; it was accompanied on April 19 by magnetic storms of great intensity on the earth. In November a still larger solar spot became visible; according to one computation, the area of this stupendous disturbance measured no less than 2,356,846,000 square miles. Auroræ and violent magnetic disturbances occurred coincidentally with its appearance.

The Transit of Venus.—The most important astronomical event of the year has been the passage of the planet Venus across the sun's disc on December 6. As this phenomenon, which occurs only at long intervals, affords one of the best known methods of obtaining the solar parallax, and thence deducing the distance of our earth from the great central luminary, great interest is taken in observations of the event by astronomers in all parts of the world. On the present occasion, expeditions were sent from nearly all the civilised countries of the globe to various stations on the earth's surface, where the sun could be easily and conveniently observed during the transit of the planet across his disc. With one exception, the results obtained by the British expeditions were successful in observing the times of ingress and egress of the planet. At Brisbane, in Queensland, the sun was for the whole period of the phenomenon perfectly obscured by clouds. The Belgian expedition to South America was also unsuccessful, owing to the bad weather which prevailed; but the Americans obtained good observations at nearly all their stations, and were able to take a series of admirable photographs of the solar surface with the planet projected on it. One of the results of the observations everywhere is, it is believed, to confirm the opinion that the planet, like our own earth, is surrounded with an atmosphere.

PHYSICS.

Recent discoveries in physics furnished Dr. Siemens (as might have been expected) with a large portion of subject-matter on which he dilated in his presidential address to this year's meeting of the British Association; more especially electrical matters were very fully discussed, illustrated as they had been by the successful exhibition of electrical appliances at the Crystal Palace. The various applications of electricity, both to lighting, heating, and as a motive power, are, to a certain extent, now taken out of the region of pure science and have become the property of what may be called the new profession of the electrical engineer, and their subordination to the various wants of social life bring them more prominently before the public in the many mercantile projects which are continually springing up. Many as are the difficulties in the way of the universal use of the electric light, there is every reason to believe that they are not far distant from solution, if our chemists and physicists continue to work in the future as they have been doing in the past. The use of the telephone is steadily making its way in

the country, and judging from the number of projects for the conversion of electrical energy into motive power, the realisation of a successful electrical tramway over longer or shorter distances cannot be far off.

The conversion of the energy of electricity into that of heat has resulted in the invention of the electric furnace, which gives a temperature previously quite unattainable and practically unlimited. In experimenting with this furnace, clay crucibles are useless, as they are fused in a few minutes, so that crucibles of plumbago must be employed. Six pounds of iron kept under the action of the arc for twenty minutes was rendered quite unforgeable, and steel fused in the furnace showed a spongy and crystalline fracture. In one experiment one pound of copper was put into the furnace, and on the latter being opened 900 grains of the metal only remained, the rest having been volatilised by the intense heat.

Electro-Generative Fuel.—At the recent meeting of the French Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Brard, of La Rochelle, read a paper before the Physical Section in which he described a new method of generating electricity by the combustion of a peculiar kind of fire-slab. This slab consists of a brick of carbonaceous matter and a brick of nitrate of soda or nitrate of potash, placed together, but separated by a thin sheet of asbestos paper, and both enveloped in a wrapper of asbestos. The carbon brick is formed of about 100 grammes of coal-dust, kneaded into a paste with tar or molasses, and shaped in a mould by heat. From the peculiarity of this mould the brick has a pitted or corrugated surface above, and is perforated with holes through and through from the upper to the inner side. Strips of brass or copper are also embedded in the under side of the brick to serve as an electrode for the carbon pole of the electro-generative element. The other brick consists of a mixture of three parts ashes and one part nitrate of potash or soda, melted together and poured on the corrugated surface of the carbon, which, however, is first covered with a layer of asbestos paper. Brass strips are also inserted in this compound to serve as the electrode. When wrapped in asbestos and thrust into a furnace or fierce fire, the slab thus formed constitutes a generator of electricity. In such an element the carbon forms a negative plate, and is oxidised just as zinc is oxidised in the ordinary voltaic cell; the nitrate of potash is the oxidising substance. The slab becomes a thermo-chemical battery, and Dr. Brard states that an electric current is produced strong enough to actuate an ordinary electric bell. By joining up two or more of these elementary slabs after the manner of the voltaic battery, a more powerful current is obtained, three or four elements being sufficient to decompose water.

GEOLOGY.

A New Salt Supply.—Hitherto the chief supply of rock-salt, a product of the highest importance in the chemical industries, has come from the beds in Cheshire and Worcestershire; in 1878 the district of which Nantwich is the centre produced nearly 1,800,000 tons of this valuable mineral, and at Droitwich 230,000 tons were raised. Very lately a fresh store of salt has been discovered and is now being made available for the use of the acid and alkali manufacturers on the Tyne. It has long been known that a bed of rock-salt and gypsum underlies the coal-beds of the Cleveland district in the

north-east angle of Yorkshire and the south of Durham. So long ago as 1859 Messrs. Bolckow and Vaughan commenced boring for salt near Middlesborough, but at a depth of 1,313 feet relinquished the attempt, owing to the quantity of water met with. In 1874 Messrs. Bell Brothers, using the Beaumont diamond bore, came on a fine bed of rock-salt at 1,351 feet at Port Clarence, and on a fresh attempt in a more favourable situation, about eighteen months ago, they succeeded in reaching the rock-salt bed at 1,200 feet. This they now propose to work, and at the end of August last they sent a first cargo of about 200 tons of good salt to the chemical manufactories on the Tyne.

The process they adopt for getting the salt is that employed in Würtemberg and other salt-producing centres of the continent : two parallel tubes are sunk into the salt-bed ; through one of these water is sent down, and when fully saturated with salt it is pumped up as brine through the other tube. This brine is then evaporated, and the remaining salt in rough crystals is ready for the market. Of course in this state it is not pure, nor fit to be used at the table ; it contains besides the true common salt—chloride of sodium—sulphate of sodium and other salts of magnesium and calcium. After repeated evaporation the sweepings and residue from the process of purification can be sent into the market for agricultural purposes.

The success of Messrs. Bell has stimulated other proprietors to explore the salt-beds in the valley of the Tees still further ; Messrs. Bolckow and Vaughan will resume the boring operations which they had previously given up, and Messrs. Allhusen, the well-known chemical manufacturers on the Tyne, are about to purchase land near Port Clarence for the same purpose. A geological examination of the district shows that the deposit of salt ranges in an unbroken line from Middlesborough to Harrogate.

BIOLOGY.

The Cause of Tuberculosis.—It is now considered to be perfectly well established that the fearful disease tuberculosis or, more popularly speaking, consumption, is an infectious malady, communicable from one human being to another, from man to animal, and from animal to animal ; the successful experiments of inoculating with, feeding on, and causing to inhale human tubercular matter, carried out on the lower animals, such as guinea-pigs, rabbits, dogs, pigs, &c., by various physiologists, both in this country and on the Continent, are conclusive on this point. What the cause of the malady is has until now been undetermined, but it has often been suggested that, like other infectious diseases, it is of a parasitic origin.

In an able address, delivered in the spring of this year, before the Physiological Society of Berlin, Dr. Koch, Government Adviser in the Imperial Health Department, whose investigations on the etiology of infectious diseases have already obtained for him a brilliant reputation, described the nature of the experimental inquiries by which he has succeeded in determining the precise character of the contagium of tuberculosis. He subjected the diseased organs of a great number of men and animals to microscopic examination, and found in all cases the tubercles infested with a minute rod-shaped parasite, which by means of a special dye he was able to differentiate from the surrounding tissue. These parasites, or bacilli, differ from all other

micro-organisms by characteristic properties. Transferring directly by inoculation the tuberculous matter from diseased to healthy animals, he in every instance reproduced the specific disease, and he ascertained the constant presence of the specific bacillus both in spontaneous as well as in artificially produced tuberculosis.

To meet the objection that it was not the parasite itself, but some virus in which it was imbedded in the diseased organ, that was the real contagium, Dr. Koch cultivated his bacilli artificially for long periods of time and through many successive generations outside the living body. With great care to secure a perfectly sterile medium, he prepared from the serum of blood of animals a transparent mass well adapted for the cultivation of the tubercular parasite. Such a mass inoculated on its surface with tubercular matter became gradually covered with peculiar dry scaly masses, which are in reality colonies of the specific tubercle bacillus. A minute particle of this crop was used for establishing a second similar cultivation, this again for a third, and so on to any number of successive generations. At the end of the process the bacilli thus obtained were introduced into the circulation of healthy animals of various kinds, and in every case inoculation was followed by the reproduction and spread of the parasite and the generation of the original disease.

It is easy, therefore, to understand how the contagium of tuberculosis can become communicable. Koch has examined the matter expectorated from the lungs of persons affected with phthisis, and found in it swarms of bacilli, but was unable to detect the slightest trace of the organism in the similar matter of persons free from the disease. He found, too, that the matter in the former case was highly infectious, and that its virulence was not destroyed by drying. Guinea-pigs infected with expectorated matter which had been kept dry for so long a period as eight weeks were smitten with tubercular disease quite as virulent as that produced by fresh expectoration. Particles of the dried sputa of consumptive patients may float in the air, and are liable to be inhaled by, and thus to infect, healthy persons who may be in the same room.

The first step in the rational treatment of every malady is the recognition of its cause, and Koch's discoveries have already led to the conclusion that consumption ought to be both preventable and curable. In a paper read before the Biological Section of the British Association at the Southampton meeting, Mr. F. J. Faraday connects the arguments of Koch with the discovery of Pasteur that specific disease-germs decrease in virulence when kept in the presence of oxygen. Hence he suggests the possible cure of a consumptive patient by keeping in a pure atmosphere, where oxygen may have access to the affected parts. As giving support to this hypothesis, he pointed to the decrease of mortality from consumption in the army since the improvement of barrack ventilation, and to the relief afforded to patients by sea-voyages, the air of pine woods, carbolic acid inhalations, and other similar remedies which have already been suggested, perhaps rather empirically.

The Salmon Disease.—Of a similar character to those of Koch are Mr. T. H. Huxley's researches on the cause of the epidemic disease which, for some years past, has prevailed among the salmon of certain Scottish and British rivers, from the Tay on the north as far as the Conway on the south. This malady makes its appearance in the shape of white patches upon the

skin of those parts of the body of the fish which are not covered with scales. The patches, which, when first formed, are about the size of a sixpence, rapidly increase in size and become confluent with other patches which may have appeared in the neighbourhood. As the patch spreads the true skin beneath the slough ulcerates and an open bleeding sore is formed, which may extend down to the bone, while it passes outwards into burrowing sinuses. When the disease reaches this stage it causes great irritation; the fish dash about and rub themselves against the stones, and thus probably aggravate the evils under which they suffer. Those which succumb to the disease become weak and sluggish, seeking the shallows near the bank of the river, where they finally die. Curiously enough, the flesh of a salmon affected by the disease presents no difference in texture or colour from that of a healthy fish, and those who have made the experiment declare that the flavour is just as good in the former case as in the latter.

When the slough-like substance from the white patches above referred to is subjected to microscopical examination, it is found to be a *mycelium*, or fungus growth, composed of fine tubular filaments terminated by elongated oval enlargements. These enlargements soon open at the apex and set free the zoospores within, which then become actively or passively diffused through the surrounding water.

Huxley's investigations show how the disease is transferred from one fish to the other. Taking the body of a recently killed house-fly he rubbed it over a patch of the diseased skin of a salmon, and placed it in water; in the course of forty-eight hours the body of the fly became covered with a crop of white cottony filaments, precisely like the fungus of the original salmon-disease, producing in the same way abundance of zoospores. From these zoospores another dead fly was infected and a second crop of filaments obtained, which were capable of affecting with the disease a living fish.

Professor Huxley's conclusion is that these fungus filaments belong to the genus *Saprolegnia*—that is to say, they are saprophytes, which ordinarily live upon and derive their nourishment from dead animal and vegetable matter, but under favourable circumstances act as parasites on living animals. The cause, therefore, of the salmon disease may exist in all waters in which dead insects infested with *Saprolegnia* are met with, that is to say, probably in all the fresh waters of these islands at one time or another. On the other hand, *Saprolegnia* has never been observed on decaying bodies in salt water, and there is much reason to believe that if a diseased salmon returns to salt water, all the fungus which is reached by the saline fluid is killed, and the destroyed epidermis of the fish is restored.

A Poisonous Lizard.—Up to the present it has generally been supposed by naturalists that none of the lizards were venomous, or possessed any organs capable of manufacturing a poisonous secretion. This was the more remarkable, since the lizards are closely related by structural affinities to another class of reptiles, the snakes, among which we know there are several species possessed of the most virulent and deadly poisonous apparatus. It is only necessary to instance the hollow fangs in the upper jaw of the cobra and rattlesnake, communicating with the poison-gland at their base, to show with what dangerous offensive weapons many of the snake family are armed. That the lizards are near relations of the snakes will be understood when it is explained that the harmless blind-worm of this country is in reality a lizard destitute of legs.

Recently the Zoological Gardens of London have, through the kindness of Sir J. Lubbock, become possessed of a living specimen of a novel kind of lizard, the *Heloderma horridum*, from Puebla, in Central America. Travellers in Mexico had often circulated the story that a poisonous lizard was found in that country, but naturalists, without any evidence of the existence of such an animal, had naturally considered the stories as exaggerations. The new arrival in the Zoological Gardens was at first freely handled, and being a lizard was regarded as harmless; certainly at first it was dull and inactive, probably owing to its long voyage and to want of food. On a close examination of the *Heloderma*, however, by Dr. Günther, it was found that its teeth formed a literal series of poison-fangs, each possessing a true poison-gland. Experimenting upon the virulence of the poison, Dr. Günther made the lizard bite a frog and a guinea-pig; the frog died in one minute, the guinea-pig in three. As the experimenter observes, the virus required to produce these effects must be of a singularly acute and powerful nature.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

Africa.—The various missionary and trading parties in the interior of this great continent seem now to be principally engaged in establishing themselves firmly in their several stations, and in improving their means of communication between each other and the coast. Of exploring expeditions on a large scale none have recently started, though single travellers have worked out in many places the geography of regions whose general outlines only were previously known.

The Royal Geographical Society have organised another expedition for the exploration of that portion of the African continent lying between the coast and the Victoria Nyanza. This expedition will be under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Thomson, who, two years ago, so successfully conducted an exploring party to the northern shore of Lake Nyanza, and afterwards opened up the route between that lake and Tanganyika. Mr. Thomson left this country for Zanzibar on December 13 last, and will at once proceed to enter on the main objects of his expedition—to explore a direct route to the Victoria Nyanza, and to examine the snow-covered mountain Kenia. He will be preceded in the same region by a German expedition, under Dr. Fischer, who, however, takes a different route from that of the English traveller. According to the latest news, Dr. Fischer on November 12 was organising his party at Pangani, from whence he intended to proceed to Mount Kilimanjaro.

Two enterprising travellers are engaged in exploring that part of the African continent which lies between the Victoria Nyanza lake and Abyssinia. Mr. Schuer is directing his operations in the north-western part of this area, in the neighbourhood of the upper water of the Sobat river. From Fadassi he has made two excursions into the Galla district, and by the latest account from Agoldi, bearing date January 6 of this year, he is preparing for a longer journey. Dr. Strecker, the companion of Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs in his adventurous journey from Tripoli towards the Wadai oasis, has been doing important work in the basin of Lake Tsana, and is planning a journey across the region southward, towards the Jub. By the efforts of these gentlemen we may hope to see filled up the map of these regions, which at present is nearly blank.

In the ANNUAL REGISTER of last year, some account was given of Dr. Junker's expedition in Central Africa, west of the Albert Nyanza lake. Letters of December 25, 1881, describe him as still exploring the Niam-Niam country, and as having passed beyond the River Welle of Schweinfurth, his object evidently being to trace the course of the river, and ascertain whether, as geographers generally suppose, it is a tributary of the Congo. Since then this indefatigable explorer has continued his work with unchecked perseverance and considerable success. He has explored some of the principal tributaries of the Welle, or, to call it by its real native name, the Mákua, and before returning home, hopes to be able to settle the vexed question of the lower course of that river.

As regards the Congo itself, not much advance has been made in its exploration during the past twelvemonth; two missionary parties have succeeded in reaching Stanley Pool, travelling one by the north bank and the other by the south, but no progress has been made farther eastward than this point. Mr. Stanley himself has been up to the stretch of the river named after him, and is gradually pushing on his trading stations farther in the same direction. M. Savorgnan de Brazza, having obtained from the native chief Makoko the cession of the land surrounding the station, which he calls Brazzaville, on the southern bank of Stanley Pool, has taken possession of the territory in the name of France, and a guard is maintained there to protect the French flag which is kept flying. One consequence of this rather high-handed proceeding is that persons of other nationalities are prohibited from settling on the south side of the pool. M. de Brazza has since returned to France in the hope of enlisting the support of his countrymen in his project of annexing permanently to the territory of the French Republic the land on the banks of the Congo which he professes to have acquired.

According to the latest news Mr. H. M. Stanley has returned to Europe, after his three years' labours on the Congo. He has succeeded in constructing a practicable road past the cataracts of the great river as far as Stanley Pool, and has established a chain of stations for the promotion of commerce and civilisation along the most difficult part of the stream. It is now stated that he has again left for Africa with the object of watching the annexation projects of the French, in order to prevent their interfering with the designs of the Belgian exploring expedition in that region.

Another successful journey across the central regions of Africa—this time from the west to the east coast—has been accomplished. Dr. Pogge and Lieut. Wissmann, of the German African Society's expedition to Western Africa, left St. Paulo de Loanda in January 1881, and advanced into the interior, with the object of first visiting the capital of the Muata Yanvo, whom Dr. Pogge had visited on a former expedition. Prevented, however, from reaching that potentate's territory by the wars and incursions of the border tribes, they took a circuitous course to the north-east, exploring an entirely new region between the Kasai and the upper waters of the Congo. They seem to have penetrated together as far as Nyangwe, the great mart on that river previously visited by Cameron and Stanley, and then to have parted company. On November 20, a telegram was received in Berlin from Zanzibar announcing the arrival in that place of Lieut. Wissmann, who had thus traversed the whole continent; but of the details of the latter part of his journey nothing appears as yet to be known.

The Arctic Regions.—It will be recollected that in the account of Geographical Discovery in the Polar Seas contained in the ANNUAL REGISTER

of last year, mention was made of the second expedition of Mr. Leigh Smith, in his steam-yacht "Eira," to explore the coasts of Franz-Josef Land, and at that time great fears were entertained of the safety of the expedition, it being so long overdue. Under the influence of these fears, the relatives and friends of Mr. Leigh Smith determined to send out an expedition in search of the intrepid explorer, if possible to find and rescue him, or at all events to leave stores of provisions, coats, and other necessities in places where, in the event of their having been compelled to take to their boats, the adventurers might discover and avail themselves of them. On application to the Admiralty the Government consented to make a grant of 5,000*l.* in aid of the relief expedition, and a sum of 1,000*l.* was promised by the Royal Geographical Society. A steam whaler, the "Hope," of Peterhead, was hired for the service, and together with a crew of four officers and thirty-two men, was placed under the command of Sir Allen Young, who in 1880 had distinguished himself in his cruise with the "Pandora" in the attempts to reach the Pole by way of Smith's Sound. Requests were also made to the members of the Dutch Polar Expedition, in the "Willem Barentz," which has this year made her fifth annual voyage to the Arctic regions, and to Captain Palander, who at the head of a Swedish expedition was expected to be at Mussel Bay in July, to keep a careful lookout for the missing party. Sir Henry Gore Booth, also, accompanied by Mr. Grant, sailed for the same regions, in the 75-ton yacht "Kara" on a cruise of partly a sporting and partly a scientific and artistic character, and his intention was to co-operate in any measures for the relief of the "Eira" and her crew. The "Hope" left Gravesend on June 22 of this year, and when he reached Hammerfest, Sir A. Young increased his resources by the purchase of a walrus-hunter's schooner; this vessel he despatched to cruise on the west coast of Novaya Zemlya, while he himself, in his own ship, proceeded in the direction of Franz-Josef Land.

At length the welcome tidings of the safety of the members of the "Eira" expedition reached this country; on August 20 the "Hope" arrived at Aberdeen, having on board Mr. Leigh Smith and all his companions. From Sir Allen Young's report it appears that after searching for some time on the coast of Novaya Zemlya, the "Hope" was in the act of leaving Altgläubigen Bay, Matotchkin Straits, for Franz-Josef Land, when she was stopped by signals from the "Willem Barentz" in the offing. Soon afterwards a boat arrived with Mr. Leigh Smith, who reported that his men were encamped in the bay, on the other side of an intervening point. The "Eira," as they stated, was severely nipped by the ice close to Cape Flora, on August 21, 1881, and sank in deep water two hours afterwards, before the crew could rescue sufficient provisions to carry them through the winter. Happily sufficient walrus- and bear-meat was obtained, not only to prevent them from dying of hunger, but to pass the dreary months of the winter in health and comparative comfort. So soon as open water appeared on the coast they took to their boats, and towards the end of June, 1882, succeeded in leaving Franz-Josef Land and in reaching Novaya Zemlya, where they providentially fell in with the expedition sent to their relief.

The tidings of the survivors of the "Jeanette" expedition turn out to have been most disastrous. As already mentioned in the previous volume of the ANNUAL REGISTER, a message was received in London on December 20, 1881, from Mr. Melville, chief engineer of the "Jeanette," according to which the ship was crushed by the ice on June 23, 1881, in latitude 77° and

E. longitude 157° , after having drifted for twenty-two months in the tremendous pack-ice of the Arctic Ocean ; the crew succeeded in escaping from the ship in three boats, two of which arrived at the mouth of the Lena, but the third has not since been heard of. The party in Melville's boat, including Lieutenant Danenhauer and Professor Newcombe, landed on the east side of the river, and were able to reach Yakutsk : from this place, with the assistance of the Russian officers of the settlement, they returned to the desolate delta at the mouth of the Lena, where the crew of the second boat, with Lieutenant De Long, the commander of the expedition, and Dr. Ambler, the surgeon, had effected a landing. Sad to relate, these unfortunate men had been unable to reach the inhabited districts, and perished miserably of hunger and exposure. Thus out of the whole crew of the "Jeanette" of thirty-two men, only fourteen survived to reach their native land.

Asia.—An expedition, which from its probable commercial and political results may prove to be one of the highest importance, has been recently carried out by Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, of the Indian Public Works Department, accompanied by Mr. C. Wahab. These gentlemen left Canton on February 5, 1882, and explored the whole of the Si-Kiang, or, as it is generally called, the Canton river, as far as Wu-chow, where it ceases to be navigable. Leaving the main river at this point, they were able to penetrate still farther by the Yü, a tributary of the Si-Kiang, to the large and important town of Nanking, which they reached on February 27. From this place they traversed the whole of the southern portion of Yünnan, a country previously very little known, with the intention of making their way to Zimmay, and then exploring the road from that place to Rangoon, which has always been considered, if feasible, to be the best route between British Burmah and the western provinces of China. On their arrival, however, at Shu-mao or Esmok, towards the end of April, a reverse awaited the expedition ; the local Mandarin threw difficulties in their way, and forced them, instead of proceeding by the southern route through the Laos country, to strike northwards by an unfrequented path to Tali-fu, along the valley of the Papien river. The whole of this region, along with the portion of Yünnan west of Tali, had been before and during the late rebellion a stronghold of Mahomedanism, and in the remains of the richly decorated temples and houses, and in the numerous ruined villages, showed evidences of former prosperity and affluence. Mr. Colquhoun has carefully surveyed the route some 2,000 miles as far as Tali, and has prepared an excellent map of the whole of southern Yünnan, and a chart of the upper reaches of the Canton river, along a line of way of great importance, hitherto untrodden by any European. The explorers left Tali-fu at the end of May, and pursued their way to Bhamo, which they reached on July 14, by the known road pursued by Margary, M'Carthy, Gill, and last year by Soltau and Stevenson. From the obstacles placed in their way, however, by the Mandarins, who use every exertion to prevent the trade routes of these countries from being opened up, and partly owing to heavy rains and the consequent swollen condition of the rivers, this, the last portion of the explorers' journey, although better known, presented greater difficulties even than the first.

Unfortunately, as in the case of nearly all the more important expeditions undertaken in the cause of geographical science, this one of Mr. Colquhoun has also demanded its victim ; Mr. Wahab never rallied from the exhaustion consequent on the privation and fatigue of the latter portion of the journey. Already seriously ill on his arrival at Rangoon, he was for-

warded with great care to Calcutta, where he was able to receive the best medical aid and attention at the General Hospital, and rallied so far as to be able to be sent to England. But his constitution had been too far tried to hold out any hopes of recovery; he died on board the steamer in the Red Sea while on his way home.

Ever since the occupation by the Russians of the Khanates in Central Asia, what was generally supposed to be the city of Merv has been the object of great interest and conjecture, as lying on the direct route between Bokhara and Afghanistan. For nearly thirty years Merv has not been visited by an Englishman, and its condition, population, and means of defence had been for some time wrapped in considerable mystery. It was generally held that Merv was a great Asiatic city, the possession of which would make the fortune of its possessor at the present time, and it was not until Mr. O'Donovan, the Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*, succeeded, by dint of great personal energy, ingenuity, and boldness, in reaching this supposed strategic centre, that the delusion was dispelled. Mr. O'Donovan had been attached as newspaper correspondent to the Russian Expedition under General Skobeleff, which subsequently defeated the Tekke-Turkomans at Geok Tepé. When the Russians desired to maintain in secrecy the plans they had formed for an advance into the Turkoman districts, he was compelled to return to Kelat-i-Nadir in Persian territory. Here also he was forbidden to proceed farther eastward, but eluding the vigilance of the authorities, he managed to reach Méhna, where there was an outlying colony of Tekke-Turkomans from Merv. With these people he executed a forced ride of 120 miles over a country destitute of water, and reached Merv in the marvellously short time of twenty hours. According to this intrepid traveller, there is no such city as Merv; Merv is only a geographical expression for a certain amount of cultivated territory occupied by about half a million of Tekke-Turkomans. When previously visited by Englishmen, the oasis was under the jurisdiction of Khiva, and its administrative centre was at Porsa Kala, now a heap of mud ruins, though the last of three ruined cities which successively have been built and destroyed in this country. The present central point of the Merv territory, which has only during the last twenty-six years been occupied by Tekke-Turkomans, is now Koushid Khan Kala, a fort at the bend of the River Murghab, surrounded by about a thousand beehive-shaped mud huts, where the present inhabitants hope to be able to make a stand against the Russian invasion when it is renewed. At first O'Donovan was taken for a Russian, and under this impression detained a prisoner for more than a month, but on the receipt of an assurance from the Minister at Teheran that he did not belong to their enemies, the Turkomans set him at liberty. More than that, as the English troops were at this time at Kandahar, and were firmly believed to be advancing on Herat, and thence to Merv, to drive the hated Russians back to the Caspian, his hosts, as an expression of their desire to secure British protection, made Mr. O'Donovan their commander or khan; and during his subsequent stay in Merv a banner floated in front of the house he occupied, to indicate the dignity to which he had been raised. When the news arrived of Kandahar being vacated by the British forces, Mr. O'Donovan felt that he would no longer be safe in Merv. With some difficulty, under the pretext of attending a pretended council at Meshed, he induced the Turkomans to allow him, under an escort, to return to that town, from which he was able to make his way again to civilised countries.

OBITUARY.

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1882.

JANUARY.

William Harrison Ainsworth, the novelist and antiquarian, who died on January 3 at Reigate, was the eldest son of a solicitor, and was born at Manchester in 1805, and educated at the Free Grammar School in that city. In his 16th year he was articled to an attorney, and while still in his teens he wrote and published his romance of "Sir John Cheverton," which elicited so much praise from Sir Walter Scott that the young author determined to devote himself exclusively to literature. In 1834 appeared the first of his more elaborate novels, "Rookwood," in which Dick Turpin makes a conspicuous figure. Its success was very great, owing in great measure to the spirit with which the apocryphal ride to York was described. Early in 1839 the first number of his novel relating to "Jack Sheppard" appeared in *Bentley's Miscellany*, and fairly took the town by storm. It was read with avidity by all classes. Eight different versions of it were played on the stage, one of them furnishing Mrs. Keelley with the means of achieving a dramatic triumph. The illustrative sketches contributed by George Cruikshank added to the popularity of both works. In 1840 he succeeded Dickens as editor of *Bentley's Miscellany*, but retired from the post at the end of the following year to establish the magazine issued under his name. In 1845 he became proprietor and editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*. Meanwhile he had begun to paint that long series of pictures of the past on which his fame chiefly rests—"Crichton," "Guy Fawkes," "Old St. Paul's," "The Miser's Daughter," "Windsor Castle," "St.

James's," "Lancashire Witches," "The Star Chamber," "The Flitch of Bacon," "Ovingdean Grange," "The Constable of the Tower," "The Lord Mayor of London," "Cardinal Pole," "John Law," &c. In 1854 Mr. Ainsworth became the proprietor of *Bentley's Miscellany*, in which "The Spendthrift" was originally published. It was not simply as a novelist that he became known to fame. In early life, under the *nom de plume* of "Cheviot Tichebourne," he brought out a volume of songs, dedicating them to Charles Lamb. Many of them are scattered over his prose with excellent effect: but the best proof of his poetical gifts is to be found in his "Combat of the Thirty," founded upon the old Breton legend. In 1826 Mr. Ainsworth married Miss Ebers, daughter of the Bond Street publisher.

Ralph Bernal Osborne.—Ralph Bernal, the eldest son of the well-known art-collector, was born in 1814, and after having been educated at Charter House and Trinity College, Cambridge, was gazetted to the 7th Fusiliers in 1830, but retired a few years later with the rank of captain. In 1844 he married a Miss Catherine Isabella Osborne, the heiress of a Waterford family, and assumed by royal license her name in addition to his own. In 1841 he had been elected for Wycombe, his father being at the same time member for Rochester.

At the general election of 1847 Mr. Bernal Osborne stood for Middlesex, and was returned second on the poll with Lord Robert Grosvenor. In 1852 he was again returned in the same company for

this important county, beating the Marquis of Blandford by 150 votes. A thorough-going Liberal, with an apparently secure and very honourable seat, Mr. Osborne was appointed Secretary to the Admiralty in Lord Aberdeen's Administration, and retained his place when Lord Palmerston succeeded to the name as well as to the substance of power. At the election of 1857 he was returned at the head of the poll for Dover, where the Government and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports had more influence than they retained at that time in Middlesex. But two years later he was rejected by the same constituency, placed last on the poll out of four candidates, and, although he came back to Parliament, and often spoke on navy questions, was never again in office. A few months after his defeat at Dover, by the nomination of Mr. R. W. Grey to a Commissionership of Customs, a place was found for Mr. Osborne at Liskeard, for which borough he was returned unopposed in August. At the next election he quitted Liskeard. At the general election of 1866 Mr. Samuel Morley and the late Sir Robert Clifton, both of them candidates of great influence from their local connections, had been returned, but were both unseated on petition, and a new writ was issued in May. Mr. Bernal Osborne stood with the late Lord Amberley, one of the youngest, extremest, and ablest of Radicals, a son of Mr. Osborne's old friend, Lord John Russell. The opposing candidates were Sir George Jenkinson, Mr. Handel Cossham, and Dr. Falkner, to the ridicule of whom Mr. Osborne devoted all his practised powers of humour with such success that the result of the poll showed 2,518 for Osborne, 2,494 for Viscount Amberley, the nearest of their opponents having 2,411 votes, and the last of them appearing with the ignominious total of three.

The new Parliament of 1869 found Mr. Osborne again without a seat. His wife's family had from its first promotion been connected with the county of Waterford, and had estates at Thickeness Kincor, in that county, as well as at Newtown Anner, Clonmel, Tipperary, on the borders of Waterford, in which residence Mr. Osborne dwelt while in Ireland. At the general election Mr. Blake and Mr. Delahunty were returned for Waterford city, but Mr. Blake being appointed an Inspector of Fisheries, a new writ was issued in November 1869. Mr. Bernal Osborne thereupon stood for the city, but Sir H. Winston Barron, who had been beaten at the last election,

defeated his competitor at this. Mr. Osborne petitioned; Sir Winston Barron was unseated, and by February of the next year the new writ was out. Then Mr. P. J. Smyth stood against the successful petitioner, but Mr. Osborne was returned by 483 to 475 votes, and kept his seat until overthrown by the force of Home Rule in 1874. The last defeat was the most decisive he had ever sustained. Mr. Osborne came last on the poll out of five candidates, having only 160 votes, while the winners obtained the suffrages of 531 and 480 electors. In the same year one daughter, Miss Grace Osborne, was married to the Duke of St. Albans, and the other, Miss Edith Osborne, to Mr. Henry A. Blake, author of "Irish Sketches," resident magistrate, subsequently one of the five magistrates appointed under the Peace Preservation Act. Mr. Osborne suffered a great blow in 1880 by the loss of his wife, eleven years after the date of their silver wedding. After a comparatively short illness, he died on the 4th at Bestwood Lodge, near Nottingham, the seat of the Duke of St. Albans, where he had been passing the Christmas holidays.

Richard Henry Dana.—Richard Henry Dana, a distinguished American jurist, author, and politician, died at Rome on January 6. The son of the late Mr. R. H. Dana, the American essayist and poet, he was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1816. Being obliged to leave Harvard College in 1834 on account of ill-health, he undertook a voyage to California, which he described in his popular book "Two Years before the Mast," republished in an enlarged form in 1869 under the title "Two Years before the Mast and Twenty Years After." Returning to college, he studied law and was admitted to the Boston Bar in 1840. He acquired a special reputation in maritime law, after the publication, in 1841, of his "Seaman's Friend," known in England as "The Seaman's Manual," containing a dictionary of nautical terms. In 1853 he became a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. He was one of the founders of the "Free Soil Party," and took a prominent part in the Republican movement of 1856. At the trial of Jefferson Davis he represented the Government. Of his legal works, the best known is his copiously annotated edition of Wheaton's "International Law." One of the notes in this work, on the neutrality laws of Great Britain and the United States, was translated into French for the use of the arbitrators at

Geneva in 1872. "To Cuba and Back: A Vacation Voyage," published in 1859, and a biography of Channing are among his contributions to lighter literature. Some few years before his death he was nominated United States Minister to London, but the appointment was withdrawn for political reasons.

Vice-Chancellor Sir Richard Malins.

Richard Malins was born at Evesham in 1805, being the third and last surviving son of the late Mr. William Malins, of Ailston, Warwickshire, and Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. Thomas Hunter, of Pershore, Worcestershire. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1827 in mathematical honours, being sixth junior optime in the same tripos in which Professor De Morgan and Baron Cleasby were wranglers, and Professor B. H. Kennedy (more distinguished in the Classical Tripos) was a senior optime. William Makepeace Thackeray was also among his contemporaries at Cambridge. He entered at the Inner Temple in 1825 before leaving Cambridge, but was not called by that honourable society till 1830. From the first, Mr. Malins sought practice as a conveyancer, and as a real property lawyer and skilled in the interpretation of wills, he was occasionally taken into Court as a specialist in these matters; but it is worthy of note that his earliest successes were not at Equity but in the Common Law Courts. The most conspicuous of these was his argument in "*Festing v. Allen*." This suit, which was determined on November 20, 1843, had been instituted in Chancery for the administration of a will, and Vice-Chancellor Wigram had ordered a case to be stated for the opinion of the Barons of the Exchequer. Mr. Malins argued it against three other counsel, before a Court of which Lord Abinger (Scarlett) was chief, and Baron Parke (Lord Wensleydale), Baron Gurney, and Baron Rolfe were members. He, however, devoted himself almost entirely to Equity Cases, practising chiefly in Vice-Chancellor Sir John Stuart's Court. In 1849 he was appointed Queen's Counsel. He assumed the silk gown in this year, and, at the same time, definitively migrated to Lincoln's Inn, being appointed *ad eundem* a barrister and immediately afterwards a bencher of that learned society. Three years later, in 1852, he was first returned for Wallingford, in the Conservative interest; he was re-elected in March 1857, but lost his seat at the general election in July 1865. As a member of Parlia-

ment he often spoke on legal and financial questions, and had the courage to avow himself a Protectionist, although he knew, he said, that his opinions were unpopular. Two Statutes, the Infants' Marriage Settlements, 1855, and the Married Women's Reversionary Property, 1857, are known as Malins's Acts. At the election of 1865 he lost his election, and in December 1866 he was appointed by Lord Chelmsford a Vice-Chancellor in succession to Sir R. T. Kindersley. In 1831 he had married Susannah, eldest daughter of the Rev. A. Farwell. He had retired from the Bench on account of ill-health, induced by a fall from his horse in March 1881, and on his retirement was made a Privy Councillor. He died on January 15 at his house in Lowndes Square, only sixteen days after the death of his wife, by whom he left no issue.

Sir Daniel Macnee, LL.D., President of the Royal Scottish Academy, died on January 16, in Edinburgh, in his 76th year. He was the only son of the late Mr. Robert Macnee, of Fintry, Stirlingshire, by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Mr. Alexander Gardner, of Fintry. He was educated at Edinburgh and at the University of Glasgow, and was a student at the Academy of the Board of Trustees for Art and Manufactures for Scotland, where he studied with Duncan, Lauder, David Scott, and other Scotch artists, under the late Sir William Allan. In 1829 he was elected a member of the Royal Scottish Academy. Sir Daniel Macnee was a successful portrait painter, and gained a gold medal at the Paris International Exhibition in 1855, for his portrait of the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw. He was unanimously elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy in February 1876, in succession to Sir George Harvey, and shortly afterwards received the honour of knighthood. In the same year the University of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. Sir Daniel Macnee, who was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Edinburgh, was twice married—first, in 1826, to Margaret, daughter of Mr. John M'Ghie, of Edinburgh, who died in 1847; and secondly, in 1859, to Mary Buchanan, daughter of Mr. Peter Macnee, of Glengilp, Argyllshire.

Charles Blanc, the art critic, and elder brother of M. Louis Blanc, died in Paris on January 17. Born at Castres in 1813, he was brought up as an engraver, but soon devoted himself to art-critiques, first for his brother's, and

afterwards for other journals. From 1848 to 1852 he held the post of Director of Fine Arts. In 1868 he was admitted a member of the Academy of Fine Arts, and a few years ago he was nominated to a newly-created Professorship of *Esthetics* at the Collège de France. He took a leading part in the continuation of Armengaud's "History of Painters," and was an enthusiastic admirer of Rembrandt, whose engravings he reproduced and edited. He followed up his "Grammar of Drawing" by a "Grammar of Domestic Decoration." Through his brother Louis having created for himself a position as journalist, Charles was enabled to enter the studio of the great painter Delaröche, which alone must have given him the training of fine taste under the influence and precepts of a master so highly distinguished among the most serious and gifted painters of the modern French school. At the same time, with extraordinary industry, he was studying engraving under Calamatta and Mercuri, and at night occupying himself in writing articles upon the pictures in the *salon* for his brother's paper, the *Revue du Progrès*. His literary acquirements were so far appreciated that they led him away from his artist studies, and in 1840, during the reign of Louis Philippe, he was induced by his brother to undertake the editorship of a small Republican journal at Troyes, in which Louis had published his first part of the "Histoire de Dix Ans." His "Histoire des Peintres" had created his reputation when the Revolution of 1848 came, and by universal assent he was pointed out for the post of Directeur des Beaux Arts under the Republic. He signalised his position by the important innovation of forming a gallery of copies of the great works of the greatest masters in painting, but it is to be regretted that the scheme was barely entered upon when the Napoleon *coup d'état* deprived Charles Blanc of his office. Louis Blanc, during the storms of political parties in 1848, was condemned by the Assemblée Nationale, and fled to England. He had been abused in very insulting language in the journal called *L'Assemblée Nationale*, and the writer, M. Lacombe, was called to account by Charles Blanc, whose seconds in the affair were M. Méry, the brilliant novelist, and M. Nieuwerkerke, who afterwards succeeded Charles Blanc as Directeur. The combatants met on the ground, and after saluting each other, took their position and fired, when it was

seen that M. Lacombe was hit. But on the seconds approaching him it was found that the ball had struck the *portmonnaie* in his pocket and glanced off. The other strange event in the career of Charles Blanc has often been alluded to as having given the idea of the plot of "Les Frères Corses" to M. Dumas. The Blancs were a Corsican family, the mother being Mdle. Estelle Pozzo di Borgo, connected with the celebrated diplomatist of that name. In 1839 Charles Blanc went to visit a friend, a physician, M. Bouloumié, 160 leagues from Paris, at a place named Vittel. There he was chatting and laughing with the party in the garden one evening when suddenly he started up in agony, and cried out that he had been struck, and at the same moment said he was sure something had happened to his brother Louis. The next day a letter came telling him that his brother had been struck down in the street at nightfall by a blow across the forehead. This story was afterwards related by Louis Blanc to Alexandre Dumas, and was adopted by him. In 1876 he was elected a member of the French Academy in succession to M. Carné.

John Linnell, a well-known artist, died on January 20, at his house at Redhill. Notwithstanding his advanced age, and the fact that he would not suffer himself to be elected a member of the Royal Academy, his pictures were conspicuous and easily distinguishable on the walls at Burlington House down to the most recent exhibitions. Mr. Linnell, who was born in London in June 1792, painted in oil as early as 1804. His grandfather had been an upholsterer of repute in the West End of London, early in the eighteenth century, and his father was a wood-carver and picture dealer in Bloomsbury, where John was born. By the advice of Benjamin West young Linnell attended the schools of the Royal Academy at Somerset House; and about 1805 became a pupil of John Varley, the father of English water-colour painting, but probably learned more from his fellow-pupil, Mulready. He first exhibited at the Academy, in 1807, "Fishermen, a scene from Nature." He obtained a medal at the Royal Academy in that year for a drawing from the life, and another in 1810 for the best model from the life, and the prize of fifty guineas at the British Institution for the best landscape in 1809. He exhibited at the Academy again, in 1821, a landscape and portraits. During

the interval he painted many views in Wales and elsewhere, and from 1818 till 1820 he had exhibited at the Society in Spring Gardens. Throughout the earlier part of Linnell's career he painted a much larger number of portraits than of landscapes, for which he was especially noted in his later years.

Professor Thomas Edward Cliffe Leslie, who for more than 25 years had held the chair of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in the Queen's College, Belfast, died in that city on January 27. He was of Scotch descent, but was born in Ireland, being the second son of the Rev. Edward Leslie, prebendary of Dromore, and rector of Annahilt, in the county Down. His father, however, resided in England during his son's childhood, and after himself instructing Cliffe Leslie at a very early age in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, sent him, at 10 years of age, to a public school where his classical abilities were rapidly developed. After a career of considerable brilliancy at Trinity College, Dublin, devoted chiefly to classical and philosophical studies, he entered at Lincoln's Inn, and was in due course called to the English bar. His early appointment to the Belfast professorship and his strong proclivity to literature soon led to his abandonment of the law, and he became a contributor to some of the leading quarterly and monthly reviews. One of his earliest essays on the land question and the state of Ireland attracted the attention of John Stuart Mill. To the end of his life Mill was a warm admirer of Leslie's writings, in spite of some points of doctrinal difference. In 1870 Leslie published his important volume entitled "Land Systems and Industrial Economy of Ireland, England, and Continental Countries." This contained much novel information concerning Continental agriculture, gathered in tours through Belgium and France, especially during visits to his friend the late Leonce de Lavergne at La Creuse. The volume was very favourably reviewed by J. S. Mill. In later years Leslie turned his attention to the general methods of political economy, and became distinguished as the upholder, if not almost the originator in England, of the historical or inductive treatment of that science. Mr. Leslie had for many years entertained the design of treating the whole field of economics from the historical point of view in a complete treatise. Unfortunately, the MS. which he had prepared

was lost by a singular accident while he was travelling on the Continent in 1872. He had since striven, in spite of failing health, to reproduce and complete his work, and an article on "The History and Future of Interest and Profit," which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, was understood to be a specimen of the treatise. Mr. Leslie acted for many years as examiner in political economy and some other subjects for the India Civil Service examinations. In 1869 he was appointed Examiner in Political Economy in the University of London, an office which he held for the usual term of five years, and on his retirement received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Dublin.

Sir Robert Christison, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., died at his residence in Edinburgh on January 27. Born in Edinburgh on July 18, 1797, in 1811 he matriculated as a student at the University of Edinburgh, and in 1820 obtained his degree as Doctor of Medicine, attending subsequently the medical schools of London and Paris in order to prosecute his studies. In Paris he studied under M. Orfila, the celebrated toxicologist, and soon became a specialist in that department of medical science. On his return from the Continent Dr. Christison commenced practice in Edinburgh as a physician, and in 1822 he was appointed to the chair of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. In 1829 he published his "Treatise on Poisons." In the course of his career he wrote a number of other standard works, besides contributing numerous valuable papers to the medical journals. The first trial for murder to which Professor Christison was summoned as a scientific witness was that of Burke and Hare, who were accused of a series of murders in Edinburgh in 1829. In 1832 Professor Christison was appointed to the chair of *Materia Medica* in Edinburgh University, which he filled for 45½ years, until his resignation in 1877. He was selected by his colleagues to be their representative in the University Court. At the same time he received a Crown appointment, being nominated the representative of the medical profession in Scotland on the newly-constituted Medical Council of the United Kingdom. He was twice President of the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh, and that body directed his portrait to be painted by Sir John Watson Gordon. In 1866

Professor Christison received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. On the death of Sir David Brewster he was elected President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in 1871 he received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh. He was for some time Ordinary Physician in Scotland to the Queen, and in November 1871 Her Majesty conferred a baronetcy upon him. In November 1880 he was brought forward by the Conservative students of the University of Edinburgh as a candidate for the office of Lord Rector in opposition to Lord Rosebery, and was returned by a majority of thirty-nine votes.

Sir William Henry Drake, K.C.B., late Director of Supplies and Transport at the War Office, died on January 28, at his residence in Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater. The son of the late Mr. John Drake, of Exmouth, Devon, Commissary-General, by his marriage with Maria, daughter of the late Mr. George Story, of Silksworth

Hall, county Durham, he was born in 1812, and entered the War Office in 1831. From 1838 to 1848 he held the post of Colonial Treasurer in Western Australia. He was appointed Assistant Commissary-General in 1845, and four years later was advanced to the post of Commissary-General. In this capacity he served in various colonies, as well as in the Crimea, and at Kertch. He also had charge of the Turkish contingent. In 1867 he was appointed Controller for Ireland, and two years afterwards Controller for Great Britain in the War Office. From 1871 to 1877 he held the office of Director of Supplies and Transports. He was nominated a companion of the Order of the Bath in 1856, after the conclusion of the Russian war, and was advanced to the dignity of a Knight Commander of that Order in 1871. Sir W. H. Drake was twice married, first, in 1834, to Louisa, daughter of Mr. James Purkis, and secondly, in 1862, to Elizabeth Lucy, daughter of the Hon. George Wood, member of the Council at the Cape of Good Hope.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On January 1, at Paris, aged 53, **Hérolde**, Prefect of the Seine, son of the composer of "Zampa," &c. On January 4, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 71, **Hon. James Macdonald**, General Private Secretary to the Duke of Cambridge, after having been for upwards of thirty years equerry to His Royal Highness. On January 5, at Dublin, aged 57, **General Sir John Hort, C.B.** On January 7, at Hazelrigg House, Newbury, Hants, aged 67, **Hon. J. Kenneth Howard**, Commissioner of Woods and Forests since 1855, having previously been private secretary to Lord Palmerston, and Groom-in-Waiting to Her Majesty. On January 8, **Mr. John Trevor Barkley, C.E.**, a foremost representative of British enterprise in developing the resources of Turkey and the Danubian Principalities. On January 13, **Herr W. Mauser**, inventor of the infantry musket, which bears his name. On January 16, at Brighton, aged 50, **Charles Brownlow**, second Baron Lurgan, Lord-Lieutenant of County Armagh. On January 19, at Yewhurst, Kent, **Sir W. Holmes**, of the Consular service. On January 21, at Munich, **Herman von Schlagintweit**, the German traveller and naturalist. On January 28, **Baron Jerome David**, a reputed son of Prince Jerome Bonaparte, and a well-known French deputy.

FEBRUARY.

Major Sir William Palliser, C.B., M.P., died on February 4, very suddenly, from heart-disease, at his residence in Earl's Court Square. The youngest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Wray Palliser (Waterford Militia), he was born in Dublin in 1830, and was, therefore, only 52 years of age. He was educated successively at Rugby, at Trinity College, Dublin, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and, finally passing through the Staff College at Sandhurst, he entered the Rifle Brigade in 1855,

and was transferred to the 18th Hussars in 1858. He remained in the service to the end of 1871, when he retired by the sale of his commission. At the general election of 1880 Sir William Palliser was returned as a Conservative at the head of the poll for Taunton, obtaining 1,084 votes against 1,000 given to Sir Henry James, who was returned with him. It was, however, chiefly through the projectiles that bear his name for piercing armour-plated ships, and for many practical advances in both offen-

sive and defensive armament, that Sir William Palliser's name was known to the world. Among these may be mentioned improvements in the construction and rifling of heavy wrought iron rifled cannon, the making of screw bolts for attaching the armour to iron-plated defences, and the rifling of smooth-bore cast iron guns. His projectiles proved to be far more efficient than any steel shot and shell that had hitherto been made; and they had the additional recommendation of being much cheaper, for they cost but 20*l.* a ton as compared with 100*l.* for the steel projectiles which at all approached them in efficiency. When our smooth-bore cast iron guns became obsolete, they were converted into the rifle compound guns by a process which led to their being known as Palliser guns. The plan was to bore out a cast iron gun and then to insert a wrought iron rifled barrel consisting of two tubes of coiled iron one inside the other. By the firing of a proof charge the wrought iron barrel was tightened inside the cast iron casing. By this means we obtained a converted gun at one-third of the cost of a new gun, and saved 140*l.* on a 64-pounder, and 210*l.* on an 80-pounder. The process of conversion involved no change in the external shape of the gun, and it could, therefore, be replaced upon the carriage and platform to which it formerly belonged. These converted guns were placed upon wooden frigates and corvettes, and upon the land fronts of fortifications, and were adopted for the defence of harbours. The many services Sir William Palliser had rendered to the science of artillery secured him the Companionship of the Bath in 1868 and the honour of knighthood in 1873. In 1874 he received a formal acknowledgment from the Lords of the Admiralty of the efficiency of his armour-bolts for ironclad ships; and in 1875 he received from the King of Italy the Cross of Commander of the Crown of Italy.

Berthold Auerbach died at Cannes on February 8. He was born on February 28, 1812, at Nordstetten, in that part of the Black Forest which belongs to the kingdom of Würtemberg, of Jewish extraction. His studies at Carlsruhe and Stuttgart were at first devoted to theology, which, however, he soon abandoned for history and philosophy, after having removed to Tübingen. Having, in 1836, become involved in the movement of the so-called Burschenschaft (Liberal Students' Association), he was for a time imprisoned in the fortress of

Hohenasperg, the famous Bastille of Würtemberg, where, many years before, Schubert, the poet, had been confined, and visited by Schiller. His first work, "The Jews and Recent Literature," was published in the year of his imprisonment. It was intended to be the first instalment of a number of stories and romances from the history of the Jews, and his first important novel, "Spinoza," was, indeed, originally a part of this vast scheme. It was published in 1839, and a new edition appeared in 1871. His attachment to the doctrines of "Spinoza" induced him to publish in 1841 a biography of the philosopher, together with a translation into German of his complete works. His most popular work, "Village Tales from the Black Forest," appeared in 1843, and was translated into many languages. In a new edition which appeared in 1848, his novel, "The Professor's Wife," was included. His larger novel, "On the Heights," was published in 1860, and others of some length, "Das Landhaus am Rhein" and "Waldfried," the history of a German family, belong to a still later period. More interesting than these long novels are a series of tales, written soon after the war between Prussia and Austria, and intended to heal the discord of north and south by the expression of the love of the great fatherland common to all Germans. The 70th birthday of Auerbach, which he would have reached on February 28, was to have been celebrated throughout Germany, and in anticipation of it, Herr Eugen Zabel published a biography of the popular novelist, the profits of which were ultimately given to the fund raised for the erection of an almshouse at Nordstetten, his birthplace.

Colonel George Poulett Cameron, C.B., whose death occurred on February 12, at Cheltenham, was the last surviving son of Captain Robert Cameron, R.N., who perished with the whole of his crew under the batteries of Fort St. Andero, in the north of Spain, in 1807. He entered the service of the East India Company in 1821. In 1824-25 he served as adjutant of a light field battalion under the late Lieutenant-General Sir C. Deacon, in the Southern Mahratta country. In 1831 he returned to England and joined the expedition to Portugal under the Duke of Braganza, whose object was to recover the throne of that country for his daughter, the late Queen Maria II. Cameron had a conspicuous post in every action, being on the staff attached to the orders of

Field-Marshal the Duke de Terceira and Baron de Solignac. In the severe action of March 4, Colonel Cameron was selected for the post of honour, and with a picked body of men from the Scots Fusiliers and the 12th Cacadores, and with a brigade of guns, he took up a position in the centre of the army, with instructions to hold it to the last man. For his gallantry on this occasion Colonel Cameron received the Cross of the Royal Order of Military Merit of the Conception. He was subsequently in the action of July 5, and in the orders of the day written by the Duke Regent he was highly praised for distinguished conduct as well as "for remaining at his post although severely wounded." He also received the Order of the Tower and Sword, and on the special application of the Duke of Braganza to the British Government was permitted to wear it, together with the order previously conferred upon him. A flattering order in the *Gazette* followed, and Colonel Cameron's services were demanded from the Court of Directors of the East India Company for employment of a "particular nature." On this service he proceeded to Constantinople and then to Persia, where, under orders of the Meerza, or Prince Royal, he served in the Persian army during the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, commanding the garrison of Tabreez. He quitted Persia in 1838, and then, with the permission of the Russian authorities, proceeded to Circassia for the purpose of visiting the Russian fortresses. At the termination of the service in which he was employed, and for which he received the Order of the Bath, Colonel Cameron returned to India, and was at once appointed by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras, to be Political Resident at Chepauk and guardian of the young Nawab, who had just been placed on the *musnud*. An attack of fever compelled Colonel Cameron to return to Europe, and he made on his way a prolonged tour in Egypt. In the eventful years of 1848 and 1849 Colonel Cameron was in Italy. Some time after his subsequent return to India he was nominated to the command of the Neilgherries (1855). In 1859 he was present with the Austrian army in the campaign of that year with Italy. He was the author of "Personal Adventures and Excursions in Georgia, Circassia, and Russia," two vols. (1845),

and "The Romance of Military Life, being Souvenirs connected with Thirty Years' Service" (1853).

Madame Céleste-Elliott, a well-known actress, died in Paris on February 13. Born in that city in August 1814, she went at 15 years of age to the United States, where she married a Mr. Elliott, who soon afterwards died. In England her first appearance was at Liverpool in 1830 as Fenella in "Masaniello," and the same year in a ballet at Drury Lane. After achieving success as a dancer in London she again visited America in 1834. It was on this occasion that she was proclaimed a citizen by her enthusiastic admirers, and introduced by General Jackson to the Council of Ministers. Her *début* as an actress in England was made at Drury Lane in 1837, when she played the part of the Dumb Boy in Planché's "Child of the Wreck." From that time until 1841 she appeared for the most part in characters involving only mute action, her varied movements and changing features attracting much applause. On her return from a third visit to the United States she was associated with Mr. Webster in the direction of the Adelphi Theatre in 1844. It was during this period that she attained her chief distinction as an actress of melodrama, her principal parts being in the well-known pieces "Green Bushes" (1845), the "Flower of the Forest" (1847), and "Génévieve" (1853), "The Marble Heart" (1854), and "Janet Pride" 1855. In 1859 Madame Céleste entered upon an engagement at the Lyceum Theatre, of which she became the lessee in the course of the year, and produced a dramatised version of Dickens's "Tale of Two Cities," in which she took the part of M^{me}. Defarge. Her other noteworthy rôle was that of Ernest de la Garda, in the drama of "The House on the Bridge of Notre Dame" (1861). Two years later Madame Céleste left England for a lengthened tour extending over five years, and soon after her return made preparations for her retirement from the stage. At the end of 1870 she appeared at the Adelphi for her farewell benefit, but subsequently gave short seasons of a dozen nights from 1872-4, when she finally withdrew to Paris.

To these may be added :—On February 5, at South Kensington, aged 52, Major-General Handyside. Served in Burmese War of 1852. On February 8, in London, aged 26, St. George Henry, 4th Earl of Lonsdale. On February 8, in London, aged 59, Sir William Henry Clerke, of Mertyn Hill, Flintshire, a principal

clerk in the Treasury. On February 8, at Schwerin, aged 17, **Duchess Anna**, of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. On February 11, at Pau, aged 55, **Lt.-Col. Adolphus Desart Burton**, C.B., late 7th Dragoon Guards. On February 11, aged 52, **Miss Ada Trevanion**, daughter of Mrs. Leigh, half-sister to Lord Byron, and herself a poetess. On February 12, at St. Petersburg, aged 77, **Prince Suwaroff**, grandson of the famous General; a Russian diplomatist. On February 12, at Cheltenham, aged 76, **Colonel George Poulett Cameron**, C.B., K.T.S. On February 14, in Paris, aged 68, **M. Martel**, Minister of Justice in Jules Simon's Cabinet of 1877, and President of the Senate in 1879. On February 16, at Westwood Park, aged 26, **Hon. John Constable Maxwell**. On February 16, at Pau, aged 72, **Mary Ann, Baroness Gray**, widow of John, 16th Baron Gray, of Gray and Kinfauns. On February 17, at Brighton, aged 66, **Rev. W. H. Ridley**, Rector of Hambledon, Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. On February 19, at Stonehouse, aged 81, **Hon. George Edgecumbe**; served in the Diplomatic Service from 1821 to 1859. On February 21, at Belgrade, aged 75, **Captain Dudley Fieschi Heneage**; lived much in Servia, and acted as Consul-General at one time. On February 22, in Belgrave Square, aged 87, **Catherine, Dowager Countess of Essex**, formerly Miss Stephens, the singer, and a great beauty. She married, in 1838, George, 5th Earl of Essex, and was left a widow in 1839. On February 22, aged 55, **Lt.-Col. Hon. Daniel Greville Finch**, of the 68th and 24th Regiments, an officer who served with distinction throughout the Crimean campaign. On February 24, at Dover, aged 59, **Mr. Perry Watlington**, Commissioner of Prisons. He represented South Essex from 1859 to 1865. On February 27, at Brighton, aged 47, **Lord Henry Vere Cholmondeley**, only surviving son of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. On February 28, at the Observatory, Armagh, aged 89, **Rev. Thomas Romney Robinson**, formerly Royal Astronomer, Dublin. On February 28, aged 68, **Lord Thomas Charles Pelham Clinton**, third son of the 4th Duke of Newcastle.

MARCH.

The Earl of Wilton.—The Right Hon. Thomas Egerton, second Earl of Wilton, of Wilton Castle, in the county of Hereford, and Viscount Grey de Wilton, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, a Knight Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order of Hanover and of the First Order of Saxony, a Privy Councillor, an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, &c., was the second son of Robert, first Marquis of Westminster, K.G., by his marriage with the Lady Eleanor Egerton, daughter and heiress of Thomas, first Earl of Wilton (who was so created in 1801, with a special remainder to the second and other younger sons of his daughter). His lordship was born in Westminster on December 30, 1799, and succeeded to the title and entailed estates of his maternal grandfather in September 1814. Like the rest of the Grosvenors, he was educated at Westminster and at Christ Church, Oxford, and he assumed the name and arms of Egerton by Royal licence soon after attaining his majority. Having succeeded to the peerage at so early an age, he never held a seat in the Lower House of Parliament. Differing from the hereditary political principles of the House of Grosvenor, he became a steady supporter of the

Tory party, and held the appointment of Lord Steward of the Household under Sir Robert Peel's first and short-lived Administration. If he did not hold office at a later date under any Conservative Ministry it was from his own deliberate choice—his strong personal preference of the pursuit of field sports to that of politics. Lord Wilton was well known in yachting and racing circles, in which his personal courtesy and kindness, combined with his high honour and integrity, made him greatly esteemed. His colours, mazarine blue and a black cap, were very popular, though not very often seen at the front in important races. In 1827 he established the Heaton Park Meeting, and numberless were the races which he won, both there and at Croxton Park. In 1839 the Heaton Park Meeting was removed to Liverpool, to the great regret of the people of Manchester. Down to the last year of his life his name appeared as the owner of horses at all the principal race-meetings, but of late they had been somewhat unlucky. Besides horse-racing, Lord Wilton was fond of yachting, and from time to time owned various yachts. The last was the screw steam-yacht "Palatine," 450 tons, in which he

used to hoist his flag as commodore of the Royal Yacht Squadron, a position he filled for some years. He was the author of "Sports and Pursuits of the English as bearing upon their National Character," in which he deals with the character of the English as opposed to foreign sports, and treats of hunting, horse-racing, hawking, coursing, archery, shooting, yachting, and rowing in a thoroughly practical and sportsmanlike manner. The work was originally prepared as a paper to be read at the British Association at Manchester, but the author expanded it into a small octavo volume. In the hunting field Lord Wilton was, perhaps, even more conspicuous than on the race-course, where he was well known for his partiality for thoroughbreds. He was also a well-known musical amateur, and frequently used to play the anthem at the Chapel Royal on Sundays during the London season, and presided at the annual dinner of the Catch and Glee Club, and other societies of a like kind. In his younger days he found leisure to excel as an organist and a composer of Psalm tunes, "Prestwick" being one of his productions.

In 1842 he was sent by Her Majesty on a special mission to Dresden to invest the King of Saxony with the insignia of the Order of the Garter. Lord Wilton was twice married, first to Lady Mary Margaret Stanley, fourth daughter of Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby, who died in December 1858, and secondly to Isabella, only child of the late Major Elton Smith, of Ilminster, Somerset, and formerly of the Madras Army. He died at Melton Mowbray on March 7, aged 82.

Giovanni Lanza, a distinguished Italian statesman, died at Rome on March 8. Born in Piedmont in 1815, Signor Lanza identified himself in early life with various Liberal associations, and after 1848 was a rather prominent figure in the Italian political world. He was successively Vice-President and President of the Parliament, and was a member of several Cabinets as Minister of Finance or Minister of Public Instruction. When the war of independence broke out in 1859 he was Finance Minister in Cavour's Cabinet. In 1865 he was made Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of La Marmora, formed after the disturbances occasioned at Turin by the transference of the capital to Florence. But in the following year he was induced by a disagreement with

his colleagues on the subject of the elections to give in his resignation. In 1867 he was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies, a post which he also held less than a year, owing to the vote respecting the farming of the tobacco monopoly. Two years afterwards, as an Opposition candidate, he was again elected President of the Chamber of Deputies, upon which the Ministry resigned. Signor Lanza, at the instance of the King, tried to form a Ministry, but to no purpose. Signor Sella had better success, and Lanza took office under him as Minister of the Interior. In the following year he received from Victor Emmanuel the Order of the Annunziata. He retired from the Ministry in 1873, but continued to sit in the Chamber.

General Medici, who died at Rome on March 9, was born at Milan in 1829, fought against the Carlists in Spain, joined Garibaldi at Montevideo, and returned to Italy in 1848. He served as a volunteer against the Austrians, and after Novara repaired to Rome, where Garibaldi made him Lieutenant-Colonel. He bore the chief brunt of the French attacks, was twice wounded, and on the capitulation of Rome took refuge at Genoa. On the outbreak of the war of 1859, Cavour set him to form a Chasseur regiment, and he won laurels in the Tyrol. In 1860 he organised and commanded the 4,000 volunteers who went to reinforce Garibaldi's thousand in Sicily. He captured Messina, became Lieutenant-General, and fought at Capua. He declined to join in Garibaldi's march on Rome in 1862, and retained the command of the Palermo National Guards. Victor Emmanuel made him his chief aide-de-camp, and created him Marquis of Vascello.

Sir Charles Wyville Thomson, late Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, died at his residence, Bonsyde, near Linlithgow, at the age of 51, on March 10. He was born at Bonsyde, his father being the late Mr. Andrew Thomson, a surgeon in the East India Company's service. He received his education principally at Merchiston Castle School and the University of Edinburgh. In 1850 he became a lecturer on Botany at King's College, Aberdeen, and in the following year lecturer on the same subject in Marischal College and University. He was appointed in 1853 to the Professorship of Natural History in Queen's

College, Cork, as successor to the Rev. William Hincks, F.L.S. In 1854 he was appointed Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in Queen's College, Belfast, one of his chief labours there being the foundation of a museum in connection with Queen's College. At this time he contributed numerous papers to the scientific journals and to the proceedings of the Geological Society of London and other bodies. He was appointed Vice-President of the Jury on Raw Products at the Paris Exhibition in 1867. He took the lead in organising the very flourishing school of art in Belfast under the Science and Art Department, and was the first chairman of the Board of Directors. In 1869 he was elected to the Fellowship of the Royal Society, and in the following year was appointed, on the resignation of Professor Allman, to the chair of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh. In 1868, when the "Porcupine" surveying ship was given by the Admiralty for the use of a dredging expedition, the work in the Bay of Biscay was taken charge of by Professor Thomson. When the "Challenger" Expedition was organised he accepted the office of director of the civilian staff, and on his return from the voyage in 1876 he was knighted. The collections obtained by the "Challenger" Expedition were deposited in a building in Edinburgh, and Sir Charles, along with Mr. W. M. Murray, arranged them. At the request of the Treasury, Sir Charles undertook the direction of the publication of the scientific results of the expedition, and he continued until the beginning of the year to discharge the duties of director of the investigation and editor of the reports. He had hoped to be able to complete the volume containing the narrative of the cruise of the "Challenger." Sir Charles resigned his chair in the University of Edinburgh about the end of 1881. He was an LL.D. of Edinburgh, an honorary LL.D. of Dublin, a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a Vice-President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and a Knight of the Polar Star of Sweden. In 1877 he was appointed to deliver the Rede Lecture in the University of Cambridge. Sir Charles was the author of works on "The Voyage of the Challenger," and "The Depths of the Sea."

Hans Busk, Captain Victoria Rifles, D.L., J.P., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., was descended from the family Du Bux, of Normandy, one of whom was created

Marquis de Fresney in 1668. His son Nicholas was Ambassador from the Court of France to that of Sweden, and resided there till his death in 1708. The grandson of Nicholas du Bux was naturalised in England, 1723, by the name of Jacob Hans Busk. From his eldest son descended Lord Houghton, and his youngest son, Sir Wordsworth Busk, a distinguished barrister and treasurer of the Inner Temple, was grandfather of Captain Hans Busk. An ancestor on his mother's side lost all his property in the Stuart's cause, the last of whom gave him a baronetcy and a grant of land in Nova Scotia, where the family was for some time established, and here Captain Busk's grandmother married an uncle of Cardinal Fesch, who was colonel in the British Army, and was killed in the War of Independence.

Hans Busk was born in 1815. His father, Hans Busk, of Great Cumberland Place, and Glenaldie, Radnorshire, was a man of considerable talent, and the master of several languages. He was educated at King's College, London, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in 1841. Forced to renounce the idea of a naval career, he devoted much of his time to yachting, and having studied practically the principles of naval construction, he passed with honour an examination, which up to that time few laymen had attempted. In later years several successful yachts of various dimensions and different rigs were built from his designs, and he was a ready promoter of new ideas and improvements. He was the first to advocate the establishment of life-ship stations, which would afford assistance to distressed vessels where life-boats could not reach, and fitted out a model life-ship at his own personal expense, and in addition he presented two life-boats for use on the south coast.

While still only an undergraduate at the University, he strongly urged upon the Government the formation of Rifle Clubs, with a view to the formation of a volunteer army, as the most sure and legitimate constitutional defence of the realm; and on receiving from Lord Melbourne a reply indicative of apprehension at the idea of arming the people, he formed a model Rifle Club, in his University, and published a popular treatise, "The Rifle, and How to Use It." In 1858 he restored vitality to the Victoria Rifles, the only volunteer corps at that time existing in the kingdom, which became the model on which were formed other

corps, stirred up by his lectures in every town.

In local and county affairs he took an active interest. He served in 1847 the office of High Sheriff of Radnorshire, was in the Commission of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant for Middlesex, and served on several Government Commissions.

Besides "The Rifle, and How to Use It," he was author of "The Handbook for Hythe," "Volunteers, and How to Drill Them," "Maiden Hours," "The Education Craze," "Horæ Viaticæ," "Golden Truths," and other works, notably "The Navies of the World," in which he collected a great mass of useful information. He was the founder of the *New Quarterly Review*, and a contributor to the leading periodicals of the day.

He stood in high repute amongst his friends as a *gastronome*, and showed his interest in the science by the active part he took in the establishment of the School of Cookery at South Kensington. He had, moreover, been a great traveller, and his skill as a water-colour artist enabled him to bring back many pleasing reminiscences of the varied scenes he had visited. He was married in early life to Miss Dunbar, but after a short time was left a widower, and died at his rooms in Ashley Place, Westminster, on March 11.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was the son of the Hon. Stephen Longfellow, of Portland, Maine, and was born there on February 27, 1807. In his fifteenth year he entered Bowdoin College, Brunswick, where he graduated with high honours in 1825. Meanwhile he had given evidence of his taste for poetry by contributions in verse to the *United States Literary Gazette*, such as the "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns" and "Sunrise on the Hills." He was intended by his father for the law, but at this time a professorship of modern languages was established at Bowdoin College, and the office was bestowed on

Longfellow. In order to qualify himself for the office he spent three years and a half in one or other of the countries of Western Europe, unremittingly studying the language and literature of each. His impressions of France, and Spain, and Italy were soon afterwards described in his "Outre-Mer; or, a Pilgrimage beyond Seas." His residence in Germany had an important influence upon the development of his poetic gifts. Returning to the United States in 1829, when he was only in his twenty-third year, he entered upon the duties of his professorship, which he discharged for five years. In 1835 he succeeded George Ticknor as Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at Harvard, previously spending a year in Germany and the north of Europe. In 1854 he resigned this appointment, which then fell to the lot of Mr. James Russell Lowell. It was during his career at Harvard that the works on which his fame chiefly rests were undertaken. He began with a translation of the Spanish poem by Don Jorge Manrique on the death of his father, the descriptive work already mentioned, and the romance of "Hyperion." Next came his first poems, "Voices of the Night" which at once brought him into fame. In 1842 appeared his "Ballads and other Poems;" in 1843, "Poems on Slavery" and the "Spanish Student;" in 1845, "The Poets and Poetry of Europe" and "The Belfry of Bruges;" in 1847, "Evangeline;" in 1849, "Kavanagh;" in 1858, "Miles Standish;" in 1863, "Tales of a Wayside Inn;" in 1866, "Flower de Luce;" in 1868, a translation of Dante and "New England Tragedies;" in 1872, "The Divine Tragedy" and "Three Books of Song;" in 1873, "Aftermath;" in 1874, the "Hanging of the Crane;" in 1875, the "Masque of Pandora," and in 1878, "Keramos." Mr. Longfellow was D.C.L. of Oxford and LL.D. of Cambridge. He died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 24, having recently entered upon his 76th year.

To these may be added during the same month—On March 4, at Rome, aged 18, **Hon. Sidney Manvers Pierrepont**, youngest son of Earl Manvers. On March 5, in London, aged 69, **Mr. Edwin James**, one time Q.C. and M.P., and a distinguished lawyer. In 1861 he was appointed Solicitor-General, but was never knighted, having to leave the country, and was disbarred. On March 6, at Carlsruhe, aged 86, **Margrave Maximilian of Baden**, uncle of the Grand Duke, and last holder of the title. On March 7, at Huntleyburn, Roxburghshire, aged 82, **Lord Henry Francis Kerr**, third son of the sixth Marquis of Lothian. On March 7, at Edinburgh, aged 72, **Dr. John Muir**, a Sanscrit scholar of high repute. On March 7, at Trunch Rectory, Norfolk, aged 77, **Rev. Thomas Jarrett**, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, Canon of Ely. On March 8, at Plas Coch, Anglesea, aged 85, **Bulkeley Hughes**, with one short interval member for the

Carnarvon Borough from 1837 till his death. On March 8, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 75, **Hon. Charles Howard**, second son of the first Earl of Effingham. On March 9, in London, aged 74, **Thomas James Agar-Robartes**, first Lord Robartes. He represented East Cornwall in the Liberal interest from 1857 to 1868. On March 10, at Paris, aged 70, **M. Francis Wey**, a writer, and the originator of Feuilleton novels, and for many years Inspector-General of Departmental Archives. On March 12, at Sydenham, aged 88, **Rosina, Dowager Lady Lytton**, daughter of F. Massey Wheeler, of Lizzard Connell, Co. Limerick. Married in 1837 to Edward L. Bulwer, Lord Lytton, herself the author of "Cheveley" and many other novels. On March 16, at Rome, aged 76, **Sir John Norde Dickenson**, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, New South Wales. On March 20, at Twickenham, aged 67, **Dr. Joseph Williams**, author of several works on Psychological Medicine, and member of various learned societies. On March 20, at the Oratory, South Kensington, aged 60, **Rev. Thomas Francis Knox, D.D.**, one of the earliest seceders of the Tractarian movement. Succeeded Father Dalgairm as head of the Oratorians. On March 22, **Major-General Sir Robert Laffan, K.C.M.G.**, Governor of the Bermudas. On March 23, at Torquay, aged 62, **William Newmarch, F.R.S.**, manager of Messrs. Glyn's Bank, writer on economy and statistics. On March 23, at Mentone, aged 50, **Colonel Laurence Maxwell Lockhart**, late of 92nd Highlanders; served in the Crimea. A successful novelist, and subsequently, after the death of Col. Pemberton, *Times* correspondent in Franco-German War, 1870. On March 24, at Basle, aged 68, **Frederick Weber**, Swiss sculptor of repute. On March 25, at Cape of Good Hope, aged 74, **Hon. F. A. Barrington**, for some time President of the Criminal Court of British Kaffraria. On March 26, at Oxford, aged 44, **Thomas Hill Green**, Tutor of Balliol, and Waynesflete Professor of Model Philosophy. On March 26, at Hampstead, aged 68, **Thomas Jones Barker**, a painter of battle-pieces. Eldest son of "Barker of Bath," painter of "The Woodman." On March 28, at Torquay, aged 78, **John Cadwallader**, 4th Lord Erskine, for many years Her Majesty's Minister at Munich. On March 29, at Clifton, **Dora Greenwell**, daughter of W. T. Greenwell, of Greenwell Ford, Durham, the author of numerous works in poetry and prose during a period of one-and-twenty years.

APRIL.

Denis Florence MacCarthy, who died at Blackrock, near Dublin, on April 7, was born at Dublin about the year 1817. He was a member of the Irish bar, at which, however, he never practised. He first became known as a writer through his poetical contributions to the well-known journal styled the *Nation*, established at Dublin in 1842 by Mr., afterwards Sir, Charles Duffy. Mr. MacCarthy's poems, notably the "Bell-Founder," the "Voyage of St. Brendan," the "Foray of Con O'Donnell," and the "Pillar Towers of Ireland," acquired and still retain wide popularity among the Irish people. In 1850 appeared, in one volume, Mr. MacCarthy's "Ballads, Poems, and Lyrics," original and translated. He was attracted to the study of Spanish literature by Shelley's translations of some scenes from Calderon. Six dramas of Calderon—tragic, comic, and legendary—translated principally in the metre of the originals, were published, in two volumes, in 1853 by Mr. MacCarthy. The dramas included in these

volumes were "El Principe Constante," "El Secreto a Voces," "El Medico de su Honra," "Amar despues de la Muerte," "El Purgatorio de San Patricio," and "La Banda y la Flor."

At the special desire of the Marchioness of Donegal, Mr. MacCarthy, in 1855, wrote an ode which was recited at the public inauguration of the statue of her son, the gifted Earl of Belfast, who had been cut off by death at an early age. The "Bell-Founder" was republished in 1857 with "Under-glimpses" and other poems by Mr. MacCarthy. In 1861 he published the following dramas of Calderon: "El Mayor Encanto Amor," "Los Encantos de la Culpa," and "La Devocion de la Cruz," translated strictly in English assonant and other imitative verse, with the original Spanish text, accompanied by introduction and notes.

In 1867 and 1870 Mr. MacCarthy published translations, in the metre of the originals, of Calderon's Autos Sacramentales, "Belshazzar's Feast," and the "Divine Philothea," with the mystical

dramà "Los Dos Amantes del Cielo." Full translations, in the original metres, of three of Calderon's most celebrated dramas were given to the world by Mr. MacCarthy in 1873. These were "La Vida es Sueño," "El Magico Prodigioso," and a new version of the "Purgatory of St. Patrick." Longfellow stated his high appreciation of the success of Mr. MacCarthy's labours "in the vast and flowery fields of Calderon," especially in the most poetical passages, "as in the fine description of the gervalcon and the heron in 'El Mayor Encanto.'"

In addition to his translations of Calderon Mr. MacCarthy published a curious treatise on the "Mémoires de Villars," printed for the Philobiblon Society in 1862, and a volume in 1872 on "Shelley's Early Life." In the latter book a question was raised which excited some interest in connection with a satirical poem supposed to have been published by Shelley in 1811, but of which no copy seems to be now obtainable. Mr. MacCarthy's last work was an ode for the centenary of Thomas Moore in 1879. This poem was recited to vast audiences in Dublin.

In 1881 the Royal Academy of Spain presented a medal to Mr. MacCarthy as a token of their "gratitude and appreciation" of his translations of the works of Calderon.

Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti was born at 38 Charlotte Street, Portland Place, London, on May 12, 1828. He was the first son and second child of Gabriele Rossetti, the patriotic poet, who, born at Vasto in the Abruzzi, settled in Naples, and took an active part in extorting from the Neapolitan king Ferdinand I. the constitution granted in 1820, which constitution being traitorously cancelled by the king in 1821, Rossetti had to escape for his life to Malta with various other persecuted constitutionalists. From Malta Gabriele Rossetti went to England about 1823, where he married in 1826 Frances Polidori, daughter of Alfieri's secretary, and sister of Byron's Dr. Polidori. He became Professor of Italian in King's College, London, prominent as a commentator on Dante, and died in April 1854. His children, four in number—Maria Francesca, Dante Gabriel, William Michael, and Christina Georgina—all turned to literature or to art, or to both, and all became famous.

Young Rossetti was first sent to the private school of the Rev. Mr. Paul, in Foley Street, Portland Place, where he

remained, however, for only three-quarters of a year, from the autumn of 1835 to the summer of 1836. He next went to King's College School in the autumn of 1836, where he remained till the summer of 1843.

On leaving school, having shown a marked taste for drawing and painting, he went at once to the art academy of Cary (previously called Sass's), near Bedford Square, and thence obtained admission to the Royal Academy Antique School in 1844 or 1845.

In 1849 Rossetti exhibited "The Girlhood of the Virgin" in the so-called Free Exhibition or Portland Gallery, in which was traceable the strong influence exercised upon Rossetti's early tastes by Mr. F. Maddox Brown. His attention was occupied for several years after 1850 by the production of a number of designs referring to Dante, to mediæval legends, especially those of the Arthurian cycle, and to ancient ballad poetry. In these designs he used brilliant hues, such as made his works glow with green, purple, and gold, and tints as vivid as those of fourteenth century illuminations, and harmonised high notes of red and blue, as in "The Blue Closet"—an example which, like "The Tune of Seven Towers," refers to poetry of Mr. William Morris's—"Fazio's Mistress," "The Damosel of the Sancte Graal," and "The Last Meeting of Lancelot and Guinevere."

Nearly ten years, 1850-60, were devoted to these drawings and to similar studies, and at this time one or more pictures in oil, which, so far as we know, were never completed, were begun and in part executed. The legend of Lillith, the first wife of Adam, had a fascination for Rossetti at this period and ever afterwards. While making studies larger than life for this and similar designs of singularly original character, he, not long after 1860, produced the earliest of a new class of his works, such as the "Sibylla Palmifera," "Monna Vanna," and the magnificent "Venus Verticordia."

Amongst his later works, "The Bride," or "The Beloved," are illustrative of the Song of Solomon; and the Proserpina (belonging to Mr. F. Layland) are the grandest and most finished examples of the school to which he belonged.

In painting, however, Rossetti was during this time exercising only half his genius. From his childhood it became evident that he was a poet. At the age of five he wrote a sort of play called "The Slave," which, as may be

imagined, showed no noteworthy characteristic save precocity. This was followed by the poem called "Sir Hugh Heron," which was written about 1844, and some translations of German poetry. "The Blessed Damozel" and "Sister Helen" were produced in their original form so early as 1846 or 1847, the latter of which underwent more modifications than any other first-class poem of our time.

The translations from the early Italian poets, displaying very remarkable qualities, also began as far back as 1845 or 1846, and may have been mainly completed by 1849.

In the spring of 1860 he married Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall, who, being very beautiful, was constantly painted and drawn by him. She had one still-born child in 1861, and died in February 1862. He felt her death very acutely, and for a time ceased to write or to take any interest in his own poetry. Like Prospero, indeed, he literally buried his wand, but for a time only. From this time to his death he continued to produce pictures, all of them showing, as far as technical skill goes, an unflinching advance in his art. After some interval, he published another volume in 1870, but, as was known to his intimates, all the important portions of the "Poems" published in 1870 had been in existence some years before that date. The prose story of "Hand and Soul" was also written as early as 1848 or 1849. It was not until 1880 that a new volume entitled "Ballads and Sonnets" appeared, in which the mature efforts of his powers were more fully made known than by any previous publications.

For some time previous to his death Mr. Rossetti had been a sufferer from sleeplessness, and to conquer this he had resort to various remedies, but without success. He died at Birchington, near Margate, April 9, aged 54.

Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B., who died at South Kensington on April 18, was the son of Capt. Henry Robert Cole, of the 82nd Foot. He was born in Bath on July 19, 1808, and educated in London at the Blue Coat School. Making a good mark there, he in 1823 obtained employment at the Record Office, being, of course, unusually young for such a post. In this office he rose steadily, and became an assistant keeper. Energetic from the first, he occupied his spare time in the preparation of "Miscellaneous Records of the Exchequer," and many pamphlets on a then much-

needed reformation of the arranging and cataloguing of the public records, which were lying in a deplorable muddle in the stables of Carlton House. He republished Henry VIII.'s "Scheme of Bishopricks." In conjunction with Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Charles Buller, he started and edited the *Guide* newspaper, and was successively editor of the *Historical Register*, the *Journal of Design* (1849-52), and other serials, and contributed to the *Westminster* and *British and Foreign* and other reviews, besides writing largely in the *Athenæum*.

In 1840 he produced "First Exercises for Children in Light, Shade, and Colour," and from 1841, "Felix Summery"—such was his *nom de plume*—prepared or superintended the publication of a considerable number of handbooks of the popular sort, immeasurably superior to their forerunners, and well adapted to the needs of visitors to public collections of works of art and antiquity. In bringing such collections into use, and in inducing the public to see and study them, he was indefatigable and eminently fortunate. His handbooks—some of which were founded on articles contributed to the *Athenæum*—described the National Gallery, with cuts by John, James, and William Linnell; Hampton Court (for this book D. Cox and C. C. Pyne supplied woodcuts); Westminster Abbey, with etchings by D. Cox; Free Picture Galleries; the City of Canterbury; the Temple Church; Excursions out of London; and the like. In fact, he was the introducer of the popular illustrated handbooks which have found a wide welcome. In 1843 he wrote in the *Athenæum* a series of papers on decorative and house painting. He was the first editor of the *Railway Chronicle*, started in 1844, and he published a series of railway travelling charts, with numerous illustrative cuts and historical notes. A number of illustrated books for children, nursery songs, legends, and alphabets, enriched with designs by well-known artists, were promoted by him in 1843-45. He obtained one of the four prizes of 100*l.* offered by the Treasury for suggestions for developing the penny postage plan of Sir Rowland Hill—a measure which, as secretary to the Mercantile Committee on Postage, he helped to carry. He edited in 1844 a new edition of the "Small Passion" of A. Dürer, using casts from the blocks in the British Museum, for which the originals were bought in 1839.

The Society of Arts may be said to

have been revived by Cole and one or two of his allies, who had the tact to induce men of great social importance to fill the chief places in many an effort for compelling public attention to several educational and artistic schemes. An exhibition of manufactures was established in 1847 by the Society, and effectually promoted by Cole and his associates. In 1848 he had a large part in promoting an important exhibition in the great room at the Adelphi of the works of his friend Mulready. This was succeeded by similar collections of the productions of Etty (1849) and of "Works of Ancient and Mediæval Art" (1850). The latter proved to be one of the most attractive gatherings of the kind, and had a far more splendid successor in the never-to-be-forgotten "Loan Exhibition" of 1862. A second Mulready Exhibition in 1864 and a collection of the works of Sir William Ross at a later date were considerably indebted to Henry Cole. His greatest success was in promoting the Great Exhibition of 1851, Prince Albert acting as the president of the committee of the grandiose scheme, of which the inception was said to be due to Mr. Francis Wishaw. Cole was one of the executive committee, of which the late C. W. Dilke was one of the most energetic members. In this matter Cole showed the keenest intelligence and never-tiring diligence, and his extraordinary abilities as an administrator were fully tested. His labours were recognised by the C.B.-ship. In 1852, the original Schools of Design being in need of reorganisation, he was appointed to the leading post, and proceeded vigorously, being effectually supported by the Prince Consort and several men of note. The result of those efforts was the Department of Science and Art, with those extensive schools at South Kensington to which the famous museum is an adjunct. From 1860 Cole, with irrepressible energy, and occasionally in a high-handed manner that ensured him many enemies, administered the whole. He was appointed British Commissioner at the Universal Exhibition in Paris, 1855; he was Secretary to the Royal Commission in Paris in 1867, and he was among the principal managers of the International Exhibition of 1862 in London. He organised the annual exhibitions which were held in London in 1872 and the two following years, he was an active Vice-President of the Society of Arts, and he was among the first originators and most energetic promoters of the

Royal Albert Hall. After fifty years of public service Cole resigned all his offices in 1873, accepted the pension he had fully earned, and was created K.C.B. His energy was, however, by no means exhausted, for in the same year (1873) with the aid of the Society of Arts, he established the National Training School for Music, an institution which did good service in its time, and in 1874 he founded the National Training School for Cookery at South Kensington. From 1876 to 1879 he lived at Birmingham and Manchester, where he devoted himself to an endeavour, not so successful as he hoped, to induce the municipal authorities to turn their attention to plans for utilisation of sewage. He also edited the collected works of his old friend Peacock, and his last publication was a reprint of the "Art of Dining" from Walker's *Original*. In 1879 he returned to the neighbourhood of London, and settled at Hampstead until the spring of 1880, when he went to live once more at South Kensington, in the house in which he died. A few months before his death Sir Henry Cole commenced framing a scheme for the formation of Guilds of Health—a design for diffusing common sanitary knowledge and an acquaintance with the ordinary rules for insuring health among all classes of the people. He was actively employed up to within a few days before his fatal and rapid illness, and to the very end was busy collecting materials for his autobiography.

Charles Robert Darwin.—Charles Robert Darwin (he seldom used the second name) was the son of Robert Waring Darwin, the third son by his first marriage of Erasmus Darwin, best known by his scientific-poetic work "The Botanic Garden." The late Mr. Darwin's father was a physician at Shrewsbury, who, although a man of considerable originality, devoted his powers almost entirely to his profession; his mother was a daughter of Josiah Wedgwood. He was born at Shrewsbury on February 12, 1809. Mr. Darwin was educated at Shrewsbury School under Dr. Butler, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield. In 1825 he went to Edinburgh University, therein following the example of his grandfather, where he spent two sessions. Here, among other subjects, he studied marine zoology, and at the close of 1826 read before the Plinian Society of the University two short papers, probably his first, one of them on the Ova of Flustra. From

Edinburgh Mr. Darwin went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1831, proceeding to M.A. in 1837. Darwin, it is said, like Murchison, was a keen fox-hunter in his youth, and that it was in the field that his great habits of observation were first awakened. In the autumn of 1831, Captain Fitzroy having offered to give up part of his own cabin to any naturalist who would accompany Her Majesty's ship "Beagle" in her surveying voyage round the world, Mr. Darwin volunteered his services without salary, but on condition that he should have entire disposal of his collections, all of which he ultimately deposited in various public institutions. The "Beagle" sailed from England, December 27, 1831, and returned October 28, 1836. During these five years the "Beagle" circumnavigated the world, and single-handed, Mr. Darwin during the voyage did more for natural history in all its varied departments than any expedition has done since. Under the superintendence of Mr. Darwin, and with abundant description and annotation by him, the Zoology of the expedition was published before the narrative, in 1840, with Professor Owen, Mr. Waterhouse, the Rev. L. Jenyns, and Mr. Bell as contributing specialists; and two years later Mr. Darwin published his first original contribution to science in his "Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs" (1842). Further fruits of the voyage appeared in a volume, published in 1844, on the "Volcanic Islands visited during the Voyage of the Beagle," and in another in 1846, "Geological Observations in South America." Both these works are even now referred to by geologists as classical, and as having suggested lines of research of the highest fertility. Meanwhile in 1845 "the Naturalist's Voyage round the World" had opened up to the general reader scenes of unknown beauty and interest, and Darwin's voyage rapidly became one of the most popular works of the day; whilst its scientific value is fully recognised by students of the present day. Mr. Darwin's life was totally uneventful. Three years after his return, in the beginning of 1839, he married his cousin, Emma Wedgwood, and in 1842 he took up his residence at Down, Beckenham, Kent, of which county he was a magistrate. There he subsequently lived, and there at a ripe age he died. It is known to his friends that Mr. Darwin never quite recovered from the evil effects of his long voyage. He himself tells us that during nearly the whole time he suffered

from sea-sickness, an affliction which no constitution could altogether withstand.

From the time he took up his residence at Down, Mr. Darwin's life was marked mainly by the successive publication of those works which have revolutionised modern thought. Between 1844 and 1854 he published, through the Ray and other societies, various monographs, which even his greatest admirers admit do not do him the highest credit as a minute anatomist. In 1859 was published what may be regarded as the most momentous of all his works, "The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection," which called forth the most alarmed anathemas from all who regarded themselves as especially orthodox in both science and religion. By slow degrees, however, the tempest thus roused calmed down, and before many years had passed Mr. Darwin's theory was very generally accepted by investigators of all schools.

His next great work, published in 1862, was that on the "Fertilisation of Orchids;" this, with the work on "Cross and Self-Fertilisation of Plants" (1876), and that on the "Forms of Flowers" (1878), and various papers in scientific publications on the agency of insects in fertilisation, opened up a new field which, in his own hands and the hands of his numerous disciples, have led to results of the greatest interest and the greatest influence on a knowledge of the ways of plants. Other works belonging to this category are those "On the Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants," "Insectivorous Plants," and "The Movements of Plants" (1881), all of which opened up perfectly fresh fields of investigation, and shed light on the most intimate workings of nature.

Nine years after the publication of the "Origin of Species," appeared (1868), in two volumes, the great collection of instances and experiments bearing on the "Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication." The chapters on Inheritance in this work were full of significance, and seemed a natural transition to the work which followed three years later (1871)—"The Descent of Man and Selection in relation to Sex." Even greater consternation was caused in many circles by the publication of this work than by "The Origin of Species." And the reason of this is obvious. Not only did it seem directly to assail the *amour propre* of humanity, but to imperil some of its most deeply cherished beliefs.

As a sort of side issue of the "Descent of Man," and as throwing light

upon the doctrines developed therein, with much more of independent interest and suggestiveness, "The Expression of the Emotions in Men and Animals" was published in 1872. This is, perhaps, the most amusing of Mr. Darwin's works, while at the same time it is one which evidently involved observation and research of the most minute and careful kind. It is one, moreover, which shows how continually and instinctively the author was on the watch for instances that were likely to have any bearing on the varied lines of his researches.

A few months before his death appeared his last book on "Earth-worms," the amplification of a paper "On the Formation of Vegetable Mould," to be found in the Geological Transactions for 1837, and probably his first contribution to science and literature. Although for many years an invalid, Mr. Darwin's death, which took place on the 19th, was sudden and unexpected, and the shock which its announcement gave to the public was genuine and widespread. Honoured in his life by the recognition of all the learned societies of Europe—like Carlyle, a knight of the Prussian Order of Merit—the unanimous assent with which the demand for his interment in Westminster Abbey was received showed how thoroughly he had outlived the obloquy of which he had at one time been the object. His funeral on the 26th was in the broadest sense a public one, and round his grave were grouped an assemblage such as few warriors or statesmen have ever drawn together, and the recognition of his place amongst Englishmen of all opinions and parties might be traced in the list of the pall-bearers, who were the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Russell Lowell, American Minister, Lord Derby, Mr. W. Spottiswoode, Sir Joseph Hooker, Mr. A. R. Wallace, Professor Huxley, Sir John Lubbock, and Canon Farrar.

Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, who died on April 22, at his residence, 36 Eaton Place, was the son of the late Mr. James Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*. He was born in 1806, and educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1828. Having become a member of the Inner Temple, he studied for two and a half years, in the Chambers of the late Mr. Justice Patteson; but, taking a dislike to the profession of the law, he declined to be called to the Bar. Proceeding to Munich in 1829, he entered at the University there, and returned to England in

1831. On his arrival here he took part in the Reform agitation, and having bought a share in the *Examiner* he became honorary secretary to the National Political Union of London. After the passing of the Reform Act, Mr. Perry formed "The Parliamentary Candidate Society," which was instituted to support reform by promoting the return of fit and proper members of Parliament. Having unsuccessfully contested the seat for the newly-enfranchised borough of Chatham, he, in 1834, married Louisa, daughter of Mr. McElhiney, and he was called to the Bar in the following year. He then became a law reporter, and published seven volumes of reports, known as "Neville and Perry" and "Perry and Davidson." In 1841 he lost the greater part of his fortune by the failure of a bank, and was induced to apply for a Judgeship in the Supreme Court of Bombay. This office he obtained with the usual judicial knighthood, and he afterwards became Chief Justice of that Court, a post which he retained till his retirement in 1852. Some of his leisure hours were employed in literary work, of which his translation of Savigny's "Recht des Besitzes," his letter to Lord Campbell on "Law Reform," and his "Oriental Cases" are examples. He occupied the post of President of the Indian Board of Education for ten years, and on his leaving India in 1852 the native community subscribed 5,000*l.* for a testimonial to him, which at his request was devoted to the establishment of a Perry Professorship of Law. Unsuccessfully contesting Liverpool in 1853, he was returned for Devonport in the Liberal interest in 1854, resigning his seat in 1859, on being appointed a member of the Council of India. He was created a Privy Councillor in January of the present year. His first wife having died in 1841, he married in 1855 Elizabeth Margaret, daughter of Sir J. N. B. Johnstone, M.P., and sister of the first Lord Derwent.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was born in Boston, May 25, 1803. He was the second of five sons left to the care of their widowed mother. She was much assisted in their home training by her sister-in-law, Miss Mary Emerson, a lady of energy, eccentricity, and of classical education. As the boys became old enough they were sent to the Latin School, then the best in Boston. In 1817 Ralph entered Harvard University, where he came under the personal influence of Edward Everett, subsequently

distinguished in political and diplomatic life, but then Harvard Professor in Greek and the most eloquent minister of the Unitarian denomination which dominated the University. The stumbling-block of Emerson's college course was mathematics. He gained prizes in rhetoric, ethics, and Greek philosophy, and was chosen class poet at graduation. After leaving college he for a time assisted his brother William in teaching a ladies' school, in order to aid his brother Charles in going through the University; but after a short trial of teaching, and some years of careful preparation, he settled as colleague of the Rev. Henry Ware, jun., in the pastorate of a large Boston church, in March 1829; in the following year Emerson became sole pastor, and so continued until his resignation of the pulpit at the close of 1832, when a change in his religious opinions forced him to renounce the career he had adopted. About the same time the death of his young wife, whom he had married in 1829, induced him to seek a complete change, and early in the summer of 1833, he set out on a pilgrimage to the home of Thomas Carlyle, whose writings were already exercising very sensible influence over contemporary opinion. On August 18, 1833, he preached in the Unitarian Church in Edinburgh, and afterwards made his way through the desolate moors to Craigenputtoch.

After his return from Europe, Emerson preached occasionally, but declined to take another church. He repaired to Concord, the home of his ancestors, and resided with his relative, the Rev. Dr. Ripley, in the Old Manse, where his first little book, "Nature," was written (1834). In the following year he was married to Lydia Jackson, sister of the late Dr. C. T. Jackson, whose name is associated with the discovery of anæsthetics. He then went to reside in the beautiful home at Concord, just outside the town, which he ever after occupied.

In 1836 Emerson gave a series of ten lectures in Boston, on "The Nature and Ends of History," which embraced a discussion of all the institutions and interests of society, from what began to be known as the "transcendental" point of view. The reaction from Puritan dogmas concerning human nature had seemed to be completed by Channing's great theme "the dignity of man," but here seemed to be a new school teaching the divinity of man. Channing gathered these around him, and there used to meet at his house what was called "The Transcendental Club." Chief among

them, after Emerson, was Margaret Fuller. She has left a graphic reminiscence—unfortunately, too long to quote—of Emerson's lectures at the club. In 1837 Emerson gave the Phi Beta Kappa lecture at Harvard University, and the event has been described by Dr. James Russell Lowell as "without any former parallel in our literary annals, a scene to be always treasured in the memory for its picturesqueness and its inspiration."

Among his audience and followers was Theodore Parker, then an obscure young man, but destined shortly to become an influential leader in the politico-religious world, and a zealous advocate of the "new views." In order to extend the propaganda a magazine was started named *The Dial*, of which Emerson and Margaret Fuller were the joint editors. His first series of "Essays" was published in 1841. The little volume gained a new reputation for America among men of thought in Europe. The second series of "Essays" appeared in 1844, and this was followed by a small volume of "Poems" in 1847.

The fame of Emerson's teachings had reached England, and led to a number of invitations to lecture here. To these he cheerfully responded, and towards the close of 1847 he was received in Manchester by his friend Mr. Alexander Ireland, who chiefly made the arrangements for Emerson's lectures in England. The first course was given in the Manchester Athenæum, and consisted of those afterwards published under the title "Representative Men." Four others were given at the Mechanics Institute in the same city. The lectures in London were attended by many eminent persons, among them Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle, the Duchess of Sutherland, Lady Byron, Lady Lovelace, Mr. Arthur Helps, Mr. John Forster, Miss Collett, William and Mary Howitt. The lectures delivered in June 1848, in the Edwards Street Institution, were six in number:—"Powers and Laws of Thought," "Relation of Intellect to Natural Science," "Tendencies and Duties of Men of Thought," "Politics and Socialism," "Poetry and Eloquence," "Natural Aristocracy." Various notices in the periodicals attest the strong impression made by these lectures. Subsequently three lectures were given at Exeter Hall:—"Napoleon," "Domestic Life," "Shakespeare."

In Sheffield, Worcester, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other places, the lectures made an excellent impression. In Edinburgh three lectures were

given before the Philosophical Institution:—"Natural Aristocracy," "The Genius of the Present Age," "The Humanity of Science." In that city he was the guest of Dr. Samuel Brown, and during his stay an excellent portrait of him, now in the Concord Public Library, was painted by the late David Scott. After brief visits to Wordsworth and Miss Martineau, at Ambleside, Emerson went to Paris, and was there during the scenes of 1848. Among those who were with him in Paris was the late Arthur Clough, whom, in 1852, he had the pleasure of welcoming as a neighbour in America.

On his return to the United States Emerson gave the lectures embodied in his "English Traits" (1856). A lecture on the French, replete with good stories of his sojourn in Paris, has never been published. From time to time his lectures were delivered in various parts of the United States, then rewritten and collected in volumes:—"The Conduct of Life," "Society and Solitude," "Letters and Social Aims." He was, however, from this time forward never long absent from home, which became the centre of reunion of the best and most thoughtful of American youths; and when emancipation began to be discussed, he boldly avowed his sympathies. When at length the war broke out he took his stand as an anti-slavery advocate, and as such frequently appeared on the Boston platforms.

In 1867 Emerson's second volume of verses appeared, "May-Day and other Poems." His poems have not had such wide success as his always poetic prose works.

In less than one generation from the year when Emerson was condemned as a heretic by the authorities of Harvard University, he was chosen lecturer in the same institution, and his last important course of lectures was delivered there in 1870, under the general title "The Natural History of the Intellect." Emerson's health suffered seriously by the shock caused by his house being burnt in July 1872, and he was persuaded to visit Egypt and afterwards London, but he was not able to accept the invitations he received to lecture either here or at Oxford. The only speech he made was a brief one at the

Working Men's College in London. On his return to Concord, in May 1873, the inhabitants met him at the station with a band of music and escorted him to his home, which meantime had been rebuilt by his friends in exactly its old form. But with all this happiness the venerable philosopher was never again the same man. His general health returned, but his memory gradually declined. His last appearance in any literary capacity was when, on the death of his friend Carlyle, he read before the Massachusetts Historical Society notes and reminiscences of his great contemporary, written many years before. He died, after a somewhat protracted illness, at his house in Concord, Massachusetts, on April 27.

The Emerson family, distinguished in New England for more than eight generations, was from Durham county, England. One of its ancestors was knighted by Henry VIII., but its most eminent representative in this country was William Emerson, the eccentric mathematician of the last century, believed by his humbler neighbours to practise the Black Art. The first member of the family in America was Thomas Emerson, who went thither in 1635. His son was married to a grand-daughter of the Rev. Peter Bulkeley, a wealthy clergyman of Bedfordshire, whose Puritan tendencies had incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Laud and led to his emigration. Most of the male descendants of the family were ministers of religion. In 1830 Ralph Waldo Emerson, addressing a new minister in Concord Church, said that five out of that minister's predecessors had been his kindred. But to that and neighbouring pulpits the family had supplied more than a score of ministers, and in each generation one at least of distinction. The name of Emerson was a leading one at every stage of the intellectual pilgrimage of New England beyond the Puritan rock on which the Pilgrim Fathers had fixed their faith. The father of Emerson, who married Ruth Haskins, a beautiful Bostonian, was, especially, an eloquent and scholarly man, and would probably have acquired fame but for his premature death in 1811.

The following names may also be mentioned:—On April 4, at Paris, aged 57, **Henri Giffard**, engineer and aeronaut. On April 5, at Folkestone, aged 71, **Colonel Cannon** (Behram Pasha). On April 5, at Paris, in his 73rd year, **M. Le Play**, author of many works on social subjects. On April 6, at San Remo, aged 74, **Right Rev. Frederick Barker**, Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australia (comprising thirteen dioceses), educated at Grantham School and Jesus College,

Cambridge; consecrated in 1854. On April 6, in Wellington Street, Strand, aged 71, **John Francis**, for fifty years publisher of the *Athenæum* journal, from the editorship of Mr. Dilke. On April 7th, at Berlin, in his 77th year, **Professor Friedrich Drake**, sculptor. On April 7, in the 76th year of his age, **Arthur Viscount Netterville**, whose title became extinct. On April 8, at Hockliffe Grange, near Dunstable, Bedfordshire, in his 82nd year, **Col. Sir Richard Gilpin**, thirty years M.P. for Bedfordshire. On April 9, at Naples, in her 80th year, **Lady Margaret Harriet Scott Bentinck**. On April 9, at Cleveland Square, London, in her 83rd year, **Lady Barry**, widow of Sir Charles Barry. On April 10, at Bogota, the capital of Columbia, **Mr. Augustus Mounsey**, Minister-Resident U.S. of Columbia, South America. On April 11, at Bournemouth, **Admiral Sir William Clifford, C.B.** On April 11, at London, aged 79, **Mr. Edward Duncan**, one of the oldest members of the Society of Water-colours. On April 11, in the Rue Balzac, Paris, **Madme. de Balzac**, Countess de Hanska, widow of the celebrated novelist. On April 12, at Paris, **M. Trinquet**, known as le Père des Barricades. On April 13, at Sonning, near Reading, in his 65th year, **Rev. Hugh Pearson**, canon of Windsor and rector of Sonning. On April 16, at Gosford, Haddingtonshire, in her 84th year, **Countess of Wemyss and March**. On April 17, at Cambridge, **Mr. Augustus Vansittart**, of Trinity College, Cambridge. On April 18, at Dublin, **Mr. Francis McDonogh, Q.C.**; one of the oldest members of the Irish Bar. On April 18, at Frodsham, Cheshire, aged 13, **Sarobo**, son of Ja Ja, King of Opobo; educating in England. On April 20, at London, **Dowager Lady Abercrombie**. On April 21, at Bournemouth, **Countess of Minto**, author of "Lives of the Lords Minto." On April 22, at Greenwood, Jamaica, in his 37th year, **Hon. Augustus William Charles Ellis**. On April 22, at Newmarket, **Mr. Henry Hall**, animal painter. On April 22, at the Straw Farm, Windsor, aged 66, **Mr. Tait**, of the Royal Straw Farm, Windsor. On April 26, at Redhill, Surrey, **Mr. James Rice**, author and collaborateur with Walter Besant in various novels. On April 27, at Byng Place, Gordon Square, in his 79th year, **General George Campbell, C.B.** On April 28, at Rosemont, Forfarshire, aged 69, **Mr. Jonathan Duncan**, of Invariety, late Commissioner in Scinde, and Member of Council, Bombay. On April 29, at Paris, aged 78, **Comte de Champigny**, Member of the Academy and the friend and fellow-worker of Montalembert. On April 29, at Ludwigsburg, aged 24, **Princess William of Würtemberg**, wife of the heir-apparent to the throne. On April 30, at Fingask Castle, near Perth, aged 82, **Sir Patrick Murray Threipland**, of Fingask, Perthshire; magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Caithness and Perthshire. On April 30, at Knowhead, Uddington, N.B., aged 61, **General John Wilkie**. He commanded the 10th Hussars in the Crimea.

MAY.

Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish was born in 1836, and was therefore in his 46th year at the date of his assassination on the 6th inst. He was the second son of the Duke of Devonshire and of Lady Blanche Howard, daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1859 he became private secretary to Lord Granville, who was then Lord President of the Council, and he held this post up to 1864. He was private secretary to Mr. Gladstone for a short time in 1872. In 1865 Lord Frederick had been returned for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and continued to represent that constituency up to his death. He was appointed to a Lordship of the Treasury in 1873, and held the office up to the resignation of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry in the following year. In 1880, on the

return of the Liberal Ministry, he was nominated to the post of Financial Secretary of the Treasury, resigning this place on his appointment to the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland. He married in 1864 Lucy Caroline, second daughter of George William, fourth Lord Lyttelton. Lord Frederick was best known as an industrious administrator, who seldom spoke in the House of Commons except upon subjects of which he had official cognizance or special experience; but he took an interest in educational questions, and on both sides of the House was highly esteemed for his urbanity and devotion to business.

Thomas Henry Burke, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, assassinated at the same time, was born on the 29th

May, 1829. He was the eldest son of the late Mr. William Burke, of Knocknagur, county Galway, his mother, Fanny Xaveria Tucker, having been a niece of the late Cardinal Wiseman. His father resided at Bruges, and he himself was educated in Belgium and Germany, and at Trinity College, Dublin. When Sir Thomas Redington was Under Secretary in Ireland, in 1847, he appointed Mr. Burke his private secretary and nominated him to a junior clerkship in the Castle. It will be remembered that at the time of the arrest of Smith O'Brien a cry was raised against Mr. Burke in Ireland for the part he took in searching the private papers of Mr. O'Brien. He was private secretary to Lord Carlingford, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Hartington while they were Chief Secretaries for Ireland, and during the intervals remained either at Dublin Castle, or in the Irish Office in London. Having risen to the place of Chief Clerk, he succeeded Sir Thomas Larcom, in 1868, in the office of Under-Secretary. Mr. Burke was a Roman Catholic, and heir-presumptive of his cousin, Sir John Lionel Burke. He was never married.

General Kaufmann, Governor-General of Turkestan, died very suddenly at Moscow, May 12. Born at Maidani in 1818, he was educated as a military engineer, and served first in the army of the Caucasus. In 1855 his reputation was already such that he was selected to arrange with General Williams the terms of the capitulation of Kars. He came out of the Crimean War with the rank of general, after which he was appointed to a responsible post in the Ministry of War to assist the Minister, General Miliutin, in the task of reorganising the Army. From the War Office General Kaufmann passed in 1865 to the Governorship of Lithuania, where he succeeded General Mouravieff; and in 1867 he was transferred to Turkestan, the Governor-Generalship of which province he held till his death. Here General Kaufmann made full use of his opportunities. In the successive campaigns which he conducted against Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand, he greatly increased the Asiatic dominions and influence of Russia, while narrowing the zone of debateable ground which separates her from the countries under the government or control of England. As the result of his success he exercised for many years almost unlimited authority in Central Asia. Shortly after his arrival war was

declared by Russia against Bokhara, and the expedition which the new Governor-General led into the country was successful. Samarcand was occupied in June, 1868, and the whole country was subjected to Russia. The expedition to Khiva was the next and most notorious act of General Kaufmann's government. From this time distrust of the Governor of Turkestan and his intentions grew up in England. This was not lessened by the successful campaign against Khokand, which was undertaken by General Kaufmann in 1875, at the close of which all Khokand north of the Sir Darya was formally annexed to Russia, while the independence left to Khokand south of the Sir Darya was merely nominal. The absorption by Russia in succession of Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand, brought her into the close proximity of Afghanistan, and General Kaufmann next directed his ambitious designs to that quarter, but he experienced a check from his Government, and he died without realizing his dream of universal supremacy for Russia in Central Asia.

Duke of Grafton. William Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Grafton, Earl of Arlington and Euston, Viscount Thetford and Ipswich, Baron Arlington, and Baron Sudbury, all in the Peerage of England, was the eldest son of Henry, fifth Duke, by Mary Caroline, third daughter of the late Admiral, the Hon. Sir George Cranfield Berkeley. He was born on the 4th of August, 1819, was educated at Harrow, and entered the diplomatic service in 1841, being appointed Attaché to the British Legation at Naples. He left official life and entered the House of Commons as the Liberal member for Thetford, in 1847, which place he continued to represent until 1863. He was Colonel of the West Suffolk Militia for a short period in 1846; in 1860 was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Northamptonshire Rifle Volunteers; and had been a Deputy Lieutenant for Northampton since 1846, and of Suffolk since 1860. He succeeded to the dukedom and other honours on the death of his father in March, 1863. He married February 10, 1858, Mary Louisa Anne, only daughter of Francis, third Lord Ashburton. In default of issue, the dukedom devolved upon his brother, Lord Augustus Charles Lennox FitzRoy, a colonel in the army and equerry to the Queen. The Duke was hereditary ranger of Whittlebury Forest and ranger of Selsey Forest. The Dukes of Grafton were hereditary

receivers-general of the profits of the seals in the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas until that office was abolished in 1845. They also had a pension of upwards of 7,000*l.* a year, charged on the Post Office, until 1856, when it was redeemed by the payment of a sum of money granted by the House of Commons.

Rev. Dr. William Hanna, the well-known Scotch divine, who died in London on May 24 in the 74th year of his age, was a son of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hanna, Professor of Theology at Belfast. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and was ordained in 1835 minister of the parish of East Kilbride, Lanarkshire. He married a daughter of Dr. Chalmers, and along with his father-in-law left the Established Church at the disrup-

tion. In 1850 Dr. Hanna was called to Free St. John's Church, Edinburgh, and was for about 16 years colleague of the Rev. Dr. Guthrie. He resigned his charge in 1867 on account of ill-health. He was the author of "Wycliffe and the Huguenots," the "Wars of the Huguenots," "Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers," and several volumes on the Life of Christ. He also edited the "Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen." Dr. Hanna was for several years editor of the *North British Review*, and also contributed to various religious periodicals. He was long on intimate terms with Thomas Carlyle, Dean Stanley, Dr. John Brown, and other eminent literary men. In 1864 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of D.D., then already an LL.D. of the University of Glasgow.

To this month also belong the following:—On May 2, at Orpington, Kent, aged 67, **Mr. Herbert Broom, LL.D.**, late Professor of Common Law to the Inns of Court. On May 6, at Clewer Lodge, Windsor, aged 75, **Capt. Thomas Bulkeley**, late of 1st Life Guards. On May 7, aged 93, **Admiral John Townsend Coffin**, the oldest officer in the Royal Navy, having been taken to sea in 1799 by his uncle, Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, C.C.B. On May 8, aged 56, **Sir Edward Dashwood**, Premier Baronet of Great Britain. On May 11, in Edinburgh, aged 70, **Dr. John Brown, LL.D., F.R.C.S.**, Author of "Hæmæ Subsecivæ," "Rab and his Friends," and other works. On May 12, at Cannes, aged 65, **Rev. Edward Forbes, D.D.**, Rector of St. Olaves, Old Jewry, and other City livings, Honorary Secretary to Colonial and Continental Church Society. For 22 years Chaplain of the English Church, Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris. On May 13, in Paris, aged 67, **Sir John Rose Cormack, M.D.**, Physician to the Hertford British Hospital, Paris. On May 13, aged 68, **Thomas Cobbe**, of Easton Lys and Inner Temple, author of "A History of our Norman Kings." On May 14, **Dr. Chadwick**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Hexham. On May 14, in South Kensington, aged 74, **Col. J. T. Smith, R.E., F.R.S.**, many years Master of the Mint at Madras and Calcutta. He studied deeply the intricate questions connected with the currency of India, and was the author of numerous works on this and kindred subjects. On May 14, at Talone, near Rhyl, aged 71, **Sir Piers Mostyn**, of Talacre, a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Flintshire. On May 16, in London, **Mr. Henry Woods**, of Warnford Park, Hampshire, formerly M.P. for Wigan. On May 17, **Karl Johann Greith**, Bishop of St. Gall, an eminent scholar and ecclesiastic. On May 18, at Sully, Isle of Man, aged 107 years, **Thomas Anderson**, a native of Cumberland. On May 20, in London, aged 77, **Charles Henry Elt**, senior representative of Islington in the Metropolitan Board of Works. On May 21, at Aix-les-Bains, aged 65, **Capt. Hervey St. John Mildmay, R.N.** On May 21, **Admiral John Duntze**. On May 23, **Emily Elizabeth**, widow of Sir Henry George Ward, G.C.M.G. On May 24, at Himley Hall, aged 83, **Lady Ward**, widow of 10th Lord Ward, and mother of the Earl of Dudley. On May 26, in London, aged 61, **Col. Joseph Lemuel Chester**, the American Genealogist, Fellow of the Historical Society, and of numerous Historical Societies in America, Honorary D.C.L. of the University of Oxford. On May 27, at Norwood, aged 74, **Mr. Edwin Abbott**, for 45 years Head Master of the Philological School. On May 28, in Eaton Place, London, **Mr. John George Shephard**, of Campsey Ash, Suffolk, Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for Suffolk. He served as Foreman of the Jury in the Tichborne trial. On May 31, at Roxborough Castle, the **Countess of Charlemont**. On May 31, at Devizes, aged 88, **Robert Parry Nisbet**, formerly M.P. for Chippenham, Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Wiltshire.

JUNE.

Giuseppe Garibaldi was born at Nice (in the same house wherein Massena was born) on July 22, 1807, of a purely Italian family. The name of Garibaldi, common enough throughout North Italy, betokens old Lombard descent. He first saw light, as he states, in the very house and room where, forty-nine years before, Massena was born. His father, Domenico, had come from Chiavari, in the Riviera di Levante; he gives his mother's name, Rosa Ragundo. Garibaldi's father and grandfather were seamen, and he took to the sea as his native element, developing great strength and skill as a swimmer, an accomplishment which enabled him to save drowning men on several memorable occasions.

In early life he embarked in his father's merchant vessel, a brig, and in that and other craft he made frequent voyages to Odessa, Rome, and Constantinople. Soon after the revolutionary movements of 1831 he was at Marseilles, where he fell in with Mazzini, busy at that time with the organisation of "young Italy" and with the preparations for an invasion of Italy by sea, which, upon Mazzini's expulsion from Marseilles, was attempted at Geneva, and directed against the Savoy frontier. The Savoy expedition turned out an egregious failure, the blame of which Garibaldi, on Mazzini's statement, throws on the Polish General Ramorino's treachery. Garibaldi himself, who had embarked on board the royal frigate "Eurydice," to gain possession of that vessel by a mutiny of the crew, being off Genoa, and hearing of a plot to storm the barracks of the Carabinieri, landed in the town to join it; but the attack upon the barracks miscarried, and he, not daring to go back to his ship, saw himself irreparably compromised, fled to Nice, and thence crossed the Var and found himself an exile at Marseilles. Here he betook himself again to his sea life, sailed for the Black Sea and for Tunis, and at last, on board the "Nageur," of Nantes, for Rio Janeiro.

Garibaldi entered the service of the Republic of Rio Grande del Sul, a vast territory belonging to Brazil, then in open rebellion and war against that Empire. He took the command of a privateer's boat with a crew of twelve men, to which he gave the

name of "Mazzini," and by the aid of which he soon helped himself to a larger and better-armed vessel, a prize taken from the enemy. In his many encounters with the Imperial or Brazilian party he experienced varying fortunes. He was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and in one instance, at Gualaguay, in the Argentine territory, he found himself in the power of one Leonardo Millan, a type of Spanish South-American brutality, by whom he was savagely struck in the face with a horsewhip, submitted to several hours' rack and torture, and thrown into a dungeon.

Escaping by the intervention of the Governor of Gualaguay, Paolo Echague, Garibaldi crossed from the territories of the Plate into those of the Rio Grande, and faithful to the cause of that Republic he fought with better success, winning battles, storming fortresses, standing his ground with a handful of men, or even single-handed, against incredible odds, beating strong squadrons with a few small vessels, giving through all proofs of the rarest disinterestedness, humanity, and generosity, disobeying orders to sack and ravage vanquished cities, and exercising that mixture of authority and glamour over his followers which almost enabled him to dispense with the ties of stern rule and discipline. At last, after losing a flotilla in a hurricane on the coast of Santa Caterina, where he landed wrecked and forlorn, having seen his bravest and most cherished Italian friends shot down or drowned, he fell in with his Anita. Anita turned out almost as great and daring and long-enduring a being as her heroic mate, and was by his side in all fights by land and sea, till the fortunes of the Republic of Rio Grande declined, when after giving birth to her first-born, Menotti Garibaldi, September 16, 1840, she went with that infant and his father through unheard-of hardships and dangers in the disastrous retreat of Las Antas. At length Garibaldi, despairing of the issues of an ill-conducted war, took leave of his Republican friends at Rio Grande and went for a short respite in his adventurous career to Montevideo.

After trying, on the journey, to find employment as a cattle-drover, Garibaldi settled at Montevideo in

the capacity of a general broker and teacher of mathematics; but, war having broken out between the Republic of the Uruguay and Buenos Ayres, the Condottiere was solicited to draw his sword for the former State which afforded him hospitality, and was trusted with the command of a little squadron destined to operate on the Parana river against a greatly superior Argentine force. Garibaldi, however, made the best of a desperate position, and escaped from both his open foes and secret enemies, who, jealous of his fame, had plotted his murder, or at least his disgrace.

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Europe was undergoing a complete change. Pius IX. had been elected Pope; Sicily had risen in revolt; Austrian influence was rapidly waning in Italy. Garibaldi, on the first reports of the Pope's liberal leanings, wrote to the Nuncio Bedini at Montevideo, October 17, 1847, offering the services of the Italian Legion to His Holiness, who was now almost on the eve of a war with Austria, "although," the letter said, "the writer was well aware that St. Peter's throne rests on a solid basis, proof against all human attacks, and needing no mortal defenders." The Nuncio returned thanks and praises and referred Garibaldi's offer to the Pontifical Government at Rome. But Garibaldi, after vainly waiting for further communication from Pope or Nuncio, decided to start for Europe. His next step was to organise his Italian Legion, which distinguished itself throughout the campaign.

With incredible difficulty he scraped together money and means, and embarked with his brave friend Anzani (who died at Genoa soon after landing), having with him only eighty-five men and two cannon. He crossed the ocean, landed at Nice, proceeded to Genoa and Milan, and when Charles Albert, defeated at Custoza, withdrew from the Lombard city and accepted an armistice which saved Piedmont from invasion, August, 1848, Garibaldi passed over to Mazzini, and at the head of a volunteer force, of which Mazzini was the standard-bearer, issued a manifesto in which he proclaimed the Sardinian King a traitor, and declared that "the Royal war was at an end, and that of the people was now to begin." The Garibaldians, on hearing the news of the fall of Milan, lost heart, and many crossed over the frontier to Switzerland. With thinned and dispirited bands, Garibaldi, aided by his

friend Medici, ventured on a few desultory fights near Luino, on Lake Maggiore, but soon fell back and withdrew to Lugano, in the canton Ticino, his health, it is said, breaking down, and his immediate followers being reduced to some 300.

A few months later Pius IX. became the object of suspicion to his subjects, who murdered his minister Rossi, and forced him to fly to Gaeta, and proclaimed a Republic under a Triumvirate, of which Mazzini was the head. Attacked by the French the Romans undertook to defend themselves, and rallying round Garibaldi, drove back the invaders from Porta Pancrazio, April 29 and 30, 1849, and defeated the Neapolitans in the campaign of Velletri. For three months the national party held their position, but, at length, the French gained possession of the city, July 13, 1849, and Garibaldi left it with a band of devoted volunteers, retired *via* Terni and Orvieto, gathering together about 2,000 men in his progress, crossed the Apennines, pressed by the Austrians with overwhelming forces, sought a refuge at San Marino, gave the enemy the slip in the night, embarked at Cesenatico for Venice, which was still withstanding the Austrian siege, was met by four Austrian men-of-war, which compelled him to put back and land on the coast near Ravenna, and wandered ashore in the woods, where Anita, his inseparable companion in this disastrous march, succumbed to the fatigues of the journey, and expired in her husband's arms. Garibaldi's devoted friends Ugo Bassi and Ciceruacchio, falling into the hands of the Austrians, were shot by them without any form of trial. The heart-broken hero, with a few trusty men, made his way from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, was arrested by the Sardinian Carabinieri at Chiavari, conveyed to Genoa, where La Marmora was in command, and having supplied him with ample means, induced him to take refuge in Tunis. Here he made no stay, but started again for the island of La Maddalena, off the shore of Sardinia, where he passed over to Gibraltar and Tangier.

His dream of a free Italy having been dispelled by the disaster of Novara and the surrender of Venice, Garibaldi once more crossed the Atlantic and settled in New York as a tallow-chandler, and did not return until 1855, when Cavour's policy had already obtained for Piedmont a place among the European Powers.

In recognition of his previous service to the national cause, a peaceful retreat was assigned to him at Caprera, an island rock on the Sardinian coast near the Maddalena, with a hint that the time might soon come in which his country's cause would summon him from his retirement. Four years later (1859), France and Piedmont took the field against Austria. Garibaldi, leaving his island home, swore fealty to Victor Emmanuel with many Republicans, took the command of the *Chasseurs des Alpes*, and aided the Royal Army in its defence of the territory previous to the arrival of its great French auxiliary. Following in the upper region a line parallel to that kept in the plain by the conquest of Palestro, Magenta, and Solferino, he beat the Austrians at Varese and San Fermo, bewildered his adversary Urban by the rashness of his movements on the mountains above Como, advanced upon Bergamo and Brescia, and pushed on to the Valtellina up to the very summit of the Stelvio Pass. Here the Peace of Villafranca put an end to the struggle, and Garibaldi, afflicted by the arthritic pains to which he was a martyr all his life, travelled for a few days' rest to Tuscany and Genoa.

At Genoa, during the autumn and winter, Garibaldi, hospitably entertained by his friend Augusto Vecchi outside the city, busied himself with that expedition of "the Thousand" which made one State of the South and North of Italy. He embarked on May 11, 1860, at Genoa, landed at Marsala, beat the Neapolitans at Calatafimi, followed up his success to Palermo, and, aided by the insurgent city, compelled the garrison to surrender. He again routed the Bourbon troops at Milazzo, and soon had the whole island at his discretion, with the exception of the citadel of Messina. He then crossed over into Calabria, and, almost without firing a shot, drove the Neapolitan King's troops before him all over the mainland, compelled the King to abandon the strong pass of La Cava and to withdraw his forces from his capital, where Garibaldi, with only a few of his staff, made his triumphal entry on September 7, 1860. After a few days' rest Garibaldi followed the disheartened King to Capua, obtained new signal successes on the Volturno, at Santa Maria, and Caserta; but would probably have been unable to accomplish the enterprise had not the Piedmontese, whose Government had aided Garibaldi's expedition while pretending to oppose

it, overrun the Marches, beaten Lamoricière and the Papal forces at Castel Fidardo, and, crossing the frontier and the Apennines, besieged and reduced the strong places of Capua and Gaeta. Garibaldi, who, as Dictator, had with doubtful success endeavoured to establish something like rule in the two Sicilies, aware of the arduousness of a task which would have exceeded many wiser men's powers, met the King at Naples, delivered the two kingdoms into his hands, and, declining all the proffered honours and emoluments for himself, took leave of his Sovereign and embarked for the solitude of his rock-farm at Caprera.

Elected a deputy, Garibaldi protested against the cession of his native city Nice to France, but without effect, and for two years he remained at Caprera. On the death of Cavour and after the fall of Ricasoli Garibaldi was tempted by Ratazzi to make an expedition against the Austrians in Venetia, but after a brief survey of the chances of success, he proposed to use the funds conveyed to him to rescue Rome from the French. Garibaldi landed with some partisans in Sicily, collected a few bands of *picciotti*, or raw youths, in the island, and crossed to Calabria, hoping soon to find himself at the head of a force sufficient to drive the French garrison from Rome. Ratazzi, who could not blind himself to the disasters which awaited so foolhardy an enterprise, sent the Royal forces against its projector under Pallavicini, who attacked, wounded, and seized Garibaldi at Aspromonte, August 29, 1862, and sent him a prisoner for a few days to the fort of Varigliano at Spezzia, whence he returned to Caprera, and there remained until his convalescence was complete. In April, 1864, he paid a visit to England, and was welcomed with enthusiasm alike by the English people and the English aristocracy, his reception culminating in a grand banquet given in his honour by the Lord Mayor and City of London. Two years later a war between Prussia and Austria led to the deliverance of Venice. During this campaign of 1866, Garibaldi again appeared in the field as the King's soldier, and at the head of several thousand volunteers vainly attempted to force his way into the gorges of the Southern Tyrol. Beaten by the superior skill of the Austrian marksmen, wounded, and overcome by ill-health, he fell back soon after the disaster of Custozza, and was again fain to seek his retreat of Caprera. But, in the following year, the *La Marmora*-

Ricasoli Government having been compelled to yield to the hostile feeling of the deeply-humiliated country, Ratazzi was again in the ascendant, and, refining upon Cavour's cunning, laid the plan for an attempt upon defenceless Rome, and, while forwarding it with all his might, pretended to combat it by all the means at his disposal. Enlistments of men and distributions of arms were carried on throughout Italy and in the capital under the very eyes, with the connivance and, indeed, the co-operation of the Government. Volunteers gathered on the borders of the shrunken Pontifical State under command of Garibaldi's son, Menotti. Garibaldi himself landed at Genoa, travelled about the country, came to Florence, and addressed the multitude in language of which the Government affected to condemn the violence, and which led to the farce of the General's arrest at Sinalunga and his removal to Caprera, where his movements were watched by Royal cruisers, which, however, he was allowed to evade, when the great blow was to be struck and his assistance was needed. Garibaldi again landed at Leghorn, joined the volunteer force on the Papal frontier, advanced upon Monterotondo, and there and at Mentana succumbed to the superior forces of the Pontifical army, aided by a few French battalions landing to the Pope's rescue under De Failly, November 3, 1867.

Three years later the disasters of the Franco-German war led to the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. On the proclamation of the Republic in France, Garibaldi again issued forth from his island solitude, joined Gambetta at Tours on October 9, 1870, and was by him sent, in command of Francs-Tireurs and Gardes Mobiles, to the Vosges. He betook himself to Besançon, fought the Germans at Auntu, was beaten back by Werder at Montbard, and finally altogether bewildered and out-generalled at Dijon. In return for his devotion to the cause of a country which had twice beaten him at Rome and robbed him of his native Nice, the good man was treated with insult and scorn by the Retrogradist party, then in the ascendant at the Bordeaux Assembly, to which he had been returned a Deputy. Shaking the dust from his feet, he went back to Caprera, February 20, 1871.

From this time he took no part in military adventures or expeditions. His health, undermined by exposure and hardships, allowed him only brief respite, of comparative ease, of which he

took advantage occasionally to come to Rome and occupy his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, each political party in turn endeavouring to obtain the support of his popularity. Almost his last political appearance was in 1881, when he came to obtain from the king the release of his son-in-law Canzio, a favour which was accorded to him, and only a few weeks previous to his last illness he went to Palermo to be present at the six-hundredth anniversary of the Sicilian Vespers. There, as at Naples, and at Milan, he had abundant proofs that with the people his popularity was as great as ever, and when his death, at Caprera, on June 2, became known, there was throughout Italy a spontaneous and unanimous display of grief. It was first intended that his body should be brought to Rome, and that a public funeral on an imposing scale should be solemnised, but for motives of policy this ceremony was postponed, and it having been found impossible to comply with his own wish to be cremated, Garibaldi was buried on June 8, in the cemetery of the island of Caprera. Throughout the funeral ceremony, a storm of wind and rain raged with unwonted violence. The coffin, which was covered with garlands of flowers, was borne by some of the survivors of the Thousand of Marsala, and was followed to the grave by the Duke of Genoa, Signor Zanardelli, Minister of Public Works, General Ferrero, Minister of War, representatives of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and delegates of 300 various associations. Speeches at the grave were delivered by Signor Alfieri di Sostegno, Vice-President of the Senate, and Signor Farini, President of the Chamber of Deputies, the two ministers present, and Signor Crispi. As the coffin was lowered into the grave, salutes were fired by the "Washington" and "Cariddi."

Marquess Conyngham. George Henry Conyngham, Marquess Conyngham, Earl Conyngham of Mount Charles, Earl and Viscount of Mount Charles, county Donegal, Viscount Conyngham of Slane, county Meath, Viscount Slane and Baron Conyngham of Mount Charles, county Donegal, in the Peerage of Ireland, and Baron Minster of Minster, Kent, in that of the United Kingdom, by which latter title he held his seat in the House of Peers, was the elder and only surviving son of Francis Nathaniel, second Marquess Conyngham, K.P., by his wife Lady Jane Paget, second daughter of Henry William first Mar

quess of Anglesey, K.G., and was born in February, 1825. He entered the army as cornet and sub-lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Life Guards in December, 1844, and continued in the regiment till he retired on temporary half-pay in 1868, having in 1861 been appointed major and lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. He became a major-general in the army in October, 1877. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Donegal Militia in 1849, and had been since 1863 Colonel Commandant of the East Kent Yeomanry. He was formerly State Steward to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and was Equerry to the Queen from October, 1870, to 1872, when he was appointed an Extra Equerry to Her Majesty. Lord Conyngham was Vice-Admiral of the coast of Ulster. He married in June, 1854, Lady Jane St. Maur Blanche Stanhope, only daughter of Charles, fourth Earl of Harrington, and died at the family home in Belgrave Square on June 2.

Reinhold Pauli, Professor of History at Göttingen, died at Bremen on June 3. Born at Berlin in 1826, he studied and taught successively at the Universities of Bonn, Rostock, Tübingen, Marburg, and Göttingen, at which last place he was appointed to the Chair of History in 1870. In his earlier years he acted as private secretary to the Chevalier Bunsen, Prussian Minister at the Court of St. James's; and it was at this time that he formed those connexions and made those researches which resulted in the publication of his 'Geschichte Englands, Seit 1815,' in 1874, and of his 'Bilder aus Alt-England' (Pictures from Old England), in 1876. He had also previously written a continuation of Lappenberg's "English History." The splendid library at Göttingen, founded by George II. of England, which probably contains more British and modern literature than any other German University, afforded ample field to Professor Pauli for the pursuit of his favourite studies.

J. Scott Russell, C.E., F.R.S.—John Scott Russell was the eldest son of the Rev. David Russell, a Scotch clergyman. He was born in the Vale of Clyde in the year 1808, and was originally destined for the Church. His great predilection for mechanics and other natural sciences induced his father to allow him to enter a workshop, to learn the handicraft of the profession of an engineer. He subsequently studied at the Universities of Edinburgh St Andrews, and Glasgow,

and graduated at the latter at the early age of 16. He had attained to such proficiency in the knowledge of the natural sciences that on the death of Sir John Leslie, Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh, in 1832, the young Scott Russell, though then only 24 years of age, was elected to fill the vacancy temporarily, pending the election of a permanent professor. About this time he commenced his famous researches into the nature of waves, with the view of improving the forms of vessels. His first paper on this subject was read before the British Association in 1835. The interest created by this paper was so great that a committee was appointed by the Association to carry on the experiments at their expense. Mr. Scott Russell discovered during these researches the existence of the wave of translation and developed the wave-line system of construction of ships in connexion with which his name is now so widely known. In 1837 he read a paper before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which institution he had some years previously been elected a member, "On the Laws by which water opposes resistance to the motion of floating bodies." For this paper he received the large gold medal of the society and was elected a member of its council. The first vessel on the wave system was called the "Wave," and was built in 1835; it was followed in 1836 by the "Scott Russell," and in 1839 by the "Flambeau" and "Fire King." Mr. Scott Russell was employed at this time as manager of the large shipbuilding establishment at Greenock; subsequently owned by Messrs. Caird and Co. In this capacity he succeeded in having his system employed in the construction of the new fleet of the West India Royal Mail Company, and four of the largest and fastest of these vessels—viz., the "Teviot," the "Tay," the "Clyde," and the "Tweed"—were built and designed by him. In 1844 Mr. Scott Russell removed to London. In 1847 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, of which body he was for some time a vice-president. He for a short time occupied the post of secretary of the Society of Arts, which place he resigned to become joint secretary with Sir Stafford Northcote of the Great Exhibition of 1851. He was, in fact, one of the three original promoters of the Exhibition, and under the direction of the late Prince Consort took a leading part in organising it. Mr. Scott Russell was for many years known as a shipbuilder on the Thames.

The most important work he ever constructed was the "Great Eastern" steamship, which he contracted to build for a company of which the late Mr. Brunel was the engineer. The "Great Eastern," whatever may have been her commercial failings, was undoubtedly a triumph of technical skill. She was built on the wave-line system of shape, and was constructed on the longitudinal double-skin principle, which also was invented by Mr. Scott Russell.

The "Great Eastern," which was built more than a quarter of a century previously, remained, up to the date of Mr. Scott Russell's death, much the largest ship in existence, as also one of the strongest and lightest build in proportion to tonnage. The paddle engines and boilers of this vessel were also made and designed by Mr. Scott Russell. He was, moreover, one of the earliest and most active advocates of ironclad men-of-war, and was the joint designer of our first sea-going armoured frigate, the "Warrior." His last work in naval construction was the steamer on the Lake of Constance, which carries railway trains between the termini of the German and Swiss railway systems on the opposite shores of the lake. Mr. Scott Russell was one of the founders of the Institution of Naval Architects, and was one of its vice-presidents from the date of its constitution down to the day of his death. Though perhaps best known as a naval architect, Mr. Scott Russell was an active worker in other fields of engineering science. In early life he took a great interest in steam locomotion on ordinary roads, and while at Greenock he constructed a steam coach which ran for some time successfully between Greenock and Paisley. The springs of this steam-carriage and the manner in which the machinery adapted itself to the inequalities of the road were triumphs of ingenuity. His greatest engineering work was without doubt the vast dome of the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. This dome was, among roofs, what the Great Eastern is to ships, its clear span of 360ft. being by far the largest in the world. The last engineering work

which Mr. Scott Russell ever designed was a high-level bridge to cross the Thames below London bridge. It was intended to cross the river with a span of 1,000 feet and to allow of a passage beneath it for the largest ships. In addition to the numerous papers which he read before scientific societies, he wrote the section on the steam-engine and steam navigation in a former edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He was also the author of the large work on naval architecture entitled the "Modern System of Naval Architecture for Commerce and War," and of a work on "Systematic Technical Education for the English People." He died at Ventnor, in the Isle of Wight, on June 8, in the 75th year of his age.

General de Cissey, who died at Paris, on June 15, after a protracted illness, was born in that capital in 1810, and entered the St. Cyr Military School at 20 years of age. Between 1835, when he was appointed lieutenant, and 1863, when he was appointed to the rank of general of division, he served in Algeria, where he won some distinction, and took part as brigadier-general in the Crimean campaign. In 1870 he was in the Metz army, fought in the battles of Borny, Bezonville, and St. Privat, and was one of those who opposed the capitulation. After returning from Germany, whither, of course, he was sent as prisoner of war, he formed part of the Versailles army, entered Paris on the south, and by a dexterous movement obtained possession of the whole of Paris south of the Seine. Appointed, by M. Thiers, Minister of War, in July, 1871, he began the work of army-reorganisation. In May, 1873, General de Cissey resigned, with his fellow-Ministers, and became commandant of the ninth Army Corps, but returned to office in 1874, and was nominally Premier from May, 1874, to March 1875, while he remained Minister of War until August, 1876. He then resumed a military command, and held it till the Jung case led to his being superannuated. He was a member of the Senate, where he usually voted with the Right Centre.

On June 3, at Preston, aged 57, **Lieutenant Colonel James Steadman Hawker Farrer**, late of the Coldstream Guards. On June 5, aged 92, **Robert Brooks**, of Woodcote Park, Epsom, Surrey, a magistrate for Surrey, and formerly M.P. for Weymouth. On June 5, at Paris, aged 63, **Baron Heath**, Consul-General in England for the kingdom of Italy. On June 6, at Edinburgh, aged 69, **Mr. James Spence**, Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, Surgeon in Ordinary to the Queen for Scotland, and Fellow of several societies. On June 6, at Kensington, aged 52, **Colonel Robert Stewart**, of Ardvorlich, Perthshire, late of the Bengal Staff Corps. On June 8, at Cole-Orton Hall, Leicestershire, aged 53,

Sir George Howland Beaumont, Bart. On June 10, at Haslemore, aged 31, **Mr. Cecil Lawson**, the landscape-painter. On June 10, at Dumfries, aged 77, **Sir William Brown, Bart.**, of Coulston, Haddingtonshire. On June 11, at London, aged 65, **Vice-Admiral Hall, C.B.**, Secretary to the Admiralty. On June 12, at Honolulu, **Captain G. R. Hope, R.N.**, commanding H.M. steam-corvette "Champion." On June 16, at Brighton, aged 62, **Rev. Hugh George Robinson**, Prebendary of York Cathedral, one of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. On June 16, at Homburg, aged 68, **Count Vladimir Alexandrovitz Sollogub**, a Russian author whose works have been translated into English and French. The greater part of his life was spent in the public service. On June 17, at Edinburgh, aged 85, **Dr. John Gordon, LL.D.** of Edinburgh University, late H.M. Inspector of Schools. On June 18, at Gibraltar, aged 51, **Mr. Hugh Reilly Semper**, Chief Justice of Gibraltar. On June 20, at London, aged 74, **Mr. W. Bodham Donne**, of Mattishall, Norfolk, Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant for the County; Examiner of Plays in the Lord Chamberlain's Office; a well-known contributor to many periodicals; he edited the letters of George III. to Lord North, and many classics. On June 22, at London, aged 69, **Mr. Bence Jones**, of Lissalan, Ireland. On June 22, at Belfast, **Rev. W. P. Appleby, LL.D., B.D.**, Professor of Theology, Belfast Methodist College. On June 24, at Tremorvah, near Truro, aged 71, **Sir Philip Protheroe Smith**, of Tremorvah, Cornwall. On June 24, at London, aged 73, **Mr. Alexander Swanston**, Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Cork: formerly M.P. for Brandon. On June 25, at Frankfort, aged 58, **Joachim Raff**, of Frankfort, a pianist and prolific composer. On June 26, at Edinburgh, aged 67, **Mr. Robert Balfour Wardlaw Ramsay**, of Whitesill and Tillicoultry. On June 26, second **Baron Chesham**. On June 26, at Mayfield, Sussex, aged 64, **Rev. Edward Joseph Rose, M.A.**, Rector of Weybridge, Honorary Canon and Rural Dean. On June 28, at London, aged 80, **Mr. Turle**, for 58 years Organist of Westminster Abbey. On June 28, at Naples, aged 87, **Thomas Richard Guppy**, of Naples, founder of one of the largest establishments for metallurgical industry in Naples. On June 29, at London, aged 78, **Joseph Aloysius Hansom**, a well-known architect and the inventor of the "hansom cab."

JULY.

William George Ward, one of the most prominent participators in the "Tractarian" movement, died at Hampstead on July 6, at the age of 70. He was the eldest son of Mr. William Ward, some time a director of the Bank of England and M.P. for the city of London; his mother was a daughter of Mr. Harvey Christian Combe, who was an alderman and also M.P. for London in his day. He was educated at Winchester School, where he was a contemporary of Lord Selborne and Lord Sherbrooke. From Winchester he passed in due course to Christ Church, Oxford, but subsequently obtained a scholarship at Lincoln College, and took his bachelor's degree in Michaelmas Term, 1834, obtaining a second class in both the classical and mathematical schools. Among those in the same class list were the late Professor Hussey, Mr. J. Brande Morris, Mr. James B. Mozley, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, the Rev. Nicholas Pocock, and Charles Dayman, Fellow of Oriel. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a Fellow-

ship at Balliol, and for some few years held the Mathematical Tutorship of his college. In his undergraduate days he was a frequent and able speaker at the "Union" Debating Society, and at Balliol he shone in the common room at a time when Tait, Cardwell, Oakley, Lake, Scott, Jowett, and Lonsdale were members of it. From the first he took an active interest in the "Tracts for the Times," of the leading principles of which he was a manful and an outspoken champion, both in college circles and elsewhere; and, when Dr. Newman published in 1841 his celebrated "Tract No. 90," he chivalrously did not scruple to avow his acceptance of its reasoning in the main, strongly deprecating the action of the "Four Tutors" (of whom Tait, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, was one) in protesting against it and endeavouring to procure its censure by the Oxford authorities. In the course of the next few years, however, he gradually came to be convinced that "Anglo-Catholic premisses involve Roman Catholic conclusions," though

for a long time he clung to the hope, even against hope, that some point of union or of compromise would be found between the rival Churches. This hope, however, he probably had abandoned to a large extent when in 1844 he sent out to the world a thick octavo volume, entitled "The Ideal of a Christian Church," in which he put forth his ideas as to the many shortcomings of the Anglican Church, and how it failed to satisfy the high "ideal" standard of a worldwide and authoritative teacher of Divine truth. His book, at its first appearance, created a great commotion, especially in Oxford, and the whole edition was exhausted in a few days. It provoked quite a stormy sea of pamphlets, almost as fierce as that which had been roused by the "Oxford Tract Number Ninety." It was formally censured and condemned in Convocation at Oxford in February, 1845, when all Masters of Arts whose names were "on the books" were summoned up from every part of England to vote on a matter which they scarcely understood as a body, and in the end the author was deprived also of his M.A. degree, and that, too, in spite of an "Address to the Members of Convocation in protest against the proposed statute," which he published on the eve of the eventful decision. Shortly after his enforced withdrawal from Oxford he married the daughter of Dr. Wingfield, sometime Head Master of Westminster School, and both husband and wife were formally received into the Romish Church. In 1850 he published another work, following up the same line of controversy, and written presumably to show that he was well satisfied with the course which he had pursued—"The Anglican Church contrasted in every Principle of its Constitution with the Church Catholic of every age." Three letters to the editor of the *Guardian* in 1852 and a work on "Nature and Grace," published eight years later, and dedicated to Cardinal Wiseman, made up nearly all the acknowledged productions of Dr. Ward's pen subsequently, although he was for many years the editor and proprietor of the *Dublin Review*, a post in which he proved himself an able successor to Cardinal Wiseman. During a portion of this time he resided at St. Edmund's College, near Ware, in Hertfordshire, where he lectured to the students on subjects connected with morals and theology; his teachings were of the highest and purest "Ultramontane" type. For his services to his Church at St. Edmunds'

College he was rewarded by the late Pope Pius with a Doctor's degree, an honour rarely bestowed on a layman; but notwithstanding the strongly marked characteristics of his adopted form of faith, he retained to the last the friendship of his University friends, many of whom had risen to high places in the Church Dr. Ward had quitted.

General Michael Dimitritch Skobelev, the "White General" and the hero of Plevna, died very suddenly in the Hotel d'Usaux, at Moscow, on July 7, a victim to an affection of the heart, brought on, it is thought, by a contusion received on the green hills before Plevna in the late war. General Skobelev was born on September 29, 1843, and was, therefore, 39 years of age. After the death of his father in 1880, and the cruel murder of his mother in Bulgaria, the general was the only surviving member of the family bearing its name, although his two sisters, the Duchess of Eugene Leuchtenberg and Countess Bielozelesky, survive. He had seen almost continuous service since he first joined the army—in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Turkestan, or wherever there was fighting to be done for Russia. In the Khiva Campaign he commanded the advance guard of General Lomakine's column, and distinguished himself by a happy disobedience to orders and a readiness at all times to volunteer for dangerous duties. In the campaigns against Khokand he was still more conspicuous. In the battle of Makhran he contributed greatly to the result by a turning movement by which he captured no less than fifty-eight cannon. A brilliant night attack on the enemy's camp in the course of the retreat from Andijan, when with a handful of cavalry he routed the whole army opposed to him, was one of his most memorable achievements, and caused him to be made a major-general at the early age of 32. But these incidents and the series of victories by which he ultimately reduced the Khan of Khokand to submission pale before his gallant deeds around Plevna, and the rapid passage of the Balkans by which he turned the left flank of the Turks and compelled that retreat to Constantinople which resulted in the Peace of San Stefano. Since 1878 he maintained his great reputation by the way in which he put an end to the harassing war with the Tekke Turcomans, retrieving Russian disasters by the capture after desperate fighting of Geok

Tépé, and causing a not altogether unreasonable scare to some among ourselves by his subsequent advance to Askabad and Kelat. In politics he had thoroughly identified himself with the national party, which in return regarded him almost as a hero. During the campaign against Turkey his military and political reputation were alike enhanced; and there is little doubt that in any revolutionary movement he would have played an important part—but his devotion to the Czar never faltered. In the early spring he was suddenly recalled home in consequence of an injudicious speech made at Paris; but his enemies were unable to aver that his temper was soured by the reproof or his influence impaired by his indiscretion.

Benjamin Nottingham Webster, many years well known as an actor, dramatist, and theatre manager, was born at Bath on September 3, 1798. He was sent by his father to a military academy, but in early manhood took to the stage, and, after acting for a short time in the provinces, made his way to London. As early as 1818 he was acting in London at the Regency Theatre. His first London success was in "Measure for Measure," and soon afterwards he was one of the leading actors in Madame Vestris' company at the Olympic. He was engaged at the Haymarket in 1829, and became the lessee in 1837. For fifteen years he was the liberal patron of dramatic authors and artists, producing many original plays, for the copyright of which he is said to have paid 2,000*l.* annually. Amongst the pieces produced by Mr. Webster may be mentioned Sheridan Knowles' "Love Chase" (1837), "The Maid of Mariendorpt," by the same author (1838), Talfourd's "Glencoe" (1840), and Lord Lytton's "Money" (1840). In 1844 Mr. Webster became proprietor of the old Adelphi (whilst continuing the lease of the Haymarket), and produced there in succession D. Boucicault's "Old Heads v. Young Hearts" (1844), Douglas Jerrold's "Time works wonders" (1845), and in 1846 a version by himself of Dickens' "Cricket on the Hearth." He afterwards built the new Adelphi, his management of which was another story of enterprise and success; while still later fresh laurels were won at the Olympic, the Princess's, and St. James's, which came under his control. In 1874 the dramatic profession recognised his many and varied services by giving him a complimentary

benefit at Drury-lane, which produced a total of more than 2,000*l.* Mr. Webster was proud of the profession of which he had so long been an ornament, and showed his warm attachment to it by his efforts to establish a dramatic college, while his interest in the members of the profession individually was testified by his exertions on behalf of its charitable funds. He passed the remaining years of his life in retirement, and died at Kennington on July 8, having nearly completed his eighty-fourth year.

Henry Kingscote, a Gloucestershire squire, belonging to a family which is said to hold acre for acre the lands assigned to their first ancestor in the Domesday Book, died in London, on the 13th, in the 81st year of his age. Educated at Harrow, he distinguished himself chiefly in the cricket field. On leaving school he became prominent in hunting and other manly sports, many of which, together with those of his companions the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Alvanley, Sir Richard Sutton and Mr. Assheton Smith, are recorded in "Nimrod's Sporting Tour." It was still, however, to cricket that he was in the main devoted, and his unusual height (6 ft. 6 in.) gave him many advantages, of which he availed himself; and long after he ceased to play he showed his interest in the game for many years as president of the M.C.C. A narrow escape from drowning startled him from a somewhat thoughtless life, and brought him back more exclusively within the lines of his mother's teaching. His zeal instantly took a practical turn. He was mainly instrumental, in conjunction with Bishop Blomfield and others, in founding two great societies, both of which have had a wide influence—the one in alleviating the temporal distress of London, the other in coping with the spiritual wants both of London and the country. The first of these was the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, the other the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association, intended to supply lay agents in visiting and instructing the masses of the population. The extension of lay agency was always a favourite aim with Mr. Kingscote. In 1846 he published a powerful letter addressed to Dr. Howley, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, calling attention to the wants of the Church generally, and specially in regard to the employment of lay helpers. The proposal was received somewhat coldly at Lambeth, and it was not until Dr. Tait succeeded

to the primacy that any active steps were taken in this direction. Mr. Kingscote next took up the question of an increase of the Episcopate, and persistently urged the sub-division of some of the larger dioceses. Mr. Kingscote also took an active interest in emigration, and it was by his good counsel and assistance that the British and Colonial Emigration Society was founded in 1868. This society proved of immense assistance to numerous poor and unemployed families at the East-end of London. Some 20,000 persons were by its instrumentality assisted to other fields of labour. He was also one of the principal movers in the establishment of the Southwark Fund for Schools and Churches, which was in action from 1846 to 1851, during which time a large number of churches and schools were built in that district. During the Irish famine of 1847 Mr. Kingscote was engaged with Mr. Spring Rice in alleviating the distress. During the Crimean war he took a prominent part in raising a large fund for the relief of the troops, and sent out private supplies of clothes, food, and bedding. He was eager also to provide workshops for the employment of the indigent blind, towards which object Mr. George Moore offered him 10,000*l.* if a larger sum to meet it could have been raised. Owing to the difficulties of the case, this scheme was not so successful as might have been desired, but the National Orphan Home at Ham Common, of which Mr. Kingscote was treasurer for many years, fully realised his hopes and expectations. A Liberal in politics, he belonged rather to the old Whig than to the modern school of political reformers. Though a decided

Evangelical, he did not care about controversy; and whilst eminently benevolent, he always preferred energy to sentiment, expecting others to begin by helping themselves, and justifying by their own exertions the interest others might take in them.

Francis Maitland Balfour, F.R.S., was educated at Harrow School, and entered Cambridge in 1870, and although only placed second in the Natural Science Tripos was elected a Fellow of Trinity immediately after taking his degree, when he went to Naples to study zoology under Dr. Dorn. Five years later he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1881 was awarded a Royal medal for his contribution to embryology. He devoted much of his time to teaching, but in conjunction with his colleague Professor M. Foster, completed a very valuable work on the "Elements of Embryology." This was followed by other publications—the most important of which, the "Treatise on Embryology," was translated at once into French and German. His labours at Cambridge were so highly appreciated that a Chair of Animal Morphology was specially instituted in order to retain his services at his University. His value as a *savant* was, however, known far beyond the limits of Cambridge, for the Chair of Natural Science at Edinburgh, vacated by the death of Sir Wyville Thomson, was offered to him, and declined. He was the General Secretary of the British Association and President of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. He lost his life in attempting to scale a peak of the Mont Blanc range July 19. (See Chronicle.)

To these may be added the following:—On July 1, at London, aged 69, **Campbell Foster, Q.C.**, Recorder of Warwick, author of a series of "Letters on the Condition of Ireland," which appeared in the *Times*, as well as some legal works. On July 2, at London, aged 34, **Cyril Herbert**, an artist, and Curator of the Antique School of the Royal Academy. On July 3, at Florence, aged 72, **Charles Heath Wilson**, for some time Director of the Schools of Art at Somerset House, and afterwards at Glasgow, where he was also occupied under the direction of the Board of Works for ten years in the supervision of the Biblical series of painted windows in that Cathedral. He afterwards retired to Italy, where he was decorated by Victor Emmanuel with the Crown of Italy. On July 4, at Pucklechurch, Gloucestershire, aged 74, **General Christopher Birdwood**, formerly in the Commissariat Department of the Bombay Army. On July 7, at Enfield, aged 70, **Alderman James Abbis**, Chairman of the Board of Guardians to the City of London. On July 7, at Dillington, aged 56, **Captain Vaughan Hanning Vaughan Lee**, of Dillington, Somerset, and of Rheola, Glamorganshire, late M.P. for the Western Division of Somersetshire. On July 8, at Brighton, aged 67, **Hablot Knight Browne**, an artist, better known as "Phiz." He illustrated most of the works of Charles Dickens, and contributed graphic illustrations to the works of Charles Lever, Harrison Ainsworth, and others. On July 9, at Canterbury, aged 69, **Rev. James Craigie Robertson**, Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, also its Librarian.

He was the author of several literary works, and was for fifteen years Professor of Ecclesiastical Literature at King's College, London. On July 10, at Warnisworth Hall, aged 60, **Lady Dorothy Henrietta Wentworth Fitzwilliam**, daughter of the late Earl of Fitzwilliam. On July 10, at London, aged 39, **Lady Katherine Clive**, wife of Mr. Charles Meysey Botton Clive. On July 10, at Oxford, aged 56, **J. E. Henderson**, Fellow and Bursar of Magdalene College, Oxford. On July 12, at Plymouth, **Inspector-General John Cotton, M.D.** He served in the Crimean War, and afterwards in China. On July 14, at London, aged 55, **Rev. William Henry Drew**, Emeritus Professor, King's College, London. His treatise on "Geometrical Conic Sections" is adopted as the text-book in all our great schools and Universities. On July 14, at Weston-super-Mare, aged 68, **Colonel Gore Munbee, J.P.** and Deputy-Lieutenant for the county of Somerset. On July 16, at Springfield, Illinois, **Mary Lincoln**, widow of President Lincoln. On July 16, at Londonderry, considerably over 70, **Very Rev. Charles Seymour**, Dean of Derry. On July 19, at Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, aged 82, **Dowager Lady Cust**, widow of Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., formerly Bedchamber Woman to the Duchess of Kent. On July 24, at Vallombrosa, **Hon. George Marsh**, for many years United States Minister to Italy, and an author of many works on English literature. On July 28, in London, aged 78, **Robert Wilson, C.E., F.R.S.E.**, late managing partner in the firm of Nasmyth, Wilson & Co., Manchester. He had a large share in perfecting the steam hammer, and was one of the first to discover the principle of screw-propulsion. He received a reward of 500*l.* for improvements in the fish torpedo. On July 31, at the Tower of London, **Colonel John Cox Gawler**, late of the 73rd Regiment, Keeper of Her Majesty's Regalia since 1870. He served in the Caffre war and Indian Mutiny.

In this month there also died :—At London, aged 47, **Dr. Ernst Anton Max Haas**, a well-known Oriental scholar, Assistant Librarian in the British Museum. At Paris, **George Granville Brown**, son of the Duc de Berri and Miss Amy Brown. Princess Gertrude of Hanau, second wife of the deposed Elector of Hesse. At Wildingen, aged 62, **Dr. Stacker-Wildungen**, one of the first authorities in Germany on diseases of the kidneys, and **Ostrovsky**, the Polish poet and dramatist.

AUGUST.

Henry Kendall, the well-known poet of New South Wales, died at Sydney, on August 9. The *Athenaeum* was the first journal in this country to draw attention to the merits of his works. Mr. Kendall was born at Ulladulla, New South Wales, in the year 1842, so that he had barely attained his fortieth year. When only eighteen years of age he began contributing to the columns of the *Empire*, and he continued to contribute to that journal and the *Herald* until 1869. In 1862 he published "Poems and Songs," but three years later suppressed the work. He also wrote prose and verse in the *Sydney Punch* and other periodicals. After first holding a situation in the Lands Department, he went to the Colonial Secretary's office, where he was engaged until the year 1869. Then he resigned and went to Melbourne, where he wrote for the *Argus*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Melbourne Punch*, the *Australasian*, &c. He obtained a prize offered for the best poem upon any Australian subject; and in conjunction with Charles E. Horsley he composed the cantata for

the opening of the Melbourne Town Hall. For some years back he had been residing near Brisbane Water. Mr. Kendall had a serious illness in 1873, and his constitution never quite recovered the shock which it then received.

William Stanley Jevons, F.R.S., LL.D., was the son of an iron merchant at Liverpool, and was born there on September 1, 1835. His mother, who wrote poems and edited the "Sacred Offering," was a daughter of William Roscoe, the author of the well-known biographies of Lorenzo de Medici and Leo X. His early education was received at the High School of the Mechanics' Institution, Liverpool, then under the rule of the late Dr. W. B. Hodgson. At the age of 16 he entered University College, London, and matriculated with honours in Botany and Chemistry. From 1853 to 1858, or from his 18th to his 23rd year, he was assayer to the Australian Royal Mint, at Sydney, a post conferred upon him at the instance of Mr. Graham, of the

Mint in London, where, as the fruits of his leisure, he produced "Data concerning the Climate of Australia and New Zealand." Returning to England, he went on with his studies at University College, won various distinctions, and took the degree of M.A. In 1866, after becoming Fellow of his college, he was made Professor of Logic and Philosophy and Cobden Lecturer in Political Economy at Owens College, Manchester. In the meantime he had done much to establish his repute as a thinker by publishing his treatises on the value of gold, the theory of political economy, pure logic or the logic of quality, and the coal question. The last of these works, which pointed to the conclusion that our coal supplies would eventually stop, excited many keen discussions, and a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the question it raised. In 1869 he brought out his "Substitution of Similars the True Principle of Reasoning;" in 1870, the "Elementary Lessons in Logic;" in 1871, the "Theory of Political Economy;" in 1874, the "Principles of Science," and at a later period, "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange." In 1876, having been made Professor of Political Economy in University College, London, he relinquished his appointment at Owens College, and in 1881 gave up academic work altogether, in order to devote himself exclusively to literature. His chief works were the "Principles of Science" and the "Theory of Political Economy," which embody his ripest theories on the fundamental doctrines of economics and logic. Whilst staying at Bexhill, near St. Leonard's, he was accidentally drowned when bathing on August 13, no person being near to see how the sad accident had been occasioned.

Sir Woodbine Parish, K.C.H. and F.R.S., whose death occurred on August 16, at Quarry-house, St. Leonards-on-Sea, in the 86th year of his age, was the eldest son of a gentleman of the same name, who was formerly Chairman of the Board of Excise in Scotland, his mother being Eliza, daughter of the late Rev. Henry Headley, of North Walsham, Norfolk. He was born in September 1796, and was educated at Eton. Having entered the Foreign Office at an early age, he was employed confidentially for some years by Lord Castlereagh, whom he accompanied on his special missions to Paris in 1815, to Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, and to Hanover in 1821, when he went there

in attendance on King George IV. Having afterwards been diplomatically employed in Albania, he was sent in 1823 by Mr. Canning as Commissioner and Consul-General to La Plata, with which he concluded the first treaty recognising the independence of the new States of South America. He was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres in 1825, and returned to England seven years later. In 1839 he was sent on a special mission to Naples, where he acted as Joint-Plenipotentiary with Sir William Temple (Lord Palmerston's brother) to negotiate a commercial treaty. He remained in Italy until 1845, when he retired. As far back as 1824 he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and for his diplomatic services in South America he was nominated a Knight Commander of the Hanoverian Order. Sir Woodbine Parish was a man of high scientific attainments, and a member of several learned societies both at home and abroad, and he had been a vice-president of the Geological and Geographical Societies. His name was well known in the scientific world as having brought to this country the megatherium, the glyptodon, and other fossil monsters from the plains and valleys of South America, and his work on the natural history, &c., of Buenos Ayres and Rio de la Plata received a very high encomium from no less an authority than Baron Humboldt. Sir Woodbine Parish was twice married; first, to Emily, daughter of Mr. Leonard B. Morse, of Norwood, Surrey; and secondly, to Louisa, sister of the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P. for the City of London.

Charles Morehead, M.D., C.I.E., late of the Bombay Medical Service, whose sudden death from syncope at Witton, in Yorkshire, happened on August 24, was the son of the late Rev. Robert Morehead, D.D., rector of Easington, Yorkshire, and brother of the Rev. George Jeffrey Morehead. He was born in 1807, and entered the Bombay Medical Service in April 1829 as an assistant surgeon. From 1835 to 1838 he was on the staff of Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, having in the former year been elected president of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay, which position he held until 1859. On the death of Sir Robert Grant, in 1838, he was appointed surgeon in the European and Native General Hospitals, and in 1845 became the first principal and professor of medicine in the Grant Medical College

at Bombay, established to give the natives of Western India the benefits of a professional medical training. From 1840 to 1845 he was also secretary to the Board of Native Education, and was a zealous promoter of every scheme tending to advance the cause of native education. He continued as principal of the Grant Medical College and surgeon of the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital till 1859, in September of which year he took a sick furlough to Europe, and finally retired from the Bombay Medical Service on June 30, 1862. He became surgeon-major in January 1860, and on September 6, 1861, was appointed an honorary surgeon to the Queen. He was also an M.D. of Edinburgh, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of that city, and in 1881 his services in the cause of Indian education were acknowledged by his being created a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. He was the author of various works treating of the diseases of Europeans in India, and also of the practice of medicine in that country. In 1844 he married Harriet Anne, daughter of the Ven. George Barnes, D.D., first Archdeacon of Bombay, the founder of the Bombay Education Society.

The Hon. Thomas Moreton Fitz-Harding Berkeley died on August 27 at his residence, Cranford, Middlesex, in his 86th year. The deceased was the fifth son of Frederick Augustus, fifth Earl of Berkeley, who died in 1810, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Mr. William Cole, of Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, and younger brother of Maurice, first Lord Fitz-Harding. He was born in 1796, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Mr. Berkeley, though the fifth son of his father, was the first born after the marriage of 1796, and would have been the sixth Earl by the decision of the House of Lords; but he never took his seat in Parliament nor assumed the title. He was one of the co-heirs to the Baronies of Mowbray, Seagrave, and Braose of Gower. By his death Mr. Berkeley's cousin, Mr. George Lennox Rawdon Berkeley, eldest surviving son of the late Admiral Sir George Berkeley, and grandson of the fourth Earl, became heir to the Earldom. He was born in 1827, and married in 1860 Cecile, daughter of Comte Edouard de Melfort, formerly wife of Admiral Sir Fleetwood Pellew. He has a son.

Paul Charles Edward Ziegler, colonel in the Federal Army, and a distinguished Swiss soldier and patriot, died on August 27, at Zurich, in his 83rd year. He attained the rank of colonel in 1844, the highest rank recognised in Switzerland, save when the country is in danger and the militia are mustered for service in the field. In the Sonderbund war Colonel Ziegler commanded the fourth division of the Federal Army, and greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Gislikon, which was won chiefly by his bravery and presence of mind. At a critical moment, when his division, to which had been assigned the duty of attacking the village, hesitated before the fire of the enemy, and was on the point of giving way, Ziegler and his adjutant-general, Landamann Siegfried, of Aarau, dismounted from their horses, rallied their men, and led them on foot to the assault. The Landsturm of Unterwalden and the artillery of Lucerne were compelled to abandon their position, and the Federal forces remained masters of the field of battle. When the claim of the House of Hohenzollern to the sovereignty of Neuchâtel gave rise to apprehensions of war with Prussia, Ziegler was again entrusted with the command of a division and the defence of the frontier at Schaffhausen. In 1860, shortly before the vote was taken on the proposed annexation of Savoy to France, an armed expedition of Italian sympathisers of various nationalities surreptitiously crossed the Lake of Geneva from the Swiss side, and landed at Thonon, with the intention of kindling an insurrection, and preventing the annexation by force. This incident threatened to embroil Switzerland with the Imperial Government, and in order to prevent a repetition of it, Geneva was occupied by a division of the Federal Army, commanded by Colonel Ziegler. The occupation lasted several months, and Ziegler executed his difficult task with so much tact and discretion that the Town Council of Geneva presented him with the freedom of the city and a complimentary address. Until 1860 Colonel Ziegler was a member of the National Council, and until 1865 a member of the staff of the Federal Army, but during the last few years of his life, although his counsel was always at the service of his country, he took no active part in public affairs.

In the same month may be noted:—On August 1, at Paris, **Princess Roland Bonaparte**, daughter of M. Blanc, the owner of the gaming table at Monaco. On August 2, aged 85, **Adjutant-General and Admiral Count Lutka**. He was called in Russia “The Patriarch of the Fleet,” and was distinguished for his hydrographic researches in the North Seas. On August 5, at Kensington, aged 74, **Williams Hutchins Calcott**, the musical composer and transcriber for the pianoforte from the scores of the classical masters. On August 6, at London, aged 64, **Sir Robert William Colebrooke Brownrigg**, second baronet. He was educated at Christchurch, Oxford, where he took the usual degrees. On August 7, at Wallingwells, Notts, aged 80, **Sir Thomas Wollaston White**, second baronet of Wallingwells, Northamptonshire. He was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for that county, and was formerly in the army. On August 9, at Silbitz, Silesia, aged 78, **Count Rudolf Bernhard Maria Von Stillfried Rattowitz**, Grandee of Portugal and Count of Alcantara. (See notice in *Times* of August 10.) On August 10, at Midhurst, Sussex, aged 66, **The Reverend Francis Hessey, D.C.L.**, late Vicar of St. Barnabas, Kensington. He was formerly head master of the Kensington Grammar School. On August 13, **Sir John Smale, F.R.G.S.**, late Chief Justice of Hong Kong. He was educated at Manchester College, York. Admitted as a student at the Inner Temple, afterwards admitted as a solicitor, and practised as a draftsman below the Bar till 1842, when he was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. He practised in Chancery, was appointed Attorney-General for Hong Kong in 1862, and subsequently Chief Justice of the same Colony. On August 17, at Paris, **General Ducrot**, a Bonapartist, subsequently a reactionary minister to Marshal McMahon. On August 19, at London, aged 86, **Dowager Countess of Rosebery**. On August 20, aged 68, **Guildford James Hillier Mainwaring Ellerker Onslow**, formerly M.P. for Guildford. His name will perhaps be best remembered for the manner in which he supported the claims of the convict Arthur Orton to the Tichborne baronetcy and estates. On August 21, at Tenby, aged 89, **General Francis Straton**. On August 21, at Blackrock, aged 56, **Charles J. Kickham**, who some years ago was known in connection with the Fenian conspiracy. (See *Times* of August 24.) On August 24, at Wimbledon, aged 72, **John Dillwyn Llewelyn, F.R.S.**, of Pendlelgare, Glamorganshire, one of the oldest members of the Royal Society. On August 25, aged 79, **James Murray**, the blind poet of Galloway, and author of the “Maid of Galloway.” On August 25, at London, aged 73, **Lady Havelock**, widow of Sir Henry Havelock, baronet, and daughter of the Rev. Joshua Marshman, D.D., of Serampore. On August 27, at Bournemouth, aged 63, **Charles Robert Scott Murray**, of Danesfield, and Hambledon, Bucks. He was formerly M.P. for the county, and was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant. On August 27, at London, aged 68, **The Hon. Heys Turnour**, second son of Edward, third Earl of Winton. On August 27, at Godalming, Surrey, aged 60, **Sophia Penelope**, Dowager Countess of Ichester and widow of the first Lord Hylton. On August 27, **Lady Louisa Mary Anne Tennison**, daughter of the first Earl of Lichfield, and author of “Sketches in the East.” On August 27, at Zanzibar, **The Right Rev. Edward Steere, D.C.L., D.D.**, Missionary Bishop in Central Africa. He was the author of some essays, and a History of the Bible and Prayer-book, and also prepared an edition of Bishop Butler’s works.

SEPTEMBER.

Right Hon. Mountague Bernard, D.C.L., died at Overcross, near Ross, Herefordshire, on September 2. Mr. Bernard was the third son of Mr. Charles Bernard, of Eden, Jamaica, by Margaret Anne, daughter of Mr. John Baker, of Waresley House, Worcestershire, and was born at Tibberton Court, Gloucestershire, on January 28, 1820. After passing through Sherborne School, he became a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, when the list of scholars included Mr. E. A. Freeman, Mr. S.

Wayte, Mr. A. W. Haddan, Mr. R. W. Lingens, and the present Bishop of St. David’s, whence he took a first class in classics and a second in mathematics in the year 1842. He afterwards graduated in law, obtained the Vinerian Scholarship and Fellowship, and was called to the Bar in May 1846, at Lincoln’s Inn, while in the chambers of Mr. Palmer, afterwards Lord Chancellor Selborne. Mr. Bernard, deeply interested in ecclesiastical questions, had a principal share in founding the *Guardian* newspaper,

and was for some years its editor. In 1859 he returned to Oxford as the first occupant of the chair of International Law and Diplomacy, which had been founded out of the revenues of All Souls' College by the University Commissioners of 1854. His lectures on contemporary questions were often valuable monographs, some of which are collected in a volume entitled "Four Lectures on Subjects connected with Diplomacy," which appeared in 1868. His careful observation of the international aspects of the struggle in the United States resulted in a substantial treatise on "The Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War," published in 1870. All the while he was discharging other useful and various academical functions, as examiner, member of the Hebdomadal Council, Delegate of the Press, and Assessor of the Chancellor's Court, in which last-named capacity it was his good fortune to be able to quash a charge of heresy brought against the Master of Balliol. He also took a leading part in assimilating the procedure of the Court, which had previously followed the practice of the civilians, to that of the Courts of Common Law. In 1871 Mr. Bernard was chosen to be one of the High Commissioners who eventually signed the Treaty of Washington. The critics of that instrument were disposed to hold Mr. Bernard largely responsible for its alleged deficiencies, but with no better reason than was afforded by one or two somewhat unguarded expressions used by him in a lecture given upon his return from America. He was immediately afterwards made a Privy Councillor, and, a few months later, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Council, and as such was one of the Judges who decided the important case of *Sheppard v. Bennett*. He was promoted by his University to the degree of D.C.L. He had been some years previously elected to a Fellowship at All Souls' College. But the academical period in Mr. Bernard's history was drawing to a close. In 1872 he was again absent, having been appointed to assist Sir R. Palmer in presenting the British case to the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva. In 1874 he resigned his Professorship and left Oxford, visiting it henceforth only from time to time as social engagements or College business called him up to his rooms at All Souls'. In 1868 he had been a member of the Commission on Naturalisation and Allegiance, the report of which led to the abandonment of the time-

honoured maxim of English law, "Nemo potest exuere patriam." In 1874 he served on the Commission for inquiring into the duties of commanders of British vessels with reference to fugitive slaves; and in 1877 he was appointed a member of the University of Oxford Commission, under the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act of that year. Of this Commission his combination of legal knowledge and academical experience naturally made him, at any rate after Lord Selborne had become for the second time Lord Chancellor, the leading spirit. To him, as much as to Lord Selborne, was due the character of the compromise between the Colleges and the University which formed the basis of the new constitution of Oxford. A large proportion of the complex code of statutes in which that compromise is embodied was drafted, and repeatedly redrafted, by his own hand. The immense and anxious labour bestowed upon this work may indeed not improbably have undermined a never very robust constitution and hastened his end. His last effort was an explanation and defence of the new statutes, in the shape of a letter to Mr. Gladstone, published only a few months before his death.

George Warde Norman, of Bromley Common, Kent, died on September 4, at his residence, in the 89th year of his age. He was the eldest son of Mr. George Norman, of the same place, and was born in 1793; was educated at Eton, and was associated with his father's firm in the Norway timber trade. He retired from business in 1830, but was long connected with the City, serving as a director of the Bank of England from 1821-1872, and as a director of the Sun Insurance Office from 1830-1864. He was also for many years a governor of Guy's Hospital and a member of the Public Works Loan Commission, and the last surviving original member of the Political Economy Club, founded in 1821. He was repeatedly examined before Parliamentary Committees on questions of the circulation and finance, and he gave evidence for six consecutive days in the inquiry which led up to the passing of the present Bank Charter Act. During the great crisis of 1847 he was in constant duty at the Bank of England, and was in daily consultation with Sir C. Wood, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was an earnest consistent Liberal in days when free-trade opinions were not prevalent among country gentlemen,

and he was a weighty, if not voluminous, writer on matters connected with free trade; one of his most important contributions being an essay "On some prevailing opinions as to the pressure of Taxation in this and other countries." He was for many years Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for West Kent. He took a keen interest in matters connected with poor-law administration; and the workhouse of the Bromley Union, which under his chairmanship was one of the first to be established, was officially acknowledged to be exceptionally well administered. A strong love of reading and a most retentive memory contributed to make him an accomplished linguist. He was familiar with Scandinavian literature, and he was extensively, as well as intimately, acquainted with the works of the later Latin poets, no less than with those of mediæval Italian writers. It was at Mr. Norman's suggestion, it is said, that Grote undertook to write the history of Greece rather than that of Rome, which he had originally contemplated.

Professor Emile Plantamour died on September 7, at Geneva. He was born at Geneva in 1815, and received his early education in the old College, founded by Calvin, after which he spent eight years in the then celebrated school of Hofroyl. In 1833 he entered the Geneva Academy, where he became one of Alfred Gautier's (the professor of Astronomy) most promising pupils. After graduating in philosophy, he resolved to make the study of astronomy the work of his life, a design in which he was encouraged by Gautier, who promised to vacate his chair in Plantamour's favour when the latter had completed his education. From Geneva he went to Paris, where he studied two years under the illustrious Arago. Another of his masters was Bessel, of the University of Königsberg, where Plantamour in 1839 took the degree of Doctor after publishing a thesis on the methods of calculating the orbits of comets. From Königsberg he proceeded to Berlin, and worked for some time with Encke, who speedily recognised in his quickness of observation and aptitude for complex calculations gifts that eminently fitted him for the career to which he had devoted himself. On his return to Geneva Plantamour received the double appointments of the Professorship of Astronomy in the Academy (since transformed into a University) and Director of the Observatory. In 1848 he took in addition the chair of

Physical Geography, and he retained all three positions until his health began to fail him a few months ago. In 1880 he published the results of ten years' observations of the fixed stars—a work that won him great consideration among the few who were competent to judge of its merits. At a later period he gave much of his time to the study of meteorology; his papers in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* and other journals placed him in the very first rank of living meteorologists, and he was one of the most active members of the Commission of the Helvetic Scientific Society for the observation of atmospheric phenomena. Equally eminent in the domain of geodesy, he became, in 1861, the representative of Geneva on the Swiss Geodesic Commission, and did useful work as a member of the International Geodesic Association, which three years ago held its meeting in this city. Both a modern linguist and a *savant*, Professor Plantamour was in regular communication with some of the most eminent scientific men of the day, with most of whom he could correspond in their own language. In 1843 he was made a foreign associate of the Royal Astronomical Society of England; he was an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences of Turin, and a correspondent of the French Institute. In connection with the Genevan Society of Arts he organised a watch and chronometer competition, which has proved of great service to the staple industry of Geneva. Watches and chronometers are sent to the Observatory, put to a variety of searching tests, the results published, and prizes awarded to the best time-keepers. In 1878 Professor Plantamour added to the Observatory, at his own expense, a great refractor with an opening of ten inches, and built a tower for its reception. A man of fortune, who might, had he so chosen, have spent his life in social enjoyment and lettered ease, he devoted himself from his youth upwards to the pursuit of science and the good of his kind.

Right Hon. Sir George Grey, second baronet, died at his seat, Falloden, near Alnwick, on September 9, in his 84th year. His father, the first holder of the title, was Resident Commissioner at Portsmouth Dockyard, and received his baronetcy for valuable services. But he also came of a distinguished family, being a brother of Earl Grey, the great Whig leader and Reformer. Young Grey, who was born

at Gibraltar on May 11, 1799, was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he gained a first-class in classics and graduated M.A. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1826, but shortly afterwards succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in October 1828. A few years later he entirely relinquished the profession of the law for a political career. After the important Reform measure associated with the name of his uncle became law in 1832, he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Devonport, a borough which he continued to represent for fifteen years. His maiden speech was delivered in support of the Irish Coercion Act introduced by Ministers in the Session of 1833. So serious was the aspect of affairs at this time that Lord Althorp moved for a call of the House before introducing the Government Bill. Political promotion was not long in coming, for Sir George had really shown much promise; and in the year 1834 he held for a few months the office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies. When Lord Melbourne came into office in 1835, Sir George Grey again received the post he had already held. His chief speeches for several years were delivered in connection with Canadian affairs. In the Session of 1837 the disturbed state of Lower Canada occupied much of the attention of the House of Commons. The discontented and rebellious Canadians found friends in this country, perhaps their most ardent defender being Mr. Roebuck, who was the paid agent of the Colonial Assembly. Sir George Grey answered Mr. Roebuck in a very able speech. In the following year Lord John Russell brought in a Bill for temporarily suspending the Lower Canadian Constitution. After Mr. Roebuck had been heard at the bar against the Bill, and Mr. Hume had moved to defer the measure, Sir G. Grey reviewed the whole of the Canadian difficulties in a comprehensive speech, and predicted that these difficulties would ultimately receive a peaceful settlement. He believed, also, that the Queen in Council would be able to avail herself of the powers contained in the Bill to shorten its duration, and he repelled the charges brought against the troops and the magistrates in Canada. Another question upon which the Under-Secretary was heard was that of Jamaica. In the Session of 1839 it was found necessary, after five years' experience of the fruitlessness of all recommendations to the

Jamaica House of Assembly, to suspend for a time the Constitution of the Colony. Sir George justified the action of the Ministry, and claimed that if they were liable to any charge at all it was that of too much forbearance. His mastery of the facts, in regard both to the Canadian and the Jamaica imbroglio, was so complete, and his speeches were so forcible and argumentative, that his assistance was invaluable to the Government.

In 1839 Sir George Grey became Judge-Advocate, an office which he exchanged two years afterwards for that of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1840 Sir J. Yarde Buller moved a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry, on the ground of the disturbed state of the country, which he mainly ascribed to the system of agitation by the Chartists, fostered and nurtured by Ministers during the preceding two years. Sir George Grey replied to the attack in a vigorous speech, which made a great impression upon the House. The Conservatives had long waged a petty warfare against the Government; now they challenged by formal motion the whole policy of Ministers, and at the close of a very exciting debate Ministers had a majority of twenty-one. The Melbourne Cabinet struggled on for another session, until it was overwhelmed by the more powerful and well-directed attack of Sir Robert Peel. In 1841, when the Whig Government went out of office, Sir George Grey, of course, retired with his colleagues. He took no part in the Free Trade and Corn Law debates and agitations of the next few years, devoting his attention mainly to Irish questions. But when in 1846 Lord John Russell came in as Prime Minister, Sir George Grey held the important office of Home Secretary in his Administration. It was during the memorable year 1848 that he attained the height of his fame as a practical and administrative statesman. When the country was in a condition of alarm, owing to the momentous events daily occurring upon the Continent and the demonstrations of the Chartists at home, he preserved a tranquil demeanour, and fulfilled the delicate and onerous duties of his office with discrimination and vigour. Early in the Session the Home Secretary introduced the Crown and Government Security Bill, a measure for the more effectual repression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. While the measure was intended to be applied to the whole of the United Kingdom, the

peculiar and critical condition of affairs in Ireland, in which agitation was at that time carried almost to the point of armed revolt, caused that country to absorb the chief attention of the House during the ensuing debates. It was during this discussion that Sir Robert Peel happily said, with regard to Feargus O'Connor's boast that if he got the Charter Beelzebub might sit upon the throne, he hoped that when the hon. member got the sovereign of his choice he might enjoy the confidence of the Crown. Sir George Grey made a powerful speech in introducing the Bill, regretting deeply that the seditious and treasonable designs entertained by certain parties in different parts of the United Kingdom, rendered the enactment of such a measure inevitable. The Bill was opposed at its various stages, but eventually passed both Houses. An Alien Bill was also passed during the Session, being piloted through the Lower House by the Home Secretary. It gave the Government power to deal in a summary manner with numerous disreputable foreigners who had taken up their abode in London for purposes unconnected with business or pleasure. At the time of the Chartist meeting in London, on the memorable 10th of April, 1848, Sir George Grey's precautionary measures met with the warmest approbation, and it was chiefly owing to his judicious conduct that a serious outbreak of popular violence was averted. Upwards of 150,000 special constables were sworn in; Feargus O'Connor and his followers were cowed, and the day passed off peaceably. The condition of Ireland, however, did not improve during the recess; and in the following Session, although the Government introduced several excellent measures for the amelioration of the sufferings of the people, they were also obliged to propose the renewal of the measure for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The disagreeable task of introducing the question fell to Sir George Grey; but he discharged it with considerable tact, and ultimately the proposal was carried. During this Session Sir George Grey made a telling speech on behalf of the Bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and one equally forcible against Mr. Hume's motion for Household Suffrage, the Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, and an equal distribution of seats. In the Session of 1851 he supported the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of Lord John Russell, which created such a ferment throughout the country.

Early in 1852, the Russell Ministry, which for some years had been subjected to the powerful attacks of its many foes, went out of office on the question of the Militia Bill, and Sir George Grey was now in Opposition. In the following July a general election took place, and Sir George Grey lost his seat for North Northumberland, for which division he had been returned in August 1847. He was now out of Parliament for some months, but in January 1853 he secured a seat at Morpeth. In the meantime the celebrated Coalition Ministry of the Earl of Aberdeen had come into office. For some time Sir George Grey remained a free-lance in the House, but in June 1854 he accepted the seals of the Colonial Office. He seldom spoke during the heated debates which took place in connection with the Crimean war, but he warmly opposed Mr. Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, asserting that there was no precedent for it, and expressing his surprise that any one should assent to a motion the only effect of which would be to paralyse the exertions of the Government at a most critical period. The motion, however, was carried by a large majority; the Coalition Government—the "Ministry of all the talents"—was destroyed, and Lord Palmerston came into office. In the newly-constructed Government Sir George Grey accepted his old office of Home Secretary. In the Session of 1857 he introduced an important Bill on the subject of secondary punishments, in which the ticket-of-leave system was remodelled and the power of transportation, although reserved as a right, was greatly modified by the new rules as to convicts retained at home. In 1858 Lord Palmerston's Government, having been defeated on the Conspiracy Bill, went out of office, but returned again in the following year, when Sir George Grey was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but in 1861 he once more returned to the Home Office. During the continuance of the Palmerston Ministry he introduced and carried through several useful measures, among them being the Prison Ministers Bill, which gave the inmates of prisons, not being members of the Established Church, the benefit of the attendance of ministers of their own religious persuasion.

In November 1865 Earl Russell succeeded to the Premiership, on the death of Lord Palmerston, the Cabinet remaining unchanged in other respects,

except that the Earl of Clarendon succeeded to the Foreign Office.

In the course of the Session of 1866, Sir George Grey introduced and succeeded in passing through both Houses Bills for stamping out the cattle plague, for amending the Parliamentary Oaths Act, and for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. On the defeat of the Russell Administration, Sir George Grey's official career closed. He formed no part of Mr. Gladston's Government in 1868, and although he still retained his seat in Parliament for a while, he retired in 1874 from public life altogether. In 1827 Sir George Grey married Anna Sophia, daughter of the Hon. and Right Rev. Dr. Ryder, Bishop of Lichfield.

Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D., the younger son of the Hon. Philip Bouverie—half-brother of the Earl of Radnor, having assumed the name of Pusey by Royal licence—was born at Pusey House, near Oxford, in 1800. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where, in 1822, he took a second class in Classics, together with Edward Denison, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. Two years after he gained the Latin essay prize for a comparison of the Greek and Roman colonies, and was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. Here he found himself immediately junior to John Henry Newman and in the society of William James, John Keble, Tyler, Whately, Hawkins, soon to be Provost, and Jelf, afterwards Principal of King's College, London. To these were added, two years after, Robert Wilberforce and Richard Hurrell Froude, both of them undergraduate members of the College at the date of Pusey's election.

In 1828 he was chosen to be Regius Professor of Hebrew, in succession to Dr. Niccoll, and he then took up his residence in the house in the south-west corner of "Tom Quad," which he retained until the end of his life. His first aim was to revive the study of Hebrew, which had fallen into disrepute, and then to establish a "Hall," or some such place as might retain at the University men of promise who had failed to obtain fellowships. In conjunction with John Henry Newman he took a house opposite Christ Church, furnished it simply, and did his best to attract to it scholars of repute or promise. A few years later, in 1832, the cry for Church reform was becoming general amongst the supporters as well as amongst the adversaries of the Church Establishment, and at this

moment the "Tracts for the Times" were launched upon the world. The first were anonymous, but after a few numbers it was understood that the responsibility for them rested with Keble, Pusey, and Newman; but from a statement of the last-named Pusey was not fully associated with the movement until 1835 and 1836, when he published his "Tract on Baptism," and started the Library of the Fathers. A little later he took a prominent part in the theological warfare which ensued upon the appointment of Mr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity.

In the year 1838, about midway between the beginning and the end of the Oxford movement in the strict sense of that term, Dr. Pusey preached, on November 5, in the University pulpit. The sermon, of which the real text was in the title-page—"In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength"—was on the providential government of the world, as asserted and illustrated by Scripture, and as proved by the course of human affairs. It was full of the preacher's life-long thoughts and feelings; but it might have been preached from any Protestant pulpit in Ireland, where the preacher's remarks on the national deliverance effected by the arrival of the Prince of Orange would have been more appreciated than in this island. From this moment St. Mary's itself became the scene of eager competition and rival demonstration. Every Sunday morning and afternoon the University had the use of the pulpit, while at four o'clock the vicar—subsequently Cardinal Newman—entered into possession, and preached to crowded graduate and undergraduate congregations. As he was always at his post, this seemed to leave him and his friends the lion's share of the coveted rostra, and all that his antagonists could do was to establish as close a monopoly of the pulpit as they could for the morning and early afternoon services. The pulpit blazed like an active volcano with "anti-Puseyism." All the authorities privileged to preach, the select preachers—selected, indeed, for the purpose—and the unselect, and the commonalty of M.A.'s coming up to take their turns, kept up an incessant fire of vituperation. Of course they had something to say, but they were not the men to stop there; indeed, it is a way of polemical theologians to go on. When several good men had been passed over in the choice of preachers, as too much of the new school, Dr. Pusey came to the resolution to absent

himself from the University sermons. He preferred, as well anybody might do, the parish sermons preached from the same pulpit by Newman. It was a strong measure, for the laws of the University required attendance from every member of the University, but as the same laws required every Doctor of Divinity to take his place in the procession before the service, and this rule had long been in abeyance, Dr. Pusey could claim the general licence of a negligent age. In 1843 Dr. Pusey's own turn for preaching came round; and he took the opportunity to give an exposition of the high sacramental theory in the utmost strength of language that had ever been allowed to English Churchmen. The Vice-Chancellor, the head of the Evangelical school, sent for the sermon, with an intimation that action would be taken upon it. Dr. Pusey immediately set to work elaborating his defence, and adding to his pile of testimonies from all ages of the Church. Soon, however, he heard that the Vice-Chancellor had revived for the occasion a long-forgotten statute empowering the Vice-Chancellor to create a tribunal of six Doctors for the trial of any person preaching or teaching contrary to the received doctrines of the University. What was more, he was informed that the sermon was all they required; they had it, and therefore did not want the presence of the writer. Dr. Pusey remonstrated publicly, officially, and through one who claimed to be a friend in the Board of six Doctors. The statute had been disinterred from arbitrary times, but not even in the most arbitrary times—the days of the Star Chamber—had there been denied to an accused person the right of making an appearance and saying what he had to say in his defence. The six Doctors, however, took the ground that this was a matter of domestic discipline; they had to preserve the peace of the University and the faith of young men not well able to take care of their faith themselves. A public trial, they said, would be worse than the sermon itself, and would spread the mischief and interrupt all other studies. After a week's secret deliberations it was found that the sermon was guarded from the Romish doctrine. It savoured not of Transubstantiation, but of Consubstantiation, and one of the members of the Board reminded his colleagues that Consubstantiation was preached in the precincts of St. James's Palace to the German members of the Royal Household, and was,

in fact, the creed of Luther, and of such as still hold to him, including some of the reigning German families. The Board had therefore to exercise caution. Accordingly it said not a word about the sermon, but suspended Dr. Pusey from the use of the University pulpit for two years.

Hereupon he returned to his work in connection with the "Tracts for the Times," with the Library of English Fathers, and the Anglo-Catholic Library. Meanwhile the movement with which he had associated himself was going forward. In 1846, when Newman joined the Romish Communion, Pusey was practically left the leader of the party which was to bear his name. He became the oracle and adviser of all who identified themselves with the Church and doctrines for which Laud had died, and for which the Non-jurors had sacrificed their hopes of worldly advancement. Dr. Pusey did not shrink from the part he was forced to play, and on all occasions was ready to express openly and decidedly his opinion as to the line which his followers should adopt upon every ecclesiastical question which bore upon their position as citizens. For nearly forty years he occupied this unique position and was looked up to by all, even by those who most differed from him, as the champion of the High Church party. Dr. Pusey married in 1828 Maria Catherine, daughter of Mr. J. R. Barker, was left a widower in 1839, and survived his only son, who had given some considerable proof of literary ability. He was enfeebled by several severe illnesses, by bronchitis, by pleurisy, and failure of the heart, in the last few years of his life. In the winter months he never left the well-known residence in Christ Church. There, in his library, he would carry on his correspondence and pursue his studies for ten or twelve hours in the day. But he had another interest and pleasure, which had much grown of late years. He would leave Oxford during the vacation, and in a single room, in a small cottage, in the pine woods of Ascot, pursue his studies alone. Miss Sellon, who had done so much, years ago, under his guidance and with his help, for the establishment of sisterhoods in Plymouth and in London, had with him built a Convalescent Hospital in the middle of some forty acres of heath and pines, which she purchased not far from Ascot. The sick poor came from the East of London, where Miss Sellon's Sisters worked, and from the London hospitals, to reap such good

as he could provide for them. It was his pleasure to be near them, to join in their services, to witness the devoted work of the Sisters; and it was here he passed away, on September 16, in the 83rd year of his age, surrounded by those who loved him, desiring only that his mortal remains might rest where forty-three years ago he had laid his wife, where he had taught as Regius Professor of Hebrew for fifty-four years—in the venerated Cathedral, and in the ancient "House" of Christ Church.

The Hon. and Very Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, died on September 17, at Hazelwood, near Watford, after a short illness, in the 73rd year of his age. He was the youngest son of Henry, first Lord Cowley, and brother of the present Earl Cowley; his mother was Lady Charlotte Cadogan, second daughter of Charles, first Earl Cadogan. He was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his Master's degree in 1830, the sons of noblemen at that time not being obliged to pass through the previous grade of Bachelor. He was ordained deacon in the same year, and admitted into priest's orders in 1831. From 1836 he held the family living of Strathfieldsaye, Hampshire, down to 1864, when he succeeded Dr. Neville-Grenville in the deanery, which he held down to his death. He was also Registrar to the Order of the Garter, Resident Domestic Chaplain of Her Majesty, Crown Trustee of the British Museum, and Lord High Almoner to the Queen, by whom he was much beloved and respected as a private friend. The Dean married in 1856 the Hon. Magdalen Montagu, third daughter of Lord Rokeby, by whom he has left an only son, Albert Victor Arthur, born in July 1865, to whom Her Majesty stood sponsor.

Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, F.S.A., formerly M.P. for South Warwickshire, died on September 19 from an attack of apoplexy, at his residence, Ettington Park, near Stratford-on-Avon. He was the eldest son of the late Mr. Evelyn John Shirley, D.C.L., of Ettington Park, and of Lough Fea, county Monaghan, by his marriage with Eliza, only daughter and heiress of the late Mr. Arthur Stanhope, and was born in January 1812. He was educated at Eton and graduated at Magdalen College, Oxford, taking his Bachelor's de-

gree in 1834. Mr. Shirley entered the House of Commons in the Conservative interest, as one of the members for county Monaghan, and sat for that constituency till 1847. In 1853 he was returned for the Southern Division of Warwickshire, and retained his seat down to 1865, when he retired. He was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Warwickshire and for county Monaghan, and served as High Sheriff for the former county in 1867 and of the latter in 1837; a Trustee of Rugby School and of the National Portrait Gallery. Mr. Shirley was well known as an able and indefatigable antiquary, and as the author *inter alia* of a work of high merit entitled "The Noble and Gentle Men of England," of which several editions have been published, "Historical Memoirs of the Lives of the Shirley Brothers," "Original Letters, &c., on the History of the Church in Ireland," "Some Account of Deer and Deer Parks," and a "History of the County of Monaghan." Mr. Shirley married, in 1842, Mary Clara Elizabeth, daughter of the late Sir Edmund Hungerford Lechmere, by whom he has left issue, besides three daughters, a son, Mr. Sewallis Evelyn Shirley, who was formerly M.P. for county Monaghan.

The Right Hon. Charles Stuart Aubrey Abbott, K.C.B., third Lord Tenterden, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, died, on September 22, at Nelson Cottage, Lynmouth, North Devon, after a short illness. He was the son of the late Hon. Charles Abbot (who died in 1838), and nephew of John Henry, second Lord Tenterden. His mother was Emily Frances, third daughter of the late Rear-Admiral Lord George Stuart, and he was born in Dean Street, Park Lane, in 1834. He was educated at Eton, and in 1854 was appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office. In 1858 he was employed at Naples in connection with the affair of the Cagliari; was nominated *précis*-writer to Lord Stanley at the Foreign Office in 1866. In 1870 he succeeded to the peerage on the death of his uncle, and in the following year he was employed as secretary to the Joint High Commission at Washington, for which service he was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath (Civil Division). Lord Tenterden was subsequently engaged in assisting the Lord Chancellor in the preparation of the case for decision respecting the Alabama Claims; and was appointed

agent for Great Britain at the Geneva Conference on the same subject. Lord Tenterden held the post of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1871 till 1873, when he was appointed to the Permanent Under-Secretaryship. He was a Royal Commissioner for the Paris Exhibition of 1878, and in the same year was promoted to a Knight Commandership of the Order of the Bath. He was also a distinguished Freemason, the Marquis of Ripon, as Grand Master, appointing him Senior Grand Warden in Grand Lodge of England in 1872. He afterwards became the representative in Grand Lodge of the three Grand Lodges

of Berlin. In 1879 the Prince of Wales appointed him Provincial Grand Master of Essex. On July 2 in that year he was installed in his office of Grand Master of Essex at Chelmsford by the Earl of Carnarvon with full Masonic honours. He was twice married—first, in 1859, to his cousin, Penelope Mary Gertrude, daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Rowland Smith, K.C.B., but was left a widower in 1879; and secondly, in 1880, to Emma Mary, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Charles Bailey, of Lee Abbey, Devonshire, and widow of Mr. Henry Rowcliffe, Q.C.

In the same month:—On September 2, aged 53, **Charles George Napier, C.E., F.G.S., M.I.C.E.**, of England and Ireland. He was a nephew of Generals Sir Charles and Sir William Napier, and was distinguished for his engineering works in Ireland. During the Crimean War he was third in command of the Army Works Corps. On September 3, at London, aged 84, **Peter Rolt**. For many years he was connected with the Thames Ironworks Company, and he took a leading part in the construction of the "Warrior," the first English ironclad man-of-war. On September 3, at Folkestone, aged 88, **Captain John Harvey, R.N.** He was a member of the Society of Naval Architects, and the co-inventor, with his nephew, Commander Frederick Harvey, of the torpedo, which bears their name. On September 9, at Whitehill House, Edinburgh, aged 63, **Lady Louisa Jane Ramsay**, widow of Mr. Robert Balfour Wardlaw Ramsay, of Whitehill and Tillinoultry, N.B. On September 10, at Florence, aged 68, **Il Commendatore Leopoldo Cattani Cavalcante**. He was well known throughout Italy for his philanthropic works. On September 11, **Dr. Thwaites**, at Ceylon, where he formerly directed the Botanic Gardens, and to the elaboration of the flora of which place he devoted himself. On September 12, at London, aged 56, **Major-General Alfred Bassano, C.B.**, of the 32nd Regiment. He served at the Siege of Mooltan, and during the Indian Mutiny. On September 13, at London, aged 83, **Sir James Alderson, M.D., F.R.S.**, Physician Extraordinary to the Queen. He was formerly President of the Royal College of Physicians, and was the author of various medical works. On September 15, at London, aged 44, **William B. C. Fyfe**, the well-known Scottish artist. (See *Times*, of September 18, notice.) On September 16, at Torquay, aged 83, **Colonel Kemeys Tynte**, of Cefn Mably, Glamorganshire, and Halswell, Somersetshire. For many years he represented in Parliament the Western Division of Somerset and the Borough of Bridgewater. He was senior co-heir to the Barony of Wharton, and co-heir to the Barony of Grey de Wilton. (Notice, *Times* of September 19.) On September 16, at Upper Norwood, aged 45, **Lieut.-Col. Francis Dundas Farquharson**. He served in the Chinese Campaign of 1860 as extra aide-de-camp to Sir Hope Grant. On September 18, at Musselburgh, aged 46, **Sir David Wedderburn, Baronet**, late M.P. for the Haddington District of Burghs. He was called to the Scottish Bar, but never practised; and was a great traveller. (Notice, *Times* of September 19.) On September 19, **Monseigneur Schachman**, Archbishop of Utrecht. On September 20, at Ismailia, aged 52, **Colonel Joseph Noble Beasley**, commanding 1st Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers at Ismailia. On September 20, **Dr. M. Allatini**. He was a remarkable Turkish philanthropist; a physician by profession. He established the excellent Jewish schools at Salonica, and was concerned in many works of unsectarian charity. He received decorations from the King of Greece, as well as from the Sultan. On September 21, at London, aged 72, **Sir Edmund Stephen Harrison, C.B.**, Deputy Clerk of the Council. (Notice, *Times* of September 22.) On September 21, at Malta, aged 29, **Commander Wyatt Rawson, R.N.** He had served in the Land Transport Corps in the Ashantee war, and was severely wounded at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, while pioneering the Highland Brigade. On September 21, at Bedford, aged 53, **Major-General Theodore Walter Boisragon, C.B.** He served principally in India, and lately commanded the 30th Punjáb Infantry. On

September 22, at Dilborn Hall, Staffordshire, aged 83, **Sir Edward Manningham-Buller**, of Dilborn Hall, Staffordshire, youngest son of Sir E. Yarde Buller, of Lupton, Devon. He entered Parliament in the Liberal interest as one of the members for North Staffordshire, and was created a Baronet in 1866. (Notice, *Times* of September 26.) On September 22, at Trevallyn, Wrexham, aged 87, **General Henry Dive Townshend**. He served with the 41st Regiment in the American war, and was present at the taking of Niagara, the battle of Lundy's Lane, and the assault on Fort Erie. He marched with the army to Paris. During the rebellion in Canada, of 1837, he was entrusted with several important commands there. On September 23, aged 59, **Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood Henderson**. He commanded the "Megara" in the Crimean war, and as captain of the "Urgent," received the thanks of the Colonial Office for his zeal and alacrity at the outbreak of the Jamaica insurrection. On September 24, at Yarmouth, aged 57, **Charles John Palmer, F.S.A.**, of Great Yarmouth, where he practised for many years as a solicitor and notary. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Norfolk, and the author of a work on Great Yarmouth, which fully justified his appellation of "The Antiquarian of the Eastern Counties." On September 29, at Biarritz, aged 33, **The ex-Duchess of Parma**. She was sister to the ex-King of Naples. On September 29, at Coldstream, N.B., aged 86, **The Hon. Mary Sidney Douglas**, widow of Mr. Robert Douglas, of Strathendry, N.B. She was the last survivor of the family of Archibald, first Lord Douglas, which title became extinct in 1857. On September 30, **Johann Jakob Herzog**, at Erlangen. He was the well-known editor of the "Real Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche."

This month there also died or the deaths were announced of **Professor Wöhler**, of Göttingen, the celebrated chemist. He was the discoverer of aluminium; did some illustrious work with Liebig in the field of organic chemistry, and wrote several well-known treatises on his special science. **George Leclanché**, the French electrician. He was the inventor of the form of electrical generator whose use is perhaps most widely spread. He realised a large fortune, and the manufacture of the Leclanché cell is an important Paris industry. **Dr. Albert Mossner**, of Berlin. He was the first Jew admitted to the degree of Doctor in Berlin University, and to practice as an advocate in Prussia.

OCTOBER.

Vice-Admiral Pothuau died at Paris on October 7, after long and cruel suffering from cancer in the stomach. He was born in Martinique in 1815, and till 1870 his career had not gained him prominence, though during forty years' service he had had an opportunity of taking part in important naval actions, such as the siege of Sebastopol. Not till the war of 1870, when already a Rear-Admiral and member of the Admiralty Board, did he emerge, as it were, from the ranks. The great and courageous rôle then played by the Marines is well known, as also is the curious anomaly that their services were chiefly on land. The Empire had been sluggish in its attempts to transform the Navy. The building of new ships, notwithstanding the great ability of M. Dupuy de Lôme, who had shown the utmost devotion, had not made sensible progress. The men alone had not degenerated; the naval artillery and the ships themselves did not inspire

implicit confidence. Throughout the war of 1870, therefore, the Navy, despite numerous schemes of operations on the German coast, and evolutions carried on under indecisive and conflicting plans, was condemned to inactivity. After Sedan, and when France became conscious of the gravity of her defeats, officers and sailors were landed and assigned fighting posts at Paris and in the provinces, and they then showed that their gallantry was still equal to their old reputation. Rear-Admiral Pothuau was among the superior officers to whom important posts were given, to him being intrusted the defence of the southern forts of Paris. He organised that defence with admirable energy, valiantly stood the fire of the besiegers, and soon gained the well-merited reputation of being one of the most intrepid soldiers France could still bring against the enemy. He particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Champigny, that strange

battle which France gained without knowing it, and which the generals in command knew not how to turn to account. After the war was over, Rear-Admiral Pothuan's name remained one of the most popular, and public opinion ratified with enthusiasm his promotion to the rank of Vice-Admiral, which he had won on *terra firma*. He was returned at the Parliamentary elections which followed the war, and he entered M. Thiers's first Cabinet as Minister of Marine as a matter of course, but his career as an administrator was not marked by any very important features. On M. Thiers's fall, Admiral Pothuan retired with him and ever remained faithful to him, yet could never be wholly consoled for loss of office. He gradually drew towards Marshal MacMahon, and again became Minister of Marine. On the Marshal's fall and M. Dufaure's retirement, he retained his portfolio with the other members of the Cabinet; but his place was no longer in the Ministry, and he was detached from it by being offered the London Embassy, in which he succeeded the Marquis d'Harcourt, who was bound to go out with the Marshal. The only thing marking him out for this post was the desire to detach him from the Ministry, together with a by no means perfect knowledge of English, but with a love of the English navy and nation. The desire to commence serious negotiations for a new treaty of commerce, and to keep M. Léon Say from becoming a candidate for the Presidency of the Senate, caused the Ambassador to be recalled after a very short sojourn in London, during which he had the misfortune to lose a young and charming wife, fitted to adorn an Ambassador's drawing-room and attract the *élite* of society. Notwithstanding his simple, straightforward, honest character, Admiral Pothuan unhappily contracted, after his second lease of office and his post as Ambassador, a thirst for power out of proportion to his political capacities, of which, by the way, M. Thiers formed a very accurate estimate. At a certain moment when it could be foreseen that Marshal MacMahon would succumb in the struggle against the Chamber, Admiral Pothuan, as well as several of his friends, thought himself destined for the Presidency of the Republic. "I am in the service of France," he then said, "and she can dispose just as she likes of me." After M. Grévy's election he counted on entering every fresh Cabinet, though events had really left him stranded,

and with philosophic resignation he retired altogether from the political arena.

Sir Robert Affleck, of Dalham Hall, Suffolk, died on October 8, at his seat, near Newmarket, in the 78th year of his age. He was the second son of the late Rev. Sir Robert Affleck, of Dalham (who died in 1851), by his marriage with Maria, daughter of the late Sir Elijah Impey, of Newick Park, Sussex, and was born at Retford, Nottinghamshire, in 1805. He succeeded his brother, as sixth baronet, in 1854. Sir Robert Affleck was a magistrate for Cambridgeshire, and a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Suffolk, and served as High Sheriff of the latter county in 1875. He married in 1850 Maria Emily, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Edmund Singer Burton, of Churchill House, Northamptonshire, by whom he left a large family.

Mr. Harmon Pumpelly, of Albany, New York, died at his residence in that city, on October 7, at the age of 88. He sprang from a vigorous stock of ancient Roman origin, which threw out a branch to Spoleto in the middle ages, whose representative went in the suite of one of the early Popes to Avignon, whence his descendant, M. Jean de Pompili, removed, in the reign of Queen Anne, to the American colonies. The latter there married the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Glover, of Plymouth, and was the father of John Pumpelly, who was born in 1727, on the same day as the celebrated General Wolfe, and who changed the spelling of the family name, though still retaining its original pronunciation. John Pumpelly served with distinction in the early Indian and French wars; was present at the siege of Louisburg, and was at the side of Wolfe when he fell mortally wounded on the heights of Abraham in 1759. He played an active part also in the revolutionary struggle, and likewise attained to a great age, dying in 1820 at the age of 93, after a long excursion on horseback. The Pumpelly family, like the Wadsworth family, removed in the latter part of the last century from Connecticut to Western New York, where they acquired large landed properties. Harmon Pumpelly was the youngest son of John Pumpelly, by his wife, Mary Bushnell—also the daughter of a clergyman. He was born in the town of Salisbury, in the State of Connecticut, on August 5, 1794. Having studied civil engineer-

ing and surveying, in order to lay out the large tracts of land belonging to him and his family, he soon became widely known for his remarkable administrative abilities, and gained great influence throughout the section of country in which he lived. His fine presence and handsome person, his skill in all manly exercises, his daring as a sportsman on land and water, and his intrepid courage and firm will, gave him a strong hold upon the affection and respect of all those who knew him. Having lost his first wife, the daughter of the late Judge Drake, he removed, nearly forty years ago, from Oswego, in the county of Tioga, which was the principal residence of his family, to Albany, where he afterwards married Maria, daughter of Mr. Peter Brinckerhoff. Mr. Pumpelly was president of the Albany Savings Bank, the Albany Gas Light Company, and the Albany Assurance Company. He was besides a director in the State Bank, and was connected with many other financial institutions. He was prominent in Church and charitable undertakings. He had been for many years the senior warden of St. Peter's Church, and was the oldest man in the county of Albany at the time of his death.

Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E., who died at West Stratton, Micheldever, Hants, on October 12, was born in 1840, the son of the late Arthur Burnell, of the East India Company's service, and by his mother's side great-nephew of the late Sir William Coke, Chief Justice of Ceylon. After studying at King's College, London, he passed for the Indian Civil Service in the fourth year of the competitive system, and went to India in the same year (1860). Till 1868 Burnell held subordinate posts in various districts of the Madras Presidency, from Malabar on the West Coast to Nellore on the East. After two years in Europe he returned, in 1870, to act as District Judge, again in various districts, but longest at Tanjore. At this place also was committed to him the duty of examining the great collection of Sanskrit MSS. in the library of the deceased Maharajah. His intense devotion to study, in addition to his official duties, impaired his health, and, after returning from a short leave to England in 1879, it quite broke down. In 1880 he obtained furlough, and after he had struggled through more than one dangerous illness his friends began to hope that, though either severe labour, or a return

to India, was out of the question, he might still enjoy a fair measure of health and accomplish some literary work. What seemed a happy occasion also favoured him in the grant of a "proportionate pension"—an exceptional measure, which circumstances led the Indian Government to concede to a few members of the Madras service who had not completed the obligatory period. The Governor in Council (Mr. Grant Duff), in publishing Burnell's retirement, placed on record his regret "that the Madras Presidency should be prematurely deprived of the services of so distinguished a scholar. His most important works were the Catalogue of the Tanjore Library, the Elements of South Indian Palæontology (for which the University of Strasburg conferred upon him a doctor's degree), and various publications on Hindu law.

The Dowager Marchioness of Normanby died on October 20, in the 84th year of her age, at Mulgrave Castle, Lythe, near Whitby, in the presence of Lady Bloomfield, her sister, and Lady William Phipps. The deceased was the daughter of the Earl of Ravensworth, and the eldest of seven sisters. She married the late Lord Normanby, and resided with him in Paris, where he filled the important post of British Ambassador. She also accompanied Lord Normanby to Jamaica, of which important colony he was Lieut.-Governor. During his Lord Lieutenantancy of Ireland, she fulfilled all the duties which devolved upon her high station with grace and dignity. Lady Normanby was much beloved by Her Majesty the Queen and the members of the Royal Family, and at one time had filled the post of Mistress of the Robes. After the death of her husband she retired into private life, and took up her residence at Mulgrave Castle. She was an accomplished linguist and musician, and a clever painter.

Lieut.-Colonel Robert Frederick Balfour, of the Grenadier Guards, who died on October 23, was born on April 30, 1846. He was the son of Mr. John Balfour, of Babinie, who married Lady Georgiana Campbell, second daughter of the late Lord Cawdor. He entered the Grenadier Guards in 1865, became a captain in 1869, a captain and lieutenant-colonel in 1876, and a major in his regiment in 1882. When his battalion was ordered on service to Egypt he accompanied it, and escaped without sickness or hurt until the battle of Tel-el-

Kebir, where he received a bullet wound in the lower part of his leg. He was removed from the field to the hospital at Ismailia, and was sent home as soon as it was possible to move him. For some time after his arrival in London there was every hope of his recovery, but symptoms of blood-poisoning appeared, which ultimately proved fatal.

James Charles Atkinson, died at Southampton on October 27, in the 100th year of his age. He was born in Middlesex on May 1, 1783, and commenced his seafaring career by entering the merchant service in 1796, in which he remained until 1803, when he joined Her Majesty's Navy as a volunteer. He served in the frigate 'Constance' until 1806, when he was promoted to be master's mate and transferred to the 'Pylades,' and subsequently to the 'Glatton.' He was promoted to master on January 29, 1814, and appointed to the

'Penguin,' an 18-gun brig, with 117 men. In the engagement between the 'Penguin' and the American corvette 'Hornet,' 22 guns and 177 men, off the Island d'Acunha in 1815, the 'Penguin' was sunk and the deceased taken prisoner with the remaining officers and crew. After some time, an exchange of prisoners taking place, he was released and joined the 'Beaver,' on the same station. He was next appointed to the 'Columbine,' and was shipwrecked in 1824 in the Grecian Archipelago. He served in the 'Racehorse' until 1833, when he retired from active service, so that he has been on the retired list for close upon half a century. He was promoted to staff-commander's rank in June, 1863. The veteran lost the sight of one eye in 1847, and had been totally blind for fifteen years, but otherwise retained all his faculties unimpaired until his death.

Amongst the other deaths during the month may be noticed:—On October 4, at Eltry, Cornwall, aged 86, **Philip Melvill, F.A.S., F.G.S.**, late Secretary in the Military Department to the East India Company. He was a distinguished member of the Asiatic and Geographical Societies. For many years he held the post of Secretary to the Board of Administration of the Affairs of the Punjab, and he was a member of a family long honourably connected with the service of the Honourable East India Company. On October 4, at Glassenbury Park, Cranbrook, **Thomas Walton Roberts, J.P.**, Honorary Colonel of 5th Battalion Kent Rifle Volunteers, and one of the most extensive landholders in the district, second son of Sir Thomas Roberts, who succeeded to the Kentish baronetcy under strange circumstances in 1809. On October 7, at Venice, **John Bunney**, an artist of considerable attainments, who had devoted himself to the reproducing some of the architectural features of Venice, and had been selected by Mr. Ruskin to paint a picture of St. Mark's, on which he was engaged for upwards of twelve years. On October 12, at Eastbourne, aged 62, **Sir Charles Decimus Crosley**. He was a magistrate for Middlesex and Berkshire, and as one of the Sheriffs of London at the time of the visit of the Emperor of the French to Guildhall, was knighted. On October 15, at Hill Vicarage, Gloucestershire, aged 73, **Rev. Sir Edward Harry Vaughan Colt**, 6th baronet. On October 17, at London, aged 75, **Lewis Pocock, F.S.A.**, one of the founders of the Art Union of London, and its honorary secretary, and well known as a Johnsonian collector. On October 19, at Ipswich, aged 66, **Edward Goddard**. He had held the post of President of the British Association of Gas Engineers, and was one of the earliest to direct notice to the uses of gas for cooking, and to the value of the residual products of gas-making. On October 22, at Berlin, **Professor Körner**, the author of various philosophical works. In his younger days he founded "free religious" congregations in various towns in Germany. On October 23, at Pesth, **Johann Arany**. He was the author of some of the finest ballads and epic poems in the Hungarian language. Some of his Shakespeare translations come probably nearer to the original than those of any other language. On October 24, at Berlin, **Dr. Adolph Sydon**, who was for many years a popular preacher of the school of Schleiermacher. He was greatly mixed up in the political troubles of 1848. On October 26, **Edward Mandel**. He had the reputation of being the best engraver of all Germany. On October 29, at Sydney, **Sir William Macarthur**, formerly an elective member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. He was Special Commissioner for his native Colony to the Universal Exhibition of Paris, and was knighted in 1856, and an officer of the Legion of Honour. He was energetic in developing the vineyards of New South Wales.

NOVEMBER.

George Rose, better known by his assumed name of "Arthur Sketchley," died suddenly, on November 11, from heart-disease, whilst he was sitting in his chair at home. Mr. Rose, who was 65 years of age, was a son of Mr. James Rose, and nephew of the late Sir George Rose, the well-known wit and Master in Chancery. He commenced life as a clerk in the Custom-house, but subsequently entered as a commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he took the usual degrees. He next entered Holy Orders, held curacies at Camberwell and Hoxton, and for some time officiated as assistant reader at the Temple Church. He resigned his position in the English Church about the same time with Dr. Newman, and was for five years tutor to the present Duke of Norfolk. Assuming the name of "Arthur Sketchley," he became the popular lecturer on "Mrs. Brown and her Sayings" on various topics of the day. This entertainment appeared subsequently in the form of a book with many sequels, which have been widely read, both in England and in America. He was also the author of several more important works, such as "The Great Country," and of many plays—"The Dark Cloud," "Up in the World," "How will they Get Out of It?"—and some lighter comedies.

The Rev. Sir Edward Repps Jodrell, was the second but only surviving son of Sir Richard Paul Jodrell, the second baronet, and was born on June 20, 1825. He was educated at Eton and Queen's College, Oxford, at which College he, in 1866, founded a scholarship in memory of his father. He was patron of the livings of Saxlingham and Sharrington, Norfolk, and was rector of those parishes from 1855 to 1861. The deceased baronet was lord of the manors of Reepham, Saxlingham, and Sharrington, in Norfolk; and of Lewknor, Oxfordshire, and Duffield, Derbyshire. Sir Edward married, in 1852, Lucinda Emma Maria, daughter of Mr. R. T. Garden, of River Lyons, King's County, and died on November 12.

Sir Andrew Buchanan, Bart., G.C.B., died, on November 12, at his seat, Craigend Castle, Milngavie, near Glasgow. He was the only son of the late Mr.

James Buchanan, of Craigend, Stirlingshire, by his marriage with Lady Janet Sinclair, eldest daughter of James, twelfth Earl of Caithness, and was born in the year 1807. He entered the diplomatic service in 1825, when he was attached to the Embassy at Constantinople. In 1830 he was appointed paid attaché at Rio de Janeiro, and from October 1831, till September in the following year, he was temporarily attached to Sir Stratford Canning's (afterwards Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe) special Embassy to Constantinople. In November 1832, he received the appointment of paid attaché at Washington. From March 1837, until September 1838, he was temporarily attached to the late Sir Charles Vaughan's special mission to Constantinople. Shortly afterwards he was nominated paid attaché at St. Petersburg, and in 1841 he was appointed Secretary of Legation at Florence. He held the office of Chargé d'Affaires from July 1842 till October 1843, and again for a short time in 1844. In April 1844, he was appointed Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, and he afterwards acted for some time as Chargé d'Affaires. In February 1852, he received the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Confederation, and in the following February he was nominated Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark. He was appointed to act as Her Majesty's representative at the Conference at Copenhagen in November 1855, for the definite arrangement of the Sound Dues question. In 1858 he was transferred to Madrid, and in 1860 to the Hague. In October 1862, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia, and in the following February he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. He was nominated to the post of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia in July 1866, and in October 1871, was sent in a similar capacity to the Emperor of Austria. In recognition of his diplomatic services he was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1867, and was promoted to a Knight Commandership of that Order in 1860. He was advanced to the dignity of a Knight Grand Cross of the Order

of the Bath in 1866. Sir Andrew Buchanan retired from the diplomatic service on a well-earned pension in February 1878, and in the following December the honour of a baronetcy was conferred upon him. He was twice married: first, in 1839, to Frances Katharine, only daughter of the late Very Rev. Edward Mellish, Dean of Hereford, who died in 1854; and, secondly, in 1857, to the Hon. Georgiana Stuart, third daughter of Robert Walter, eleventh Lord Blantyre.

Dr. Johann Gottfried Kinkel, a prominent actor in the revolutionary movements which agitated Germany during 1848. In that year, Kinkel, who occupied the post of Professor of Art History at the University of Bonn, took an active share in the political movements of the time. He was imprisoned, tried, and sentenced to death for high treason. It was only at the intercession of his courageous wife, Johanna, that the death sentence was commuted to one of imprisonment for life. From this dreadful alternative he was rescued by the daring of his friend Karl (now Senator) Schurz, who assisted him in escaping in November 1850, from his prison at Spandau. Kinkel fled to London, where he later earned a livelihood as a teacher of the German language. In 1866 he was appointed to a professor's chair at the Federal Polytechnikum at Zurich, which position he filled up to the time of his death, where he died on November 14, aged 65.

Edward Hawkins, D.D., Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, died on November 18, at Rochester, where he resided as Canon, at the age of 93. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School, he graduated at St. John's College, Oxford, taking a double-first-class; but, in 1813, having been elected a Fellow of Oriel, his subsequent life was connected wholly with that college, which became the centre of the Oxford Movement. In 1819 he was elected a Tutor of his college, in conjunction with Keble, Whately, and Tyler, all of whom were destined to make their mark in the world, whilst among the other members of the college were Arnold, Hurrell Froude, the two Wilberforces, Edward Denison, and John Henry Newman. In 1828 the Provostship of Oriel became vacant by the promotion of Dr. Copleston to the Bench, and the choice of the electors lay between Keble, Newman, and Hawkins. Newman, to the surprise of all, gave the whole

weight of his support to Hawkins, and his attitude determined the votes of the junior Fellows and the election. But it was not long before the new Provost came into collision with his Tutors. They were bent upon various reforms in the subjects and methods of study, and especially upon drawing closer relations between Tutor and pupil. Dr. Hawkins's idea, on the other hand, was, in Mr. Mozley's words, that of the French king, '*L'état, c'est moi!*' The disagreement led to the introduction of Hampden, a former Fellow, to give the College Lectures, and in time to the resignation of Newman. We have, however, Cardinal Newman's own assurance that the intimacy and friendship existing between them were not disturbed by differences of views on this and other more vital points. With another and very different member of the Oriel body, destined also to exercise a great influence upon English life and thought, Dr. Hawkins also maintained intimate relations. He had predicted that if Arnold were elected to Rugby "he would change the face of education throughout the public schools of England," and this intimacy and confidence were kept up in spite of divergences on such questions as Catholic emancipation and the admission of Dissenters to the University. Dr. Hawkins was chosen to be Bampton Lecturer in 1840, and was appointed Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis in 1847—being the first to hold the chair. As Provost of Oriel he held the Canonry of Rochester, and the Rectory of Purleigh, in Essex. Shortly after his appointment as Provost, he married Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Buckle, of Bristol, by whom he had one son and daughter. In 1874 his active connection with Oxford ceased, and his management of Oriel College was delegated to the Vice-Provost, Mr. D. B. Monro. His death in the same year with so many others connected with the Oxford Movement, revived the interest which that episode in Church history had aroused.

Dudley Ryder, 2nd Earl of Harrowby, K.G., D.C.L., died on November 19, at his residence, Sandon Hall, Staffordshire, after a long and painful illness, in his 85th year. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford; and was first elected to the House of Commons for Tiverton in 1819, which place he represented until 1830, when he was chosen for Liverpool, and remained its representative until 1847, when he succeeded to his father's seat in the House of

Lords. During the earlier part of Earl Grey's administration he was Secretary to the India Board (1830-1), and in Lord Palmerston's first Government he was successively Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lord Privy Seal (1855). He resigned the latter office in 1857. In 1859 he was created a Knight of the Garter. Although not taking a prominent place in politics, leaders of both parties often had recourse to his advice; and in dealing with religious questions, his co-operation was sought by both bishops and statesmen."

The Right Hon. Lord Otho Augustus Fitzgerald, died at Oakley Court, Windsor, on November 19. He was the third son of the late Duke of Leinster. He was born in 1827, and married in 1861 Ursula, widow of the first Lord Londesborough and daughter of the late Vice-Admiral the Hon. Charles Orlando Bridgeman. Lord Otho entered the army and served for some years in the Royal Horse Guards. He was Master of the Horse from 1855 to 1858, in the Household of Lord Carlisle when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1865 he stood in the Liberal interest, and was elected member for the county Kildare. In the following year he was appointed Treasurer of the Queen's Household, and subsequently when Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1866, he was appointed to the post of Comptroller of the Queen's Household, which position he filled until 1874.

Sir William Henry Walton, formerly Queen's Remembrancer and Senior Master of the Court of Exchequer, died on November 23, at Surbiton, Surrey, aged 83. He was the eldest son of the late Mr. William Walton, K.C., of Brasted, Kent, by marriage with Mary, daughter of Mr. Samuel Brooke, of Birchington, in the Isle of Thanet, and was born in the year 1799. He was educated at Eton and at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he took his

Bachelor's degree in 1822, and proceeded M.A. in due course. He held the post of Marshal and Associate in the Court of Exchequer from 1830 to 1836, when he was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. From 1838 down to 1874 he held jointly the offices of Queen's Remembrancer and a Master of the Court of Exchequer. He was knighted on resigning the post of Queen's Remembrancer. Sir William Walton served on the Common Law Commission from 1850 to 1856, and on several other Royal Commissions up to 1859. He married, in 1834, Louisa, daughter of Mr. Charles Legh Hoskyns Master, of Barrow-greenhouse, Oxted, Surrey.

Colonel Sir Edward FitzGerald Campbell, Bart., late of the 60th Rifles, died on November 23, at West Grinstead Lodge, Sussex, in his 60th year. He was the eldest son of the late Major-General Sir Guy Campbell, Bart., C.B., by his marriage with Pamela, daughter of the late Lord Edward FitzGerald, and granddaughter of the first Duke of Leinster. He was born in 1822, and, having been educated at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, entered the army as Lieutenant in the 60th Rifles in 1844. He became a Captain in 1850, Major in 1858, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in 1860, Brevet Colonel in 1867, and was placed on half-pay with the full rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1870. He retired from the army in 1872. The gallant officer served with distinction in the Punjab campaign, including the siege of Mooltan and the battle of Goojerat. In 1849 he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief in India. He was made military secretary to the Governor-General in 1859, and was appointed Assistant-Inspector of Volunteers in 1864. He succeeded his father as second Baronet in 1849, and married in 1853 Georgiana Charlotte, daughter of the late Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, but was left a widower in 1872.

During the month, the deaths of the following also occurred:— On November 1, at Marston, Beds, aged 82, **Thomas Tylecote, B.D.**, Canon of Ely; for 45 years the Rector of Marston Moretaine, and an author of some repute. On November 1, at London, aged 65, **George Critchett, F.R.C.S.**, an eminent ophthalmic surgeon. On November 3, at Ross, Herefordshire, aged 75, **John Maurice Herbert**, of Rocklands, Herefordshire, F.G.S., Judge of the Monmouthshire County Courts, a Magistrate for the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor and Glamorgan. On November 3, at Worthing, aged 69, **Staff-Commander John William Kinney, R.N.**, author of the "Admiralty Channel Pilot," and other sailing directions. On November 7, at Paris, aged 76, **Baron de Larcey**, the author of several historical works; an ardent Legitimist, though during M. Thiers' Presidency he accepted for a time the Ministry of Public Works. On November 9, at Bedstone House,

Shropshire, aged 68, **Sir Henry William Ripley, Bart.**, late M.P. for Bradford, the head of a large manufacturing and dyeing firm at Bradford. Although elected by the Liberals he was a staunch supporter of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, and received a baronetcy in 1879.—On November 10, **Mr. Edward Bowring Stephens, L.B.A.**, a sculptor.—On November 10, **Stanislas-Figueras-y-Moracas**, President of the Spanish Republic after the abdication of King Amadeo, but resigned his power in the same year.—On November 15, at Brighton, aged 80, **Sir Edward Hoare, 4th Baronet**.—On November 17, at Canterbury, aged 78, **George Gulliver, F.R.S.**, formerly Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology to the Royal College of Surgeons.—On November 18, at London, aged 64, **Carl Engel**, an accomplished writer on national music, and the highest authority in Europe upon the historical and ethnological development of musical instruments. The fine collection at the South Kensington Museum was partly brought together by him, and the Catalogue was from his pen.—On November 19, at Binfield Rectory, Berks, aged 92, **Venerable James Randall**, late Archdeacon of Berkshire, the author of several sermons and charges.—On November 19, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 76, **Honourable Gertrude Sophia Arbuthnot**, daughter of the late Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, and the widow of Mr. Archibald Francis Arbuthnot.—On November 21, at Aberdeen, **Dr. William Pirrie, M.D., LL.D.**, Emeritus Professor of Surgery in the University of Aberdeen.—On November 22, at York, aged 69, **Venerable William Hey**, Archdeacon of Cleveland, Canon Residentiary of York.—On November 22, at Herslewood House, Yorkshire, aged 62, **Joseph Walker Pease**, formerly Member for Hull.—On November 22, at London, aged 41, **Miss Rhoda Garrett**. She was the daughter of a country clergyman, and in partnership with her cousin, the sister of Mrs. Garrett Anderson and Mrs. Fawcett, set up as a house decorator and soon rose to eminence.—On November 22, at New York, aged 85, **Thurlow Weed**, a well-known American politician. In 1826 he was elected to the State Legislature of New York. Through his paper he became one of the most prominent wire-pullers of the Whigs, and subsequently of the Republicans, but would never accept a post, or suffer himself to be put forward as a candidate for either House of Congress.—On November 24, at Highbury, aged 78, **Andrew Pritchard, F.R.S.E.**, the author of many works relating to microscopic studies, and one of the oldest members of the Royal Institution.—On November 24, aged 79, at Appley Tower, Ryde, Isle of Wight, **Right Hon. Sir William Hutt, K.C.B.** He was member for Kingston-on-Hull in the Liberal interest from 1832 to 1841, when he was elected for Gateshead, which he represented till 1874. He was Vice-President of the Board of Trade from 1860 to 1865, and a member of the Privy Council.—On November 25, at Trant Court, Tunbridge Wells, **Elizabeth Charlotte, Viscountess Stratford de Redcliffe**, daughter of Mr. James Alexander, of Summerhill, Tunbridge Wells, 2nd wife of Sir Stratford Canning (1825), afterwards (1852) Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, who died in 1880.—On November 25, at Framwell Gate, Durham, aged 89, **John Bramwell**, Recorder of Durham, a member of the first Corporation, and four times Mayor of the city.—On November 28, at London, aged 71, **Lady Augusta Sarah Cadogan**, the daughter of the 3rd Earl of Cadogan.—On November 28, at Florence House, Fermanagh, aged 69, **Hon. John Lowry Cole**, son of the 2nd Earl of Enniskillen, formerly Conservative member for Enniskillen.—On November 29, at Maidstone, aged 56, **Ven. Thomas Lealtry, M.A.**, Vicar of Maidstone, one time Archdeacon of Madras.

DECEMBER.

The Most Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait, D.D., was born in Edinburgh December 22, 1811, the youngest son of the late Mr. Craufurd Tait, of Harviestoun, in the county of Clackmannan, a gentleman who did good service in his day as the fosterer of education and of scientific agriculture in his neighbourhood; his mother was Susan, fourth daughter of the late Sir Islay Campbell, some time Lord President of Scotland.

He received his early education at the Edinburgh Academy, then under the charge of the late Archdeacon Williams, a man of a very wide range of learning and scholarship, who is still remembered for his contributions to Homeric literature. Removing thence about the year 1827 to the University of Glasgow, he completed his youthful education, and obtained in 1830 a "Snell" Exhibition with which he went to Balliol College,

Oxford. He was elected to an open Scholarship at Balliol, and he took his B.A. degree in 1833, when he obtained a first-class in the school of *Literæ Humaniores*, one of his examiners being Dr. Moberly, the present Bishop of Salisbury. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a Fellowship at Balliol, and in due time he became Tutor and Dean, taking his M.A. degree in 1836. He examined twice in the School of *Literæ Humaniores*, in 1841 and 1842, and in 1843, shortly after he had quitted Oxford for Rugby, he was appointed a Select Preacher. His eminence and success as a Tutor of Balliol—a college which Jenkyns and an able staff were pushing to the foremost place, which it still occupies, in the University—were considerable, as measured by the academic standard of his time. His "Logic Lectures" especially, as well as his "Catechetical Lectures" delivered in chapel, were and are gratefully remembered by many an old Balliol man who had the privilege of hearing them delivered.

In the spring of 1841 the name of Mr. Tait, who at that time had become Senior Tutor of Balliol, was brought somewhat prominently before the world as one of the "Four Tutors" who publicly protested against the principles of interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles laid down by John Henry Newman, in his celebrated "Tract for the Times," No. 90, and so threw down the gauntlet to the Tractarian party, then just at the zenith of its power and popularity at Oxford. The publication of Tract 90 marked the crisis of the "Oxford movement."

In June 1842, the sudden death of Dr. Arnold caused a vacancy in the Head Mastership of Rugby School, and Mr. Tait was chosen as his successor against a very formidable field of competitors.

Shortly after his appointment to the Head Mastership of Rugby, Dr. Tait became engaged to be married to Miss Catherine Spooner, daughter of Archdeacon Spooner, vicar of Elmdon, and niece of Mr. Richard Spooner, for many years one of the members of Parliament for Warwickshire. The marriage took place in the summer of 1843, and the union was one of singular happiness. Mrs. Tait was the partner of all her husband's labours at Rugby and at Carlisle, in London, at Lambeth, and at Canterbury.

At Rugby Dr. Tait was an intensely hard worker, so hard, indeed, that before he had been there more than

six or seven years his work began to tell seriously on his health, and brought on a dangerous attack of rheumatic fever, from the constitutional effects of which he never entirely recovered. His disregard of personal ease and his eager love of labour were known and felt powerfully among old and young Rugbeians, who, like all other Englishmen, and especially public-school men, are apt to honour and respect "thoroughness" in those who are set over them, far above all mere intellectual qualities. In 1850 he accepted from the Government of Lord John Russell the Deanery of Carlisle, a post which it was thought and hoped would afford him some rest and respite after his labours at Rugby.

From the Deanery of Carlisle to the Bishopric of London was a great step. But the promotion had not been unearned. While holding his Deanery, Dr. Tait had taken an active part in the proceedings of the first Oxford University Commission, and it is well known that next to the late Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Jeune) he had the largest hand in the preparation of the Commissioners' Report. In the summer of 1856 Dr. Blomfield obtained leave to resign the see of London, and a Royal *congé d'élire* was issued recommending the Very Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait as a fit and proper person to be elected by the Chapter in his room. The offer of the see was conveyed to Dr. Tait by Lord Palmerston, who was Prime Minister at the time; but it is understood that the appointment was made at the direct suggestion of the Queen.

In 1868 Archbishop Longley died and the Bishop of London was appointed his successor. In 1862 he had been offered the Archbishopric of York by Lord Palmerston and had declined it by the advice of his wife. "This," says the Archbishop himself, "was before the organisation of the Bishop of London's Fund, and at that time I was in more vigorous health, and much work in London to which my strength was equal seemed to lie before me. The offer of the Archbishopric of Canterbury presented none of the difficulty which must have attended a migration from London to York." The offer was made by Mr. Disraeli during his first brief tenure of the Premiership, and the selection has always been held to have done great credit to his sagacity and freedom from party predilections in the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage. It is probable, moreover, that the Queen's personal preference was again exercised in favour of Dr. Tait. In any

case, Mr. Disraeli made a good choice, as the career of the Archbishop has abundantly proved. He chose a man who was well fitted to guide the Church with unfailing moderation and good sense, even though he might often be found voting on the side opposed to the Premier who appointed him.

The first measure of importance on which, after his installation as Archbishop of Canterbury, the new Primate had to give counsel was the disestablishment of the Irish Church—a measure of which he reluctantly acknowledged the political necessity, and in respect of which he accordingly strove to act as mediator between the two parties, though he considered that it was not politic to oppose it. A hasty visit to Scotland, where the first Scottish-born Archbishop of Canterbury received a hearty welcome, and a sudden and sharp illness were notable incidents in the first year of his archiepiscopal life. There was no “Suffragan Bishop” then for him to rely upon, and hard work told with terrible effect on a constitution which the labours of the See of London had seriously impaired.

One of the first works of the new Archbishop, aided by his noble-hearted wife, was the erection of St. Peter's Orphanage, in the Isle of Thanet, where his Grace had lately purchased a country residence. In 1870 the Archbishop was relieved of some portion of his heaviest duties by the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop of Dover, in the person of Archdeacon Parry; and a winter spent in the North of Italy contributed largely to the re-establishment of his health.

For many weeks previous to his death he had been unable to leave his bed—but his mind and heart were still active, and from his deathbed he was able to arrange, by the cordial co-operation of Mr. Mackonochie, a peaceful solution of one of the causes arising out of the Public Worship Regulations Act (1874) which he had been prominent in supporting in Parliament. His death took place on Advent Sunday (December 3), almost on the anniversary of his wife's death four years before.

Dr. Tait was the ninety-second occupant of the See of Canterbury, reckoning from the first arrival of St. Augustine, and the twenty-third in succession from the first Protestant Archbishop, Matthew Parker.

The late prelate was a Privy Councillor, an Official Trustee of the British Museum, a Governor of the Charterhouse, Visitor of All Souls, Merton, and Keble Colleges, Oxford, of Sion College,

of Harrow School, and of Highgate School; President of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and of the National Society; and President of the Council of King's College, London, and of St. Mark's College, Chelsea. For many years he was Visitor of Balliol College, Oxford, a society which enjoys the singular privilege of electing its own Visitor, and exercised it in favour of its former Tutor and Dean.

Louis Blanc, honoured in his country and esteemed throughout Europe and America, died at Cannes, on December 6, at the age of 71. He was born October 29, 1811, at Madrid, his family, originally from Corsica, having emigrated during the French Revolution. After the fall of the Empire young Louis was brought to France, and received his education at the College of Rodez, which he left at the time of the Revolution of 1830. Some time afterwards he went to Paris, and became a contributor to the newspapers. In 1836 he became chief editor of the *Bon Sens*, and in 1838 he founded the *Revue du Progrès*, in which he first published “The Organisation of Labour.” In 1839 he published his “Compte-Rendu des Idées Napoléoniennes,” and a few days later he was waylaid at night as he was returning home, and beaten senseless, but the perpetrators of this ruffianly outrage were never discovered. After the Revolution of 1848 M. Louis Blanc was elected a member of the Provisional Government, and this afforded him an opportunity to put in practice the doctrines he had advocated in his “Organisation of Labour.” He proposed, by means of a Government loan, to create social workshops for all the most important branches of national industry upon a novel plan; but the scheme failed, and the disturbances which followed led to M. Louis Blanc being charged with complicity in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government, and he fled to England, where he remained for twenty-one years. Here he lived in retirement, actively employed in writing his great work, “The History of the French Revolution,” which was published in twelve volumes. In 1865 he married, at Brighton, a German lady, Miss Christina Groh, who died at Paris in 1876. While in England he acted as correspondent to several French journals. He returned to France on the fall of the French Empire in 1870, and was elected the first of forty-three deputies for the Seine to the National

Assembly, and there protested against the peace. Since the peace he sat in the Chamber as a member of the Extreme Left, but in great crises his voice was raised only in the cause of peace, and to maintain harmony. A public funeral was awarded to him, his body being brought to Paris to receive that honour; and the sorrow displayed on the occasion, especially among the working and poorer classes of the population, showed the strong hold he retained on popular affection and regard.

Miss Kelly, a once famous actress, died at Feltham, on December 6. Miss Kelly, who was in her 93rd year, was a niece of Michael Kelly, the composer. She first appeared on the stage at Drury Lane in 1799, when she performed a small part in her uncle's opera, "Blue Beard." During the first half of the present century, Miss Kelly was the associate of Edmund Kean, Mrs. Siddons, and the Kembles, and was renowned for her acting in melodrama and tragedy. She is said to have been the original of Lamb's "Barbara S." in the "Essays of Elia." In 1816 she was fired at with a pistol while performing at Drury Lane by a man seated in the pit, when she appears to have had a narrow escape. Her assailant was tried at the Old Bailey, and acquitted on the ground of insanity. Contemporary chronicles state that "the rejection of his addresses by Miss Kelly had occasioned his complete alienation." An attack of a similar character, and under almost similar circumstances, was subsequently made upon her in a theatre in Dublin, where, though she escaped unhurt, one Captain Callaghan standing by received some injury. The little theatre in Soho, on the site of which the New Royalty now stands, was built by Miss Kelly, and arose out of a school of dramatic art that she had instituted. It was opened by her for operas and monologues, in which she took part, in 1840; but was not at any time very prosperous. Only three weeks before her death Miss Kelly received from the Crown a grant of 150*l*.

Duke Bernard of Saxe-Meiningen, father of the reigning prince, died at Meiningen on December 3, in the 82nd year of his age. Succeeding to the sceptre of his house in 1821, the deceased ruled till 1866, when, like the King of Hanover and the Elector of Hesse, he had to suffer for his hostility to the schemes of Prussia by abdicating

in favour of his son the present Duke. He married a Princess of Hesse, whom he survived forty-one years. His grandson, the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen, married Princess Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Crown Prince. The only fault of the deceased in the eyes of the Prussians was that at an important crisis for Germany he sided with Austria, and in the judgment of his own subjects that he was too little under the influence of constitutional ideas. For the rest, he was a noble, honourable, and benevolent Prince, and in honour of his memory the Court of Berlin went into mourning for eight days.

Anthony Trollope, the novelist, died in Welbeck Street, on December 6, of congestion of the lungs, aged 67. He was the son of Mr. T. A. Trollope, barrister-at-law, and Mrs. Frances Trollope, the authoress of "Widow Barnaby" and other novels, and whose descriptions of "Life and Manners in America," written half a century since, were so distasteful to Americans. Mr. Trollope was educated at Winchester and at Harrow, and having obtained an appointment in the Post Office, was for some years engaged in Ireland as a district surveyor for that department. It was while engaged in this service that he was enabled to make that acquaintance with Irish habits and character which he described in "The Macdermotts of Ballycran," a novel that appeared in 1847, and "The Kellys and O'Kellys," which came out a year later. In 1855 he brought out "The Warden," and in 1857 "Barchester Towers," the first of a series of novels by which Mr. Trollope is best known, and which include "Dr. Thorne," "Framley Parsonage," and the "Last Chronicle of Barset." Mr. Trollope remained in the Post Office till about twenty years ago, and was employed on some important missions for establishing postal conventions with other countries. After his retirement from the public service he also made several long tours in our colonies, and produced a number of books of travel, including "The West Indies and the Spanish Main," "North America," "Australia and New Zealand," "New South Wales and Queensland," "South Australia and Western Australia," "Victoria and Tasmania." Lately he visited South Africa, and embodied his experiences in two volumes. During the past summer he was in Ireland, and was busy on a book recording his impressions of a country which he knew and liked well at the time of his death.

He also wrote a little manual on Julius Caesar in Messrs. Blackwood's series, "Ancient Classics for English Readers," a "Life of Cicero," and a sketch of the life and writings of Mr. Thackeray for the series of English Classics. Among his latest works were "The Duke's Children," "Dr. Worth's School," "Kept in the Dark," and a novel called "The Land Leaguers," which was in course of publication at the time of his death.

Sir Thomas Watson, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., who died on December 11, at Reigate Lodge, Surrey, was the eldest son of the late Mr. Joseph Watson, of Thorpe-le-Soken, Essex, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Mr. Thomas Catton, of West Dereham, Norfolk, and was born at Kentisbeare, in Devonshire, in the spring of 1792. He graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, taking his Bachelor's degree, as tenth Wrangler, in 1815, and proceeding M.A. in due course. He took the degree of M.D. in 1825. He was appointed physician to the Middlesex and afterwards to King's College Hospital, and it was at King's College that he delivered the famous lectures on the principles and practice of medicine which have caused his name to form part of the history of medical literature. His skill in the application of his knowledge was as remarkable as the depth and extent of the knowledge itself; and his practice, which soon became very considerable, had its origin almost entirely in the value which his professional brethren attached to his opinion in any case of difficulty or of doubt. He was conspicuous for the scrupulous manner in which he upheld the highest and best traditions of his calling, and was not more admired for his ability than he was honoured for his integrity. He was frequently elected upon the Council of the College of Physicians from the year 1836, and ultimately filled the office of President. He was Physician in Ordinary to Her Majesty, a Fellow of the Royal Society, a Fellow, and afterwards Honorary Fellow, of St. John's College, Cambridge, a member of the Council of King's College, and of the General Medical Council, an Honorary LL.D. of Cambridge and D.C.L. of Oxford, an Honorary Fellow of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland, and a Baronet. He married, in 1825, Sarah, third daughter of Mr. Edward Jones, of Brackley, Northamptonshire, but was left a widower in 1830. His Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Physic, of which the first

edition appeared in 1845, were remarkable for their polished literary style and lucidity of expression, as well as for their careful research, and for long they have been regarded as one of the best text-books of the applications of medicine.

The Right Hon. Henry Jeffrey Flower, sixth Viscount Ashbrook in the peerage of Ireland, who died on December 14 at Castle Durrow, Queen's County, at the age of 53, was the eldest son of Henry, fifth Viscount, by his marriage with Frances, daughter of the late Rev. Sir John Robinson, of Rokeby Hall, county Louth. He was born in March 1829, and was educated at Eton. He served for some years in the Army, from which he retired as captain. He was a deputy-lieutenant for the Queen's County, and served as High Sheriff in 1856. Lord Ashbrook succeeded to his father's title in 1871. He married, in 1860, Emily, daughter of the late Mr. J. F. Abington, of Esher, Surrey, from whom he obtained a divorce in 1877.

Princess of Capua. Penelope Smyth, who married his Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Capua, brother of the celebrated Bomba, died on December 15, at the Royal Villa of Martia, near Lucca. Miss Smyth was the daughter of Mr. Grice Smyth, of Ballynatray, county Waterford, and her marriage with the Prince of Capua took place in 1836. She was left a widow in 1862, with two children, Francesco Ferdinando Carlo, Prince of Capua, and Vittoria Augusta Penelope. The marriage was attended by some romantic incidents. The *Times* of May 5, 1836, contained the report of an application which was made on the previous day to the Court of Faculties at Doctors' Commons for a licence to solemnise, or re-solemnise, a marriage between the parties according to the forms of the Church of England, but was stopped by a *caveat* entered by Count de Ludolf, the Sicilian Envoy, on the part of King Bomba, the Prince and the lady having eloped from Naples. The application came before the Court, which it was believed had not sat for a century previously, in the shape of a suit by an act on petition. The case was argued at some length. The proctor for King Bomba's Minister urged that by decrees of the Sicilian Kingdom no valid marriage could be contracted by a Prince of the blood Royal without the consent of the reigning Sovereign; that the marriage contemplated in this case had been expressly forbidden by the

King; that the Prince of Capua had only recently arrived in England, where he had no place of abode, and that consequently the petition should be rejected. On the other side it was argued that both the parties were of age and had fulfilled the preliminary requirements of the English law, that one of them was a British-born subject, and that no lawful impediment existed to bar the union. To this it was replied that the grant of a licence was a matter of grace and favour, and that this was not a case in which such a dispensation from the ordinary form of law should be conceded. The Master of the Faculties (Dr. Nicholl), after taking a day to consider the matter, refused the licence. The banns were afterwards published in the ordinary way, and although they were forbidden, no cause against the marriage was shown, and it was celebrated at St. George's, Hanover Square. The Prince and Miss Smyth appear to have spared no pains to insure the validity of the marriage, which had been performed three times before—once in Rome, by Cardinal Weld, once in Madrid, and once at Gretna-green.

The Right Rev. Alfred Ollivant, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff, died at his cathedral city on December 16, after a short illness, in his 85th year, having been born in 1798. He was the last survivor of the eighteenth century on the Episcopal Bench, and he had been for several years the senior bishop in date of consecration. A son of the late Mr. William Ollivant, of Manchester, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Stephen Langton, of Great Horwood, Buckinghamshire, some time an alderman of London, he was sent at an early age to St. Paul's School; he passed thence in due course to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his Bachelor's Degree in 1821 as sixth Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Medallist. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a Fellowship, which he vacated by his marriage, in 1828; with Alicia Olivia, daughter of the late Lieutenant-General William Spencer, of Bramley Grange, Yorkshire. From 1827 down to 1843 he held the Vice-Principalship of St. David's College, Lampeter, where, as chaplain to Bishops Jenkinson and Thirlwall, of St. David's, he made himself practically acquainted with the Welsh language. From 1843 down to 1849 he held the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, to which was annexed the rectory of Somersham, in Huntingdonshire. In 1849 he was con-

secrated as Dr. Copleston's successor in the See of Llandaff, which up to that time had been so poorly endowed that it was generally held in conjunction with the Deanery of St. Paul's, or some other valuable preferment. Dr. Ollivant was the ninety-second occupant of the See of Llandaff, which is said to have been founded early in the sixth century.

The Very Rev. Francis Close, D.D., late Dean of Carlisle, died on December 17, in his 86th year, at Penzance, where he was wintering for the benefit of his health. He was the youngest son of the late Rev. Henry Jackson Close, Rector of Bentworth, Hants. Having received his early education under the Rev. Dr. Cherry, then Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School, and subsequently under the Rev. John Scott, of Hull, at the age of 19 he entered as a commoner at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became a scholar. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1820, and proceeded M.A. in due course. He had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1857. He was ordained deacon in 1820, and priest in the following year, by Dr. Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield. Having held for a short time the curacy of Church Lawford, near Rugby, in Warwickshire, he was removed in 1822 to the curacy of Willesden and Kingsbury, Middlesex. Thence, in 1824, he exchanged to Cheltenham, and became curate to the Rev. Charles Jervis, the incumbent. On the death of Mr. Jervis in 1826, Mr. Close was presented to the incumbency, and from that date till 1856 he devoted himself entirely to his parochial duties, distinguishing himself as an eloquent exponent of the doctrines of the "Evangelical" school in the Church of England. At the time Mr. Close entered upon the incumbency of Cheltenham, the population of that town was under 19,000, a number which had more than doubled by the time he relinquished it. During his career at Cheltenham, he erected, or caused to be erected, no fewer than five district churches with schools, and he also contributed largely to the establishment of Cheltenham College. In 1856, on the recommendation of Lord Palmerston, Mr. Close was nominated to the Deanery of Carlisle, vacant by the elevation of Dr. Tait to the Bishopric of London. He held the perpetual curacy of St. Mary's, Carlisle, from 1865 to 1868. In August 1881, he resigned the Deanery through failing health.

Léon Michel Gambetta, ex-Dictator of France, died at his residence, Ville d'Avray, near Paris, in the last few minutes of the year. He was born October 30, 1838, at Cahors, where his father, of Genoese extraction, kept a small grocer's shop opposite the cathedral. Léon was first sent to the Petit Séminaire of the diocese of Montfaucon, but was shortly transferred to the secular Lycée at Cahors, where he gave proof of great ability but of little application. In 1857 he came to Paris to study law, and speedily became known among the students of the Quartier Latin as a vehement exponent of anti-Bonapartist and Liberal views. His studies, however, brought him but a small amount of work, and he became private secretary first to Maître Lachaud, and subsequently to M. Jules Favre; but it was not until 1868 that the prosecution of the newspapers which had published lists of subscribers to the Baudin testimonial, afforded him an opportunity of making himself known to the public. His speech in defence of the accused was an invective against the Empire which took Paris and the whole of France by storm, and from that moment he was regarded as the man who had given the death-blow to Imperialism. In March 1869, having gone to Toulouse to defend a newspaper, he received a series of ovations throughout the South of France, and a few months later was elected to the Corps Législatif as deputy by both Marseilles and Belleville. He chose to sit for the former constituency, and at once commenced to attack the ministry of M. Emile Ollivier, predicting the ultimate advent of the Republic. The fulfilment was not long delayed, for in less than a year, on September 5, 1870, after the catastrophe of Sedan, the Empire collapsed, and M. Gambetta was named Minister of the Interior in the Government of National Defence which succeeded to power. The Germans were rapidly advancing upon Paris, and Gambetta threw himself with energy and ability into the task of organising the defences of the capital. His efforts to prevent its investment were unavailing, and misunderstandings arising between the Central Committee in Paris and the Tours delegation, Gambetta was despatched in a balloon to adjust the differences. He left Paris October 7, and passing safely over the German lines, landed at Rouen. He soon composed the differences between the Tours delegation and the Central Committee by practically superseding both. For the next five months M. Gambetta was

Dictator. He levied *en masse* the whole manhood of France, and hurled against the Prussian lines army after army of improvised soldiers. Nothing could exceed his fiery energy, his marvellous industry, his unflagging courage. His appeals rang like a trumpet-blast through France, and armies sprang as it were from the ground. The destinies were adverse. More than once a faint gleam of success shone on the French arms, but it was but transient. Bazaine capitulated, and with the fall of Metz vanished the last hope of the deliverance of France. The struggle was continued, however, until Paris itself surrendered. M. Gambetta, hopeful to the last, refused to abandon the contest; he demanded that the war should be carried on *à outrance*, and that an Assembly should be elected to carry on the struggle. He issued a decree on January 31, 1871, declaring ineligible for election all functionaries of the Empire. This ostracism was objected to by Prince Bismarck, over-ruled by the Government at Paris, and M. Gambetta thereupon resigned. He was no longer in agreement, he said, with the Government in ideas or hopes. From Bordeaux he went to Spain, and remained in retirement for some months. Although elected for Paris in his absence, he took no part in the earlier sittings of the Assembly, and so avoided all share in the suppression of the Commune.

With his return to Paris after the suppression of the Commune began the second part of his remarkable career. M. Thiers was then head of the Executive Government; M. Gambetta was the recognised chief of the advanced Republicans. His first appearance in that capacity was at Grenoble in September 1872, where he laid down the programme upon which the Republican party ultimately succeeded in achieving a complete victory. From being the *fonfureux* of M. Thiers M. Gambetta became the acknowledged leader of Republican France, and in his turn, like M. Thiers, the most eminent Frenchman of his time. In February 1875, the National Assembly voted the Republican form of Constitution, and in April M. Gambetta delivered a famous speech at Belleville, defending the moderation of the Republicans from the attacks of the Irreconcilables. From being denounced as a madman, he became notorious as the inventor, or at least as the leading exponent, of Opportunism. In November 1875, in common with the old Republican party, and including M. Grévy, he opposed the

vote of the Assembly, establishing *scrutin d'arrondissement* as the aim of the election of the new Chamber. At the elections of 1876 M. Gambetta was again returned for Belleville, and soon after he became President of the Budget Committee. The great struggle, in which he played a part not less important than that of his dictatorship at Tours, was in 1877, when, after May 16, the Duc de Broglie took office in order to restore the monarchy. For some months France seemed to be in imminent prospect of a civil war. That such a catastrophe was staved off, and that the Republic was peacefully established in spite of the utmost efforts of the Administration, was due in by far the largest measure to the zeal, the vigour, and the organising capacity of M. Gambetta. The Duc de Broglie formed a fighting Ministry on May 17 in order to crush the Republic. It was censured by the Chamber by a vote of 363 votes to 158. A dissolution was ordered, and both parties went to the country. "We go out 363," said M. Gambetta, "and 363 we shall return." The prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. But the struggle while it lasted was fierce. M. Gambetta was living on terms of the utmost intimacy with M. Clémenceau, and the two worked hand in glove in opposing the Royalist intrigues. Everything was arranged on one side for the triumphal entry of Henri Cinq. On the other side preparations were made as secretly and not less resolutely for armed resistance should a *coup d'état* have been attempted. Fortunately matters did not come to that extremity, and in the end Marshal McMahon abandoned the contest. A remarkable incident of the electoral struggle was the prosecution which M. Gambetta had to undergo before the Eleventh Correctional Tribunal of Paris for having declared at a private meeting at Lille of the Marshal-President of the Republic, "Il faudra ou se soumettre, ou se démettre." M. Gambetta was condemned two days before the poll on October 24 to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 4,000 francs. Two days later he was re-elected for Belleville. The struggle was transferred from the constituencies to the Chamber. M. Gambetta did not go to gaol, and Marshal MacMahon did resign. In the beginning of 1878 the Republic was saved. M. Grévy was made President, but M. Gambetta was universally regarded as the saviour of Republican France. After the great Royalist conspiracy had been foiled, and the

Republic was secured, M. Gambetta towered head and shoulders above all other politicians as the most influential of French statesmen. He declined to take office, preferring to 'make and unmake Cabinets rather than to sit in them, giving as his reason that no strong Government in France was possible until elective *scrutin de liste* had superseded the *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

One of the most curious incidents in this period of his career was his duel with M. de Fourtou. In the course of a debate in 1878 he called the ex-Minister a liar, and a duel took place with pistols, in which, as usual on such occasions, no one was hurt. He secured a period of temporary and partial retirement by the acceptance of the Presidency of the Chambers, a post which he held till the close of 1880, when he left the Presidential Chamber to undertake the formation of a Ministry.

Towards the close of the year 1880, the Ferry Ministry was discredited by the mismanagement of the Tunis expedition, and the expectation that M. Gambetta must assume the Premiership became general. In the meantime, however, he had mysteriously disappeared, and a report was spread that he had gone to Germany to have a secret interview with Prince Bismarck. This report was subsequently denied by Prince Bismarck himself. When the Assembly opened on October 28, 1880, M. Gambetta, in order to test the strength of his majority, again became a candidate for the Presidency of the Chamber, and obtained 317 votes out of 364. The speedy fall of the Ferry Ministry was from that time regarded as inevitable. M. Ferry himself brought about the crisis, by making on November 5 a statement about the Tunis campaign, which led to a general and somewhat confused discussion. After the debate had lasted four days, M. Gambetta proposed, in order that it should not "wind up with an avowal of impotence," a perfectly neutral order of the day, merely stating that the Chamber was resolved on the integral execution of the Bardo Treaty. This was adopted by 379 to 71, and the result was that on November 10 M. Ferry resigned, and M. Gambetta was summoned by President Grévy to form a Ministry. It was days before he succeeded in this task; M. Léon Say, M. de Freycinet, and most of the practised statesmen to whom he applied declining to join the new Cabinet, which, when the list was

issued, was found to contain only two members of the retiring Cabinet, and none who had ever held high office before. The Chamber became distrustful of the new Premier, who, it was feared, wished to establish a virtual dictatorship. The faults of the subordinates were all visited upon the head of the Ministry, and when M. Gambetta produced, in January 1882, his scheme for the revision of the Constitution, the Chamber, after several days' debates, on January 26, rejected the *scrutin de liste* proposal by 305 to 110, and M. Gambetta at once resigned, after retaining office barely three months.

From that time he took no very prominent part in public affairs. As chairman of the Military Committee he made one noteworthy speech, urging that all classes should alike be liable to military service, and he spoke in some of the debates on the Egyptian question. On November 27 he met with an accident. He was handling a revolver

at his residence at Ville d'Avray, when the weapon accidentally went off, and the bullet entered the palm of the hand, and came out at the wrist. For some time no serious consequences were anticipated, and rumours of an unfavourable character were on December 3 contradicted in a medical bulletin, which stated that six doctors had examined the patient and had found his condition to be most satisfactory. On the 13th he was reported convalescent; but a few days afterwards there were rumours that M. Gambetta's illness had taken an unfavourable turn.

Until the last his friends hoped for a change for the better, and concealed from the public the real state of the patient. Internal inflammation had, however, set in, and was beyond the reach of medical skill—whilst Gambetta's constitution, never robust, failed to resist the inroads of an acute disease. For some time before his death he suffered terrible agony; but he was conscious and self-possessed to the very end.

In the course of the same month may be mentioned:—On the 1st, at Paris, aged 40, **M. Delaroche Vernet**, Chef de Cabinet to M. Duclerc. He was the son of Delaroche, and grandson of Vernet, the painters.—On the 2nd, at Bournemouth, aged 75, **Major John James Greig, C.B.**, for many years Head Constable of Liverpool, and was made a C.B. in recognition of the important service he performed in connection with the Fenian Conspiracy to surprise Chester Castle.—On the 3rd, at Cambridge, aged 78, **Rev. James Challis, M.A., F.R.S.**, Plumian Professor of Astronomy, and Fellow of the University of Cambridge. He published a considerable number of scientific works, including twelve volumes of Astronomical Observations.—On the 3rd, at Blackheath, aged 58, **George Chetwynd, C.B.**, Receiver and Accountant-General at the General Post Office.—On the 6th, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, aged 65, **Sir John Murray**, of Philiphaugh and Melgund, N.B., sixth Baronet.—On the 6th at Dublin, aged 57, **Surgeon-General John Gibbons, C.B.** He had served in the Crimean War and during the Indian Mutiny.—On the 6th, aged 63, **Alfred Escher**, for many years President of the Government of Zurich, and the most influential Liberal Member of the National Assembly.—On the 8th, at Combe Rectory, Suffolk, aged 34, **Hon. and Rev. Richard Ashburnham**, the son of the fourth Earl of Ashburnham.—On the 9th, aged 64, **Maitre Lachaud**, a distinguished member of the French Bar; and there was scarcely a great criminal case in which his services were not sought; of marked Bonapartist views, but Gambetta's first employer.—On the 9th, at Denham Court, Bucks, aged 71, **Nathaniel Grace Lambert**, of Denham Court, Bucks. He formerly represented that county in the Conservative interest.—On the 9th, at St. Leonards, aged 78, **Sir Joseph Napier, Bart.**, Lord Chancellor for Ireland, under Lord Derby's second administration, in 1858, and a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England.—On the 11th, at Paris, aged 87, **William Galignani**, the younger of the two brothers through whose exertions the *Messenger* extended its influence for half a century. Their father founded the *Messenger* in 1814. Mr. William Galignani was Mayor of Soisy-sous-Etiolles, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour.—On the 11th, at Rome, aged 78, **Michael Angelo Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta**. A most accomplished member of the Roman aristocracy, and a staunch Liberal.—On the 12th, at Seend Manor House, near Bath, aged 92, **Admiral John William Montagu**, of Didcot Manor and Stowell Lodge, Wiltshire, last surviving son of Admiral Sir George Montagu, G.C.B. He entered the Navy in 1807, and was three times gazetted in 1813 for special acts of gallantry.—On the 13th, at Berlin, aged 83, **Princess Frederick of Prussia**. She was a daughter of the Duke of Anhalt-Bernburg, and married the cousin of the Emperor.—On the 16th, at Paris, aged 70, **Claire Hortense, Dowager Lady Ashburton**. She was the daughter

of Maret, late Duc de Bassano, and married Francis, third Lord Ashburton.—On the 17th, at Blythe, near Ormskirk, aged 75, **Colonel the Hon. Edward Bootle-Wilbraham**, son of the first Lord Skelmersdale, and formerly in the Coldstream Guards. He acted as Private Secretary to Lord Derby when he was Colonial Secretary, and was Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Lancaster, and Honorary Colonel of the 6th Lancashire Militia.—On the 18th, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, aged 71, **Mr. Henry James**. Although not of the clerical profession, he was an able theologian and a finished writer. He was the father of Mr. Henry James the novelist and of Professor James of Harvard University.—On the 19th, at Bath, aged 81, **Admiral Bunch Bonnemaison McHardy**. He had been in the public service for seventy years, having entered the Navy at 10 years of age. For forty-one years he held the office of Chief Constable of Essex, and he was a recognised authority on all police questions.—On the 22nd, at Waddington Court, South Devon, aged 43, **Martin Leslie Leslie**. He was in remainder, after his mother, the daughter of Henrietta, Countess of Rothes, to that Earldom.—On the 23rd, at Coriffe, near Barnstable, aged 85, **Rev. Sir Henry Bouchier Wrey**, of Tavistock, Devon. He was ninth Baronet, and had held the living of Tavistock for forty-two years.—On the 23rd, **Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux**. He was a very popular preacher. In 1852 he received a Cardinal's hat, which gave him a seat in the Senate; and he was a warm defender of the Pope's temporal power.—On the 23rd, aged 76, **Sir William Coles Medlycott**, of Ven, near Milborne Port, Somersetshire. Second Baronet.—On the 24th, at London, aged 82, **John Blockley**, well known as a composer of songs which attained popularity.—On the 24th, at Paris, **Baron Corvisart**, friend and physician to Napoleon III. and to the Prince Imperial. His uncle was doctor to Napoleon I.—On the 24th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 71, **C. V. Walker, F.R.S., F.R.A.S., F.M.S.**, President of the Society of Telegraphic Engineers, and the inventor of several useful appliances, notably the instruments by which the block system of railways is worked.—On the 27th, at Dingestowe Court, Monmouthshire, aged 83, **S. R. Bosanquet**, of Dingestowe Court, Monmouthshire. He took great interest in the working of the Poor Law, and wrote a work on "The Rights of the Poor."—On the 27th, at Algiers, **Miss Esther Beamish**, well known in the religious world for mission work done in England at Spa, and at Belleville during the sufferings of the Communists in 1871.—On the 28th, at Holmwood, Surrey, aged 87, **James Arthur Wilson, M.D.** He was for some time President of the Western Medical and Surgical Societies, and the author of several medical works, and contributions to the *Lancet*.—On the 31st, at London, aged 90, **General Sir George Brooke, K.C.B.** He was in the Royal Artillery and served in Bundelcund, in 1809-10, and throughout the Nepaul war in 1815-16. He was present at the sieges of Hattrass and Bhurtpore, at the battles on the Sutlej, in 1845-6, and in 1848 he commanded the Horse Artillery as a Brigadier in the Punjab.

THE MINISTRY, 1882.

January 1, 1882.

December 31, 1882.

Cabinet.

<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.	Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>		Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers, M.P.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Lord Selborne	Earl Selborne.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	Earl Spencer, K.G.	Earl Spencer, K.G.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Lord Carlingford	Lord Carlingford.
<i>Secretary of State for the Home Department</i>	Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, Bart., M.P.	Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, Bart., M.P.
<i>Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs</i>	Earl Granville, K.G.	Earl Granville, K.G.
<i>Secretary of State for the Colonies</i>	Earl of Kimberley	Earl of Derby.
<i>Secretary of State for India</i>	Marquess of Hartington, M.P.	Earl of Kimberley.
<i>Secretary of State for War</i>	Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers, M.P.	Marquess of Hartington, M.P.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Earl of Northbrook	Earl of Northbrook.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P.	Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P.
<i>President of the Local Government Board</i>	Rt. Hon. J. G. Dodson, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. Dilke, M.P.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P.	Rt. Hon. J. G. Dodson, M.P.
<i>Chief Secretary for Ireland</i>	Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.	<i>Not in Cabinet.</i>

<i>Lord Lieutenant of Ireland</i>	Earl Cowper	Earl Spencer, K.G.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Lord Frederick Cavendish, M.P.	L. H. Courtney, M.P.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Rt. Hon. Henry Fawcett, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Henry Fawcett, M.P.
<i>Chief Secretary for Ireland</i>	<i>In the Cabinet</i>	Rt. Hon. G. O. Trevelyan, M.P.
<i>Vice-President of the Council</i>	Rt. Hon. J. A. Mundella, M.P.	Rt. Hon. J. A. Mundella, M.P.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Rt. Hon. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P.	Rt. Hon. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P.
<i>Junior Lords of the Treasury</i>	Sir Arthur D. Hayter, M.P. John Holms, M.P. C. C. Cotes, M.P.	C. C. Cotes, M.P. R. W. Duff, M.P. Herbert Gladstone, M.P.
<i>Political Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Lord Richard Grosvenor, M.P.	Lord Richard Grosvenor, M.P.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Lord Wolverton	Lord Wolverton.
<i>Judge Advocate General</i>	Rt. Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P.	Rt. Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P.
<i>Secretary to the Admiralty</i>	George Otto Trevelyan, M.P.	H. Campbell-Bannerman, M.P.

January 1, 1882.

December 31, 1882.

<i>Under-Secretary for Home Office</i>	} Earl of Rosebery	Earl of Rosebery.
<i>Under-Secretary for Foreign Office</i>	{ Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., } M.P.	Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, M.P.
<i>Under-Secretary for Colonial Office</i>	} Leonard H. Courtney, M.P.	Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.
<i>Under-Secretary for India.</i>	Viscount Enfield	J. Kynaston Cross, M.P.
<i>Under-Secretary for War</i>	Earl of Morley	Earl of Morley.
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	{ H. Campbell-Bannerman, } M.P.	Sir Arthur D. Hayter, M.P.
<i>Surveyor-General of Ordnance</i>	{ Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. M. Adye, } K.C.B.	H. R. Brand, M.P.
<i>Secretary to the Board of Trade</i>	} Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.	John Holms, M.P.
<i>Secretary to the Local Government Board</i>	} J. T. Hibbert, M.P.	J. T. Hibbert, M.P.
<i>Attorney-General.</i>	Sir Henry James, M.P. . . .	Sir Henry James, M.P.
<i>Solicitor-General.</i>	Sir Farrer Herschell, M.P.	Sir Farrer Herschell, M.P.
<i>Lord Advocate for Scotland</i>	{ Rt. Hon. J. B. Balfour, } M.P.	Rt. Hon. J. B. Balfour, M.P.
<i>Solicitor-General for Scotland</i>	} A. Asher, M.P.	A. Asher, M.P.

PUBLIC REVENUE.

Abstract Statement of the Gross and Net Receipts on account of the Public Revenue of the United Kingdom, in the Year ended 31st March 1882.

Heads of Revenue	Receipt of Income									
	Advances Repayable, and Balances and Bills outstanding on 31st March 1881	Gross Receipts		Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, Bounties, &c.		Net Receipts within the Year after deducting Repayments, &c.		Totals of Net Receipts and Balances, &c.		
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
Customs . . .	404,734 5 5	19,436,072 12 5		159,404 5 4		19,276,668 7 1		19,740,402 12 6		
Excise . . .		27,908,144 6 4		737,346 13 0		27,170,797 13 4				
Stamps . . .		12,582,692 6 0		234,542 9 5		12,348,149 16 7				
Land Tax and House Duty	1,645,856 7 9	2,773,057 14 3		23,432 3 1		2,749,625 11 2		53,919,333 15 6		
Income Tax . .		10,234,125 9 5		229,221 2 9		10,004,904 6 8				
Post Office . .	1,436,264 18 9	7,033,184 0 10		14,116 19 1		7,019,069 1 9		8,455,334 0 6		
Telegraph Service .	25,949 14 8	1,882,355 18 5		265,556 11 0		1,616,799 7 5		1,642,749 2 1		
Crown Lands . .	9,990 2 5	473,001 0 6		—		473,001 0 6		482,991 2 11		
Interest on Advances for Local Works, and on Purchase Money of Suez Canal Shares . . .	—	1,219,262 0 8		—		1,219,262 0 8		1,219,262 0 8		
Miscellaneous . .	28,233 1 4	4,141,881 12 0		—		4,141,881 12 0		4,170,114 13 4		
Totals . . .	3,611,028 10 4	87,682,779 0 10		1,663,620 3 8		86,019,158 17 2		89,630,187 7 6		

COST OF GOVERNMENT DEFRAIDED OUT OF TAXES, 1881-82.

(In Round Thousands.)

This Account gives, on the Income side, the produce of Taxes only. On the Expenditure side it shows the Net Cost paid out of Taxes. Thus the Account shows the Cost of Government defrayed out of Taxes. The Year 1857-58 is taken as the basis of comparison, because it was the first Year of Peace Expenditure after the Crimean War.

Income	1881-82	1857-58	Expenditure	1881-82	1857-58
	£	£		£	£
Customs . . .	19,290,000	23,110,000	Army and Navy	26,370,000	21,450,000
Excise	27,240,000	17,830,000	National Debt	28,290,000	28,560,000
Stamps (less Fee for Stamps, &c.) . . .	11,380,000	7,280,000	Civil Services, viz. :—		
Land Tax	1,045,000		Imperial, including Civil Consolidated Fund Charges	6,070,000	5,920,000
House Duty	1,680,000	3,150,000	Public Education	3,790,000	820,000
Property and Income Tax	9,945,000	11,580,000	Grants in aid of Local Taxation	5,155,000	1,430,000
			Afghan War (Grant to India)	500,000	—
			Transvaal, Expenses connected with the	400,000	—
			Zulu, &c., Wars	135,000	—
			Persian Expedition	—	900,000
			China War Expenses	—	590,000
			Compensation for Abolition of the Sound Dues	—	1,120,000
			Revenue Departments, viz. :—		
			Customs and Inland Revenue	2,760,000	2,640,000
				73,470,000	63,430,000
			Post Office, Telegraph Service, and Packet Service—Excess of Receipts over Expenditure	3,240,000	240,000
Excess of Expenditure over Income in 1857-58	—	240,000	Excess of Income over Expenditure in 1881-82	350,000	—
Totals	70,580,000	63,190,000	Totals	70,580,000	63,190,000

THE REVENUE.

I.

An abstract of the Gross Produce of the Revenue of the United Kingdom in the undermentioned periods, ended December 31, 1882.

	QUARTERS ENDED			
	March 31, 1882	June 30, 1882	Sept. 30, 1882	Dec. 31, 1882
	£	£	£	£
Customs	4,764,000	4,652,000	4,702,000	5,340,000
Excise	6,868,000	5,880,000	6,205,000	8,155,000
Stamps (excluding Fee, &c., } Stamps)	2,890,212	3,130,000	2,700,000	2,850,000
Land Tax	959,000	68,000	13,000	5,000
House Duty	1,101,000	502,000	117,000	25,000
Property and Income Tax .	6,547,000	1,860,000	660,000	815,000
Post Office	1,830,000	1,790,000	1,710,000	1,830,000
Telegraph Service	375,000	410,000	475,000	430,000
Crown Lands	105,000	80,000	65,000	130,000
Interest on Advances . . .	231,386	357,058	227,620	384,937
Miscellaneous (including Fee, } &c., Stamps)	1,338,629	1,247,698	1,486,107	1,033,211
Totals	27,009,227	19,976,756	18,360,727	20,998,148

II.

Receipts from various sources in the Year ended December 31, 1882, compared with the previous period of twelve months.

	Year ended Dec. 31, 1882	Year ended Dec. 31, 1881	Increase or Decrease
	£	£	£
Customs	19,453,000	19,294,000	+ 164,000
Excise	27,108,000	27,252,000	- 144,000
Stamps (excluding Fee, &c., } Stamps)	11,570,000	11,369,501	+ 200,711
Land Tax	1,045,000	1,059,000	- 14,000
House Duty	1,745,000	1,686,000	+ 59,000
Property and Income Tax .	9,882,000	11,068,000	- 1,186,000
Post Office	7,160,000	6,875,000	+ 285,000
Telegraph Service	1,690,000	1,630,000	+ 60,000
Crown Lands	380,000	370,000	+ 10,000
Interest on Advances . . .	1,201,001	1,230,069	- 31,068
Miscellaneous (including Fee, } &c., Stamps)	5,105,645	4,846,609	+ 259,036
Totals	86,344,858	86,682,179	

Net Decrease, 337,521.

PUBLIC LOANS.—TREASURY.

Purposes for which Advanced	Advances			Repayments			Remitted or Written off
	Date of Issue	Total Advances made to 31st March 1882	Total to 31st March 1882				
			Principal	Interest			
CLOSED LOAN SERVICES:							
RELIEF OF COMMERCIAL DISTRESS:							
“For the assistance of such persons as may be desirous to accept the same”	1794	£ 2,202,200 0 0	£ 2,202,200 0 0	£ 63,716 16 2	£ —	s. d.	
Relief of Merchants trading between Liverpool and Lancaster	1800	269,200 0 0	269,200 0 0	5,069 1 1½	—		
Relief of Commercial Credit	1802	1,338,000 0 0	1,338,000 0 0	64,090 9 1	—		
COLONIAL:							
Islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, for the assistance of persons con- nected with	1796	{ 910,000 0 0 457,600 0 0	{ 910,000 0 0 457,600 0 0	278,813 0 0 209,699 19 8	—		
Antigua, Nevis, and Montserrat, for the relief of	1844	135,000 0 0	135,000 0 0	65,403 16 5	—		
Tobago, Trinidad, and British Guiana, for the relief of	1847	154,073 0 8	154,073 0 8	83,282 4 0	—		
Welland Canal, Canada	1829	50,000 0 0	—	—	50,000 0 0		
Shubenacadie Canal, Nova Scotia	1830	20,000 0 0	—	—	20,000 0 0		
Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia	1842	163,016 0 5	15,516 0 5	—	147,500 0 0		
New Zealand Company for Colonisa- tion purposes	1846	236,000 0 0	—	—	236,000 0 0		
PUBLIC WORKS, &c., ENGLAND:							
Improvement of the Port of London, and construction of the West India Docks	1800	1,225,598 15 8	1,225,598 15 8	4,042 1 5½	—		
London Bridge, Rebuilding	1827	431,000 0 0	431,000 0 0	452,950 0 0	—		
Holyhead Roads	1826	83,700 0 0	61,099 7 6	—	22,600 12 8		
Birmingham Police, Improvement of For the purchase of Lighthouses in the hands of Corporations or in- dividuals	1840	10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	—	—		
	1837	150,000 0 0	150,000 0 0	30,968 11 0	—		
Metropolitan Improvements	1854	1,129,397 0 2	1,129,397 0 2	180,707 10 1	—		
Towards building a Bankruptcy Court	1820	22,300 0 0	10,000 0 0	—	12,300 0 0		
Towards the expense of Revising the List of Burgesses	1836	3,853 10 0	3,832 10 0	—	21 0 0		
Metropolis Internments (Brompton Cemetery)	1853	76,786 0 5	76,786 0 5	55,836 13 5	—		
Conway Bridge	1821	40,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	60,604 13 1	30,000 0 0		
PUBLIC WORKS, &c., SCOTLAND:							
Bridge at Inverness, Rebuilding	1853	13,700 0 0	3,100 0 0	2,938 10 0	10,600 0 0		
Glasgow and Carlisle Roads	1815	50,000 0 0	2,109 9 7	14,103 10 1	47,890 10 5		
Leith Harbour and Docks, Improve- ment	1806	265,000 0 0	86,625 10 4	111,876 15 6½	178,374 9 8		
For the erection of a Lighthouse on Bell or Cape Rock, and for the purchase of the Island and Light- house of May	1807	55,000 0 0	55,000 0 0	68,228 0 11	—		
Fife and Midlothian Ferries	1812	10,000 0 0	—	—	10,000 0 0		
Queen's Ferry, Firth of Forth	1813	10,000 0 0	—	—	10,000 0 0		
Towards making and maintaining the Crinan Canal	1794	74,400 0 0	—	—	74,400 0 0		
Total Closed Loan Services	—	9,585,824 7 4	8,736,137 14 9	1,752,271 12 0½	849,686 12 7		
CURRENT AND UNCLOSED LOAN SERVICES:							
Colonial Docks	1867	32,000 0 0	16,686 11 4	8,493 6 0	—		
Drainage of Land { England	1846	2,116,363 17 7	2,013,433 13 11	888,064 9 8	—		
{ Scotland	1846	1,874,367 2 5	1,830,775 16 6	725,003 5 11	—		
Menai Bridge	1820	231,498 18 0	—	177,192 5 11	—		
Tithe Relief	1834	900,000 0 0	—	—	900,000 0 0		
Total Current and Unclosed Loan Services	—	5,154,229 18 0	3,860,896 1 9	1,748,743 7 6	900,000 0 0		
GROSS TOTAL	—	14,740,054 5 4	12,597,033 16 6	3,501,014 19 6½	1,749,686 12 7		

PUBLIC

SUMMARY of the Amounts Issued in 1881-82, and of the Total Amounts Advanced to the Control of the NATIONAL DEBT COMMISSIONERS; (c) from the IRISH CHURCH to the same Date; and of the Balances outstanding at that date.

—	Amount issued in the Year	Total Amounts Advanced (1792 to 1882)	Repayments and Interest in the Year 1881-82	
			Principal	Interest
(a) EXCHEQUER:	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
TREASURY	—	14,740,054 5 4	41,858 3 0	6,981 17 0
PUBLIC WORKS LOAN COMMISSIONERS, ENGLAND	—	43,804,143 6 7	651,107 5 3	851,215 16 10
COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS, IRELAND	706,482 13 0	31,524,509 16 1	326,633 17 2	124,347 1 11
IRISH LAND COM- MISSION	15,000 0 0	11,056 1 1	—	—
WEST INDIA ISLANDS RELIEF COM- MISSIONERS. (For par- ticulars, see Finance Accounts for 1880-81, Parlia- mentary Paper, No. 376, of 1881) . . .	—	948,150 0 0	—	—
	721,482 13 0	91,027,918 9 1	1,019,590 9 5	982,544 15 9
SARDINIAN LOAN . .	—	2,000,000 0 0	42,111 17 1	37,888 2 11
LOAN TO INDIA . .	—	2,000,000 0 0	—	—
ELECTION ENQUIRY EXPENSES	10,063 6 1	*21,824 16 6	3,616 8 2	—
BULLION	910,000 0 0	*1,345,000 0 0	715,000 0 0	—
	1,641,545 19 1	96,394,748 5 7	1,779,827 10 8	1,020,432 18 8
(b) NATIONAL DEBT COMMISSIONERS:				
PUBLIC WORKS LOAN COMMISSIONERS, ENGLAND	1,832,299 0 0	4,933,897 0 0	142,324 12 0	121,412 5 3
(c) IRISH CHURCH FUND LOANS:				
COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS IN IRELAND	251,863 16 5	1,204,860 19 8	4,400 15 7	2 15 3
TOTALS	3,725,708 15 6	102,533,506 5 3	1,926,552 18 3	1,141,847 19 2

* These items include the Advances outstanding at the commencement of the year only.

LOANS.

March 31, 1882, for Public Loans, &c.; (a) from the EXCHEQUER; (b) from Funds under FUND; of the Repayments and of Interest received to same Date; of the Remittances

Total Repayments and Interest to March 31, 1882						Amounts Remitted or Written off						Balances Outstanding on March 31, 1882																	
												Principal												Interest					
												In Arrear						Not Due											
Principal			Interest																										
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.						
12,597,083	16	6	3,501,014	19	6	1,749,686	12	7	233,301	19	11	160,031	16	4	445,120	11	1												
19,075,590	6	4	11,994,297	16	8	1,827,664	19	7	479,365	8	3	22,421,522	12	5	341,184	6	6												
18,327,022	16	8	3,213,161	18	9	7,943,007	5	7	90,104	0	8	5,164,375	13	2	84,208	16	8												
—			—			—			—			11,056	1	1	—														
521,292	13	5	506,650	18	10	426,857	6	7	—			—			—														
50,520,939	12	11	19,215,125	13	4	11,947,216	4	4	802,771	8	10	27,756,986	3	0	—														
768,723	19	2	1,291,276	0	10	—			—			1,231,276	0	10	—														
—			—			†2,000,000	0	0	—			—			—														
*3,616	8	2	—			—			—			18,218	8	4	—														
*715,000	0	0	—			—			680,000	0	0	—			—														
52,008,280	0	3	20,506,401	14	2	13,947,216	4	4	1,432,771	8	10	29,006,480	12	2	—														
200,001	12	0	171,988	9	1	—			—			4,733,395	8	0	—														
7,096	16	0	2	15	8	19,069	3	0	—			1,178,695	0	8	—														
52,215,878	8	3	20,678,392	18	6	13,966,285	7	4	1,432,771	8	10	34,918,571	0	10	—														

* Repayments of the year only.

† See Act 44 & 45 Vict. c. 54.

CHARGES ON CONSOLIDATED FUND.

CIVIL LIST.

Detailed Statement of the Amount Issued from the Exchequer in the Year ended March 31, 1882, for Payment on account of the Civil List.

Civil List Charges, as per Schedule to the Act 1 Vict. c. 2 :—	£	s.	d.
Class I. Her Majesty's Privy Purse	60,000	0	0
„ II. Salaries of Her Majesty's Household and Retired Allowances	131,260	0	0
„ III. Expenses of Her Majesty's Household	172,500	0	0
„ IV. Royal Bounty, Alms, and Special Services	13,200	0	0
„ VI. Unappropriated	8,040	0	0
	385,000	0	0
„ V. Pensions granted under the above Act (limited to 1,200 <i>l.</i> per annum)	22,589	17	7
Total amount issued on account of the Civil List	£407,589	17	7

ANNUITIES AND PENSIONS.

ANNUITIES TO THE ROYAL FAMILY :*—	£	s.	d.
Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal (Crown Princess of Prussia)	8,000	0	0
His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales	40,000	0	0
Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales	10,000	0	0
His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh	25,000	0	0
Her Royal Highness Helena Augusta Victoria (Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustenburg)	6,000	0	0
Her Royal Highness Louise Caroline Alberta, Princess, Marchioness of Lorne	6,000	0	0
His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn	25,000	0	0
His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany	15,000	0	0
Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge	6,000	0	0
Her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta, Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz	3,000	0	0
His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge	12,000	0	0
Her Royal Highness the Princess Mary (Princess of Teck)	5,000	0	0
	£161,000	0	0

* Some of these Annuitants receive emoluments from the amounts voted for the Forces.

PENSIONS FOR NAVAL AND MILITARY SERVICES:*	£	s.	d
Duke of Marlborough	4,000	0	0
Lord Rodney	1,000	0	0
Sarah, Lady Rodney	1,000	0	0
Earl Morley, in trust for Earl Amburst	3,000	0	0
Earl Nelson	5,000	0	0
The Duke of Wellington	4,000	0	0
Viscount Combermere	2,000	0	0
Viscount Exmouth, Guardians of	2,000	0	0
Lord Seaton	2,000	0	0
Lord Keane	2,000	0	0
Viscount Hardinge	3,000	0	0
Viscount Gough	2,000	0	0
Lord Raglan	2,000	0	0
Lady Raglan, died March 6, 1881	166	13	4
Sir William F. Williams, Bart.	1,000	0	0
Sir Henry Marshman Havelock-Allan, Bart.	1,000	0	0
Dowager Lady Havelock	1,000	0	0
Lord Napier of Magdala	2,000	0	0
	£38,166	13	4

PENSIONS FOR POLITICAL AND CIVIL SERVICES:—

Viscount Eversley, late Speaker of the House of Commons (for life)	4,000	0	0
Countess of Elgin and Kincardine (widow of the late Governor-General of India) (for life)	1,000	0	0
Countess of Mayo ditto ditto	1,000	0	0

First Class:—

The Right Hon. Sir George Grey	2,000	0	0
The Right Hon. Thomas Milner Gibson	2,000	0	0
The Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole	2,000	0	0

Third Class:—

Vice-Admiral Lord Clarence E. Paget, late First Secretary of the Admiralty†	1,200	0	0
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Fourth Class:—

W. G. Romaine, C.B., late Second Secretary of the Admiralty	1,000	0	0
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First Class (under Act of 1869):—

The Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers, 1,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year (suspended).

Second Class (under Act of 1869):—

The Right Hon. Charles P. Villiers, late President of the Poor Law Board†	1,200	0	0
The Right Hon. Lord John J. R. Manners	1,200	0	0
Glasse, William B., Officer of the late Exchequer in England.	108	0	0
Maberly, William L., late Commissioner of Audit ‡	1,200	0	0
Macaulay, Charles Z.	1,200	0	0

£19,008 0 0

* Some of these Annuitants receive emoluments from the amounts voted for the Forces.

† In addition to a Superannuation Allowance of 750*l.* a year as Examiner, Court of Chancery, borne on Vote for Superannuations, Class VI., Vote 1, p. 449.

‡ In addition to a Superannuation Allowance of 533*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, as late Secretary to the Post Office.

PENSIONS FOR DIPLOMATIC SERVICES:—

	£	s.	d.
The Right Hon. the Earl Cowley, K.G., G.C.B.	1,700	0	0
Percy W. Doyle, C.B.	700	0	0
Hon. G. Edgcombe	700	0	0
Sir James Hudson, G.C.B.	1,300	0	0
Sir Alexander Malet, Bart., K.C.B.	900	0	0
Lord Napier and Ettrick, K.T.	1,700	0	0
Hon. Peter Campbell Scarlett, C.B., died July 15, 1881 . . .	473	3	11
Sir Thomas W. Waller, Bart	700	0	0
Sir Charles L. Wyke, K.C.B. (900 <i>l.</i>) (suspended while holding office).			
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£8,173	3	11

HEREDITARY PENSIONS:—

The Heirs of the Duke of Schomberg.* Transferred from Gross Revenues in 1854	984	0	0
The Heirs of Captain Garth, on account of moiety of Pension granted in 1674 to John Granville Earl of Bath. (Transferred from Gross Revenues in 1854)	1,200	0	0
The Heirs and Descendants of William Penn (for ever)	4,000	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£6,184	0	0

MISCELLANEOUS PENSIONS:—

The servants of her late Majesty Queen Charlotte	120	6	4
The servants of his late Majesty George the Third	10	0	0
Pensions formerly on the Civil List of their late Majesties: . .			
George III.	1,156	14	8
George IV.	3,200	10	0
† William IV.	1,741	8	8
The Hereditary Revenues of Scotland	1,214	8	7
The 4½ per Cent. Duties (including Hereditary Pension of 676 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> per annum, granted by Charles the Second to the then Earl of Kinnoul)	1,620	4	0
Persons who suffered by the Rebellion in Ireland, in 1798 . . .	32	6	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£9,095	18	7

Total Amount issued for Annuities and Pensions . £306,835 8 9

* One moiety of this pension, viz., 1,080*l.*, payable to the Duke of Leeds, was commuted in 1876; and 96*l.* per annum of the remaining moiety was commuted in 1877.

† One of these pensions (300*l.* a year) is received by Mr. Alfred Montgomery, a Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

SHERIFFS APPOINTED FOR THE YEAR 1882.

ENGLAND.

- BEDFORDSHIRE.—Francis Bassett, of the Heath, Leighton Buzzard, Esq.
- BERKSHIRE.—Colonel William Gray, of Farley Hall, near Reading.
- BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.—John Edward Bartlett, of Peverel Court, Aylesbury, Esq.
- CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE.—Ebenezer Bird Foster, of Anstey Hall, Trumpington, Esq.
- CHESHIRE.—Egerton Leigh, of West Hall, High Leigh, Knutsford, Esq.
- CORNWALL.—Walter Debbie Boger, of Wolsdon, Esq.
- CUMBERLAND.—George Routledge, of Stonehouse, Esq.
- DERBYSHIRE.—Charles Edmund Newton, of the Manor House, Mickleover, Esq.
- DEVONSHIRE.—William Halliday Halliday, of Glenthorn, Lynmouth, Esq.
- DORSETSHIRE.—Charles Joseph Theophilus Hambro, of Milton Abbey, Blandford, Esq.
- DURHAM.—Robert Anthony Burrell, of Fairthorne, Botley, Hants, Esq.
- ESSEX.—Hector John Gurdon Rebow, of Wivenhoe Park, Wivenhoe, Esq.
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Sir Thomas Hyde Crawley Boevey, of Flaxley Abbey, Mitcheldean, Bart.
- HEREFORDSHIRE.—Theophilus William Lane, of Ryelands, Leominster, Esq.
- HERTFORDSHIRE.—James William Carlile, of Ponsbourne Park, Hertford, Esq.
- KENT.—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dorrien Streatfeild, of Chiddingstone, Edenbridge.
- LANCASHIRE.—George McCorquodale, of the Willows, Newton-le-Willows, Esq.
- LEICESTERSHIRE.—Sir Francis Fortescue Turville, of Husbands, Bosworth, K.C.M.G.
- LINCOLNSHIRE.—William Henry Smyth, of South Elkington, Esq.
- MONMOUTHSHIRE.—Thomas Phillips Price, of Triley Court, Abergavenny, Esq.
- NORFOLK.—Sir Henry George Bedingfeld, of Oxborough Hall, Bart.
- NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—Richard Henry Ainsworth, of Winwick Warren, Rugby, Esq.
- NORTHUMBELAND.—Oswin Cumming Baker Cresswell, of Cresswell, Esq.
- NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—Sir Henry Bromley, of East Stoke, Bart.
- OXFORDSHIRE.—Edward Slater Harrison, of Shelswell Park, Esq.
- RUTLAND.—John William Handley Davenport-Handley, of Clipsham, Esq.
- SHROPSHIRE.—James Jenkinson Bibby, of Hardwicke Grange, Esq.
- SOMERSETSHIRE.—Thomas Palfrey Broadmead, of Enmore Park, Bridgwater, Esq.
- COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON.—Thomas Thistlethwayte, of Southwick Park, near Fareham, Esq.
- STAFFORDSHIRE.—John Robinson, of Westwood Hall, Leek, Esq.
- SUFFOLK.—Edward Phillippe Mackenzie, of Downham Hall, Brandon, Esq.

SURREY.—Henry John Tritton, of Ewell House, Ewell, Esq.

SUSSEX.—Donald Larnach, of Brambletye, East Grinstead, Esq.

WARWICKSHIRE.—Charles William Paulet, of Wellesbourne, near Warwick, Esq.

WESTMORLAND.—William Thompson, of Moresdale Hall, Kendal, Esq.

WILTSHIRE.—The Right Honourable Edward Pleydell Bouverie, of Manor House Market Lavington.

WORCESTERSHIRE.—George Edward Martin, of Ham Court, Upton-on-Severn, Worcester, Esq.

YORKSHIRE.—Sir Henry Day Ingilby, of Ripley Castle, Bart.

WALES.

NORTH AND SOUTH.

ANGLESEY.—Sir Chandos Stanhope Hoskyns Reade, of Garreglwyd, Bart.

BRECONSHIRE.—James Lewis, of Plasdraw, Glamorganshire, Esq.

CARDIGANSHIRE.—Charles Lloyd, of Waunifor, Esq.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.—Thomas Morris, of Coomb, Llanstephan, Esq.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—Joseph Evans, of Glyn, Esq.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—John Fairfax Jesse, of Caerfron, Llanbedr, Ruthin, Esq.

FLINTSHIRE.—Sir William Grenville Williams, of Bodelwyddan, Bart.

GLAMORGANSHIRE, Sir Joseph Layton Elmes Spearman, of Lanelay Hall, Llantrisant, Bart.

MERIONETHSHIRE.—Charles Reynolds Williams, of Dolmelynlyn, Dolgelly, Esq.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—Nicholas Watson Fairles-Humphreys, of Montgomery, Esq.

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